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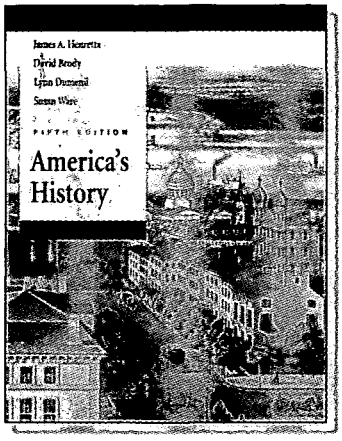
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum Essay*, and a review essay. The articles analyze the Spanish conquest of Mexico, regionalism in Napoleonic Italy, and the place of law in the rise of militant Islam. The *Forum Essay* argues that historians have the professional and ethical responsibility to preserve the record of our time for future scholars. It is the sixth of a series that we call *Forum Essays*. Instead of commissioning comments on the essay, as is our usual practice with *Forums*, we are opening up the commentary process to readers by soliciting their reactions to the article. We do so by taking advantage of the online *AHR* to hold a moderated discussion between the author and commentators in early September. Details can be found in the *Forum* introduction. The article section concludes with an assessment of a new field of historical inquiry: disability history. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Camilla Townsend argues that our received understanding of the conquest of Mexico is seriously flawed. Thus we need a way of interpreting that significant event. For example, Townsend maintains that there is no real evidence that the indigenous people ever believed that Hernando Cortés was Quetzalcoatl returning from the east and very little evidence that they ever seriously considered the Spanish to be gods at all. Instead, she explains, this construct emerged in imaginary accounts written in the second half of the sixteenth century. And it thrived because it was so gratifying to the cultural heirs of the conquerors and offered a much-needed explanation to the heirs of the defeated Aztecs. Even modern scholars, who might have been expected to deconstruct this rather dehumanizing notion, have failed to do so—apparently because taking such a step has the potential to leave open the unsettling question as to why the conquest was possible. Townsend suggests that a recent contribution of science frees us from this old burden: dating the microscopic remains of plant seeds has proven that 10,000 years ago agriculture was viable as a full-time way of life only in certain places. Only where a constellation of protein-rich crops was available did people proceed in that direction. Scholars have long known that agriculture and a sedentary lifestyle led to the division of labor and the growth of technology. And technology in all its forms—including not merely cannons and guns but also steel lances and armor, horses and ships, books and navigation equipment—clearly explains the conquest when we look at the events themselves without prejudice. Significantly, Townsend explains, when we discard our preconception that the Indians were interpreting the

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foreigners as gods, and listen to what they had to say about what was occurring, it becomes evident that they themselves recognized very early on that they were defeated not by gods but by Spanish technology. Townsend's article is thus a forceful example of how new insights can compel us to reexamine inherited arguments about past events.

Michael Broers conducts a methodological experiment in the application of some of the standard tools of historical geography in an effort to understand the historical phenomenon of imperial expansion. He demonstrates for historians the ways in which a precise use of terms such as frontier, periphery, and center can give the history of a particular region a better focus. Broers does so by analyzing the specific example of the 1800–1814 annexations of parts of the Italian peninsula to the Napoleonic empire known to contemporaries as the reunited departments. He charts the transformation of the region in north-central Italy from one of small, weak states to their new roles as parts of a powerful, centralizing, pan-European empire. In the course of chronicling this transformation, Broers challenges many stereotypes about the regional configuration of modern Italy. He focuses particularly on the impact of this change on the relationship between center and periphery, and on the altered nature of the relationship between the new imperial state and the various components of this area. Broers thus provides us with a valuable example of how the tools of historical geography can be used to analyze a critical historical development.

Indira Falk Gesink challenges assumptions about the inflexibility of the Islamic legal tradition and its relation to the rise of twentieth-century militant Islamism. She notes that media analyses after 9/11 often blamed the inflexibility of Islamic law for the rise of Islamic militancy. However, Gesink demonstrates that this purported inflexibility is largely a myth, generated both by the attempts of conservative legal scholars to maintain a semblance of unity in the Sunni Muslim community and by nineteenth-century reformers' constructions of a stagnant society as a foil for their programs of reform. During nineteenth-century debates between conservatives and reformers in Egypt, she explains, reformers such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh developed new meanings for technical legal terms and *ijtihad* that conservatives had used to bolster the rule of law and unity of the community. One outcome of these debates was that legal interpretation, once restricted to highly trained jurists, became a lay practice. She shows that lay legal interpretation, combined with the rise of state-defined Islams and oppressive political circumstances, helped produce the great diversity of Islamic belief today, including militant groups whose intellectual heritages can be traced directly back to nineteenth-century Egyptian reformers. Gesink thus provides a valuable review of Islamic legal practice and three key arguments: that the telling of Islamic history that informs popular knowledge of Islamic law is based on an invented tradition, that the "inventors" also re-imagined key concepts used in legal derivation that have deeply influenced popular understandings of Islamic law, and that many militant Islamic groups of the twentieth century have roots in those re-imaginings of Islamic legal methodology. Her essay is thus a particularly useful example of how the past helps us understand the present more clearly.

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AHR Forum Essay

Roy Rosenzweig considers two sharply different futures that confront historians in the digital era. On the one hand, he explains, no one has figured out how to ensure that the digital present will be available to the future's historians. Every day, vast quantities of digital documentation are being generated without the technical, social, economic, or legal structures that would guarantee their preservation. And yet on the other hand, Rosenzweig insists, if these are solved, in whole or in part, then historians will face a second, profound challenge: What would it be like to write history with an essentially complete historical record? Consequently, he maintains, historians may be facing a fundamental paradigm shift from a culture of scarcity to a culture of abundance. As a result of these two developments, we need to think simultaneously about how to research, write, and teach in a world of unheard-of historical abundance *and* how to avoid a future of record scarcity. However, he tells us, even though these prospects have occasioned enormous commentary among librarians, archivists, and computer scientists, historians have almost entirely ignored them. Rosenzweig argues that this neglect must stop. We must shift our attention from the past to the present and future and embrace a broadened professional agenda—one, ironically, that was more common among historians a hundred years ago. Rosenzweig's essay is intended to spark discussion about reviving that agenda. *AHR* readers who want to engage in this debate can do so in an online discussion of the article during the first two weeks of September 2003. Details can be found in the introduction to the *Forum*.

Review Essay

Catherine J. Kudlick introduces historians to disability as a central yet little-studied category of historical analysis. In a review of several seminal books in this field, she presents disability history as a new subject of scholarly inquiry that has far-reaching implications for both teaching and research about the past. Drawing from the interdisciplinary field of disability studies, this new history challenges traditionally held views that have dismissed disability as an individual's pathological condition of interest only to health professionals. Instead, Kudlick contends, the work of a growing number of scholars throughout the humanities and social sciences reveals disability to be as significant a defining social category as race, class, gender, and sexuality. As a result, she argues, disability should prompt historians in all fields and specialties to rethink virtually every "given" they have taken for granted. Kudlick develops this argument in an review of the literature that first looks at disability broadly to show the diversity of approaches in the field, then shifts to an analysis of deaf history, the field's most highly developed subgenre. She concludes the essay with a provocative contrast that challenges the field's dominant modern and Western assumptions with an example of medieval Islamic society's very different views of blindness. Kudlick's essay thus demonstrates the range and potential of disability history to alter our understanding of the past.

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The feathered serpent deity at Teotihuacan, a major urban center in the Valley of Mexico predating the Aztec civilization. Photograph by John Graham Nolan.

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Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico

CAMILLA TOWNSEND

In 1552, Francisco López de Gómara, who had been chaplain and secretary to Hernando Cortés while he lived out his old age in Spain, published an account of the conquest of Mexico. López de Gómara himself had never been to the New World, but he could envision it nonetheless. "Many [Indians] came to gape at the strange men, now so famous, and at their attire, arms and horses, and they said, 'These men are gods!'"[1] The chaplain was one of the first to claim in print that the Mexicans had believed the conquistadors to be divine. Among the welter of statements made in the Old World about inhabitants of the New, this one found particular resonance. It was repeated with enthusiasm, and soon a specific version gained credence: the Mexicans had apparently believed in a god named Quetzalcoatl, who long ago had disappeared in the east, promising to return from that direction on a certain date. In an extraordinary coincidence, Cortés appeared off the coast in that very year and was mistaken for Quetzalcoatl by the devout Indians. Today, most educated persons in the United States, Europe, and Latin America are fully versed in this account, as readers of this piece can undoubtedly affirm. In fact, however, there is little evidence that the indigenous people ever seriously believed the newcomers were gods, and there is no meaningful evidence that any story about Quetzalcoatl's returning from the east ever existed before the conquest. A number of scholars of early Mexico are aware of this, but few others are. The cherished narrative is alive and well, and in urgent need of critical attention.[2]

I would like to thank the friends and colleagues who read, critiqued, and improved earlier versions of this work: Antonio Barrera, James Lockhart, Frederick Luciani, John Graham Nolan, David Robinson, Andrew Rotter, Kira Stevens, Gary Urton, and Anja Utgennant, as well as Michael Grossberg, Allyn Roberts, and the anonymous *AHR* reviewers.

[1] Lesley Byrd Simpson, trans. and ed., *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), excerpted from Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México* (Zaragoza, 1552), 137. (Although all research was conducted in the Spanish originals, in the interest of communication I have here cited published English translations wherever there exists an edition that is generally considered definitive. Where there is none, I have provided translations myself.)

[2] Several scholars have recently alluded to the unlikelihood of the commonly accepted scenario, among them Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexica History* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989); James Lockhart, ed. and trans., *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Ross Hassig, *Time, History and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 2001). None have made it the focus of any work. This stands in contrast to South Pacific history, at least as written by anthropologists. Gananath Obeyesekere set out to challenge the "fact" that Captain Cook was received as the god Lono in Hawai'i in 1779 in *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), thereby earning for himself several awards but also the anger of Marshall Sahlins in *How "Natives" Think: About*

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In order to dismantle a construct with such a long history, it will be necessary first to explain the origins and durability of the myth and then to offer an alternate explanation of what happened in the period of conquest and what the indigenous were actually thinking. In proposing an alternative, I will make three primary assertions: first, that we must put technology in all its forms—beyond mere weaponry—front and center in our story of conquest; second, that we can safely do this because new evidence from scientists offers us explanations for divergent technological levels that have nothing to do with differences in intelligence; and third, that the Mexicans themselves immediately became aware of the technology gap and responded to it with intelligence and savvy rather than wide-eyed talk of gods. They knew before we did, it seems, that technology was the crux.

In the last twenty years, scholars have made room for alternative narratives in many arenas, demonstrating that power imbalances explain the way we tell our stories. Yet despite our consciousness of narrative as political intervention, the story of the white gods in the conquest of Mexico has remained largely untouched. It is essentially a pornographic vision of events, albeit in a political rather than a sexual sense. What most males say they find so enticing about pornography is not violent imagery—which after all takes center stage relatively rarely—but rather the idea that the female is *not* concerned about any potential for violence or indeed any problematic social inequalities or personal disagreements but instead enthusiastically and unquestioningly adores—even worships—the male. Certainly, such a narrative may be understood to be pleasurable in the context of the strife-ridden relationships of the real world. Likewise, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the relatively powerful conquistadors and their cultural heirs should prefer to dwell on the Indians' adulation for them, rather than on their pain, rage, or attempted military defense. It is, however, surprising that this element has not been more transparent to recent scholars.

Perhaps this relatively dehumanizing narrative has survived among us—in an era when few such have—because we have lacked a satisfactory alternative explanation for the conquest. Without such a misunderstanding, how could a handful of Spaniards permanently defeat the great Aztec state?[3] It is a potentially frightening

Captain Cook, for Example (Chicago, 1995). Prominent Mexicanists who have accepted the legends include David Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition* (Chicago, 1982); Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*, Benjamin Keen, trans. (Chicago, 1976); Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *The Broken Spears*, Lysander Kemp, trans. (Boston, 1962); and H. B. Nicholson, *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: The Once and Future Lord of the Toltecs* (Boulder, Colo., 2001). Similar ideas about the Indians having accepted the newly arrived whites as gods developed elsewhere in the New World as well, but space limitations prevent treatment of that subject here. For musings on the situation in the Andean world, see Olivia Harris, "'The Coming of the White People': Reflections on the Mythologisation of History in Latin America," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 14, no. 1 (1995): 9–24.

[3] On the word "Aztec": this was a term introduced generations later by outsiders to talk about a political conglomeration. The ethnic group who held power called themselves the Mexica (pronounced me-SHEE-ka). They, and most of the people they governed, were Nahuas, or speakers of the Nahuatl language. For ease of communication, I will most often use the more generally known term. On the nature of the Aztec state: it is now understood by experts that the "empire" in fact consisted of profoundly divided ethnic groups residing in separate city-states, thus rendering it particularly vulnerable to the invading Europeans, as will be discussed. However, in conversations with colleagues from other fields, I have learned that it is essential to state unequivocally that the Aztecs did represent an advanced state—with a capital city larger than any in Europe, a regularized taxation system in which

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question—at least to those who do not want the answer to be that one group was more intelligent or more deserving than another. The notion that the Indians were too devout for their own good, and hence the victims of a calendric coincidence of tragic consequences, is highly appealing. We can argue that it was no one's fault if the Indians thought the Spanish were gods and responded to them as such. The belief was part and parcel of their cosmology and does not by any means indicate that they were lacking in intelligence or that their culture was "less developed." Thus even those participating in colonial semiosis with a sympathetic ear, who study Indian narratives alongside colonists' fantasies, often avoid or deny the Europeans' superior ability to conquer *in a technical sense*, making statements that simply are not believable. One has suggested that, "but for the cases of some spectacularly successful conquistadors," the indigenous might have killed off all approaching colonizers as successfully as the South Sea Islanders did away with Captain Cook, another that, if the last Aztec king, Cuauhtemoc, had met with better fortune, the Aztecs might have "embarked upon their own version of the Meiji era in Japan."[4]

The obvious explanation for conquest, many would argue, is technology. The Spanish had a technological advantage large enough to ensure their victory, especially if we acknowledge that their technology included not only blunderbusses and powder but also printing presses, steel blades and armor, crossbows, horses and riding equipment, ships, navigation tools—and indirectly, as a result of the latter three, an array of diseases.[5] But even here we are in dangerous waters, as some would thereby infer a difference in intelligence. Felipe Fernández-Armesto writes: "I hope to contribute to the explosion of what I call the *conquistador*-myth: the notion that Spaniards displaced incumbent elites in the early modern New World because they were in some sense better, or better-equipped, technically, morally or intellectually."[6] But why need we conflate the latter three? One group can be better equipped technically without being better equipped morally or intellectually. A people's technology is *not* necessarily a function of their intelligence. Even a superficial observer of the Aztecs must notice their accurate calendar, their extraordinary goldwork and poetry, their pictoglyph books: such an observer calls them intellectually deficient at his or her peril.

Science can now offer historians clear explanations for the greater advancement of technology among certain peoples without presupposing unequal intelligence. Biologist Jared Diamond presents this new knowledge coherently and powerfully in

accounts of collections and expenditures were kept, and a profoundly imperialist tendency toward expansionism. For a discussion of the great differences between, for example, the Aztecs and the more nomadic groups familiar to most U.S. historians, see John E. Kicza, *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples Confront European Colonization, 1500–1800* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2003).

[4] Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Aztec Auguries and Memories of the Conquest of Mexico," *Renaissance Studies* 6 (1992): 303; Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés and the Fall of Old Mexico* (London, 1993), 601.

[5] Scholars have argued that the Europeans' advanced agricultural lifestyle, alongside animals and their use of ships, contributed to the spread of disease and hence the development of antibodies that the American indigenous did not have. The point may be moot in the case of the defeat of the Aztecs, for, although their soldiers were brought low by smallpox, the same was true of the Spaniards' allies, on whom they relied for their victory. See Ross Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* (London, 1994), 101–02.

[6] Fernández-Armesto, "Aztec Auguries," 288.

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Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies, which has not received the attention it deserves from historians.[7] He sets out to provide a non-racist explanation for "Why the Inca Emperor Atahuallpa Did Not Capture King Charles I of Spain." After marshalling well-known evidence that turning from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to sedentary farming leads to increasing population and the proliferation of technological advances—including guns, steel, and (indirectly) germs—he says that we must then ask ourselves why farming developed earlier and/or spread more rapidly in certain parts of the world. The answer lies in the constellation of suitable—that is, protein-rich—wild plants available in a particular environment at a particular time—which scientists can now reconstruct. It is a highly risky endeavor to turn from hunting and gathering to farming. It makes no sense to do so, except on a part-time basis, for sugar cane, bananas, or squash, for instance; it makes a great deal of sense to do it for the wheat and peas of the Fertile Crescent (and certain other species that spread easily on the wide and relatively ecologically constant east-west axis of Eurasia). In the case of the Americas, one rushes to ask, "What about corn?" Indeed, it turns out that after the millennia of part-time cultivation that it took to turn the nearly useless wild *teosinte* with its tiny bunches of seeds into something approaching today's ears of corn, Mesoamericans became very serious full-time agriculturalists. But by then, they had lost valuable time—or so we say if they were in a race with Eurasia. In 1519, it would turn out that, unbeknownst to either side, they *had* been in a something akin to a race. Establishing that the Mexicans had not had protein-rich crops available to them for as long as their conquerors, and thus had not been sedentary as long, allows us to understand the technical disparities that existed without resorting to comparisons of intelligence or human worth. Diamond's work relieves us of an old burden. We may proceed more freely with our business as historians.

OUR FIRST TASK MUST BE TO ASK OURSELVES whence came the myths associated with the conquest. The simple truth is that, by the 1550s, some Indians were themselves saying that they (or rather, their parents) had presumed the white men to be gods. Their words became widely available to an international audience in 1962, when Miguel León-Portilla published *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, translated from his 1959 *Visión de los vencidos*. The work was perfectly timed to meet with the political sympathies of a generation growing suspicious of the conquistadors' version of events. The volume was printed in at

[7] Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997). Gale Stokes included this Pulitzer Prize–winning book in a review essay, "The Fates of Human Societies: A Review of Recent Macrohistories," *AHR* 106 (April 2001): 508–25. He begins, "Not many historians would subtitle their book, 'The Fates of Human Societies,' " and goes on to say that it is biologist Jared Diamond who has had the nerve. Although Stokes's overall argument is that macrohistory when done well (and he implicitly includes Diamond's work in this category) certainly has its uses, Diamond's theme of "Eurasia-meets-the-rest-of-the-world [and wins]" is lost in the rest of the essay, which focuses instead on the equally interesting question of why Europe, as opposed to China, became the leader of the modern world. Almost nothing has been written about the book in Latin Americanist journals. To my knowledge, only one recent textbook on colonial America opens with an explicit consideration of Diamond's argument: Stanley N. Katz, John M. Murrin, and Douglas Greenberg, eds., *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, 5th edn. (New York, 2001).

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least eleven other languages and has remained a common reference for a variety of scholars. It is an invaluable book, communicating the fear, pain, and anger experienced by the Mexica when their great city of Tenochtitlan crumbled.[8] Yet, ironically, the same text that lets sixteenth-century Nahuas speak "within hearing distance of the rest of the world"[9] also traps them in stereotype, quoting certain statements made at least a generation after the conquest as if they were transparent realities. "When Motecuhzoma heard that [the Spanish] were inquiring about his person, and when he learned that the 'gods' wished to see him face to face, his heart shrank within him and he was filled with anguish. He wanted to run away and hide."[10]

Numerous scholars have analyzed these words while ignoring their context. The best-known such work is Tzvetan Todorov's *Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Although quick to say there is no "natural inferiority" (indeed, he aptly points out that it is the Indians who rapidly learn the language of the Spanish, not the other way around), he insists that it is the Spaniards' greater adeptness in manipulating signs that gives them victory. While the Spanish believe in man-man communication ("What are we to do?"), the Indians only envision man-world communication ("How are we to know?"). Thus the Indians have a "paralyzing belief that the Spaniards are gods" and are "inadequate in a situation requiring improvisation."[11] Popular historians have been equally quick to accept this idea of indigenous reality, often with the best intentions. Hugh Thomas's recent monumental 800-page volume is a case in point. Thomas uses apocryphal accounts as if they had been tape-recorded conversations in his portrayal of the inner workings of Moctezuma's[12] court. "The Emperor considered flight. He thought of hiding . . . He decided on . . . a cave on the side of Chapultepec." Thomas does this, I believe, not out of naïveté but out of a genuine desire to incorporate the Indian perspective. He does not want to describe the intricate politics of the Spanish while leaving the Indian side vague, rendering it less real to his readers.[13]

[8] León-Portilla has done important work beyond the ivory tower as well, bringing Nahuatl-speaking indigenous poets to work at Mexico's most prestigious universities and supporting *indigenista* movements in other ways. His political significance must not be underestimated.

[9] Jorge Klor de Alva, "Foreword," to León-Portilla, *Broken Spears*, xi.

[10] León-Portilla, *Broken Spears*, 35. Most of the book conveys similar images, coming from texts written in the 1550s and later. As of 2000, a new textbook became available that translates Nahuatl primary sources into English (*Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico*, published by Bedford/St. Martin's). The book's editor, Stuart B. Schwartz, is well acquainted with the work of his colleague James Lockhart on early Mexico, and includes mention of some controversy over the existence of the Quetzalcoatl myth—but unfortunately only after recounting the story as if it were true. Books that promise to be helpful in teaching include Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York, 2003); Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman, Okla., forthcoming); and another by James Lockhart (see note 18 below).

[11] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York, 1984), 63, 69, 75, 87. See Inga Clendinnen's analysis of this text in "Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico," in Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair, eds., *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990). See also Clendinnen, "Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty: Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations* 33 (1991): 65–100.

[12] On the spelling of the Mexican emperor's name: the English and Germans later used "Montezuma," but none of the players on the scene did. The correct spelling of the name in Nahuatl is debatable and, in any case, somewhat alienating to non-Nahuatl speakers. I am using the most common Spanish form ("Moctezuma") except where quoting someone who uses a different version.

[13] Thomas, *Conquest*, 180. There are many such examples in the book. Nor is this argument limited

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With such friends, though, perhaps the indigenous and their cultural heirs do not need enemies. A different approach is definitely needed, or the white gods will continue to inhabit our narratives. In beginning anew, let us first ask what sources we have available. We in fact have only one set of documents that were undoubtedly written at the time of conquest by someone who was certainly there—the letters of Cortés. The *Cartas* are masterful constructions, loaded with political agendas, but we are at least certain of their origin, and Cortés never wrote that he was taken for a god. Andrés de Tapia, a Spanish noble who was a captain under Cortés, wrote an account predating López de Gómara's, and, in the 1560s, two aging conquistadors wrote their memoirs: Francisco de Aguilar, who by then had renounced worldly wealth and was living in a Dominican monastery, dictated a short narration, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, then a landholder in Guatemala, wrote a long and spicy manuscript that has come to be beloved by many.[14]

Besides the testimony of these few conquistadors, we have the writings of priests who were on the scene early, and who were bent on making a careful study of indigenous beliefs, the better to convert the natives. In 1524, twelve Franciscan "Apostles" arrived in Mexico City and were warmly greeted by Cortés. One of them, Fray Toribio de Benavente (known to posterity by his Nahuatl name, "Motolinía" or "Poor One"), wrote extensively.[15] The efforts of the Franciscans led to the

only to Thomas. Viewers of Michael Wood's recent BBC series "Conquistadors" (2000) will not have failed to detect his interest in and sympathy for the Indians. Yet he, too, subscribes to the white gods theory and quotes the *Broken Spears* text verbatim—and without raising hackles. His reviewer in *The Chronicle Review* mentions that he might well be more critical of the "Black Legend" concerning Spain but argues that "his treatment of the natives is politically faultless" (Diana de Armas Wilson, "Killing for God and for Gold," May 4, 2001). There is a beautiful new trade book that likewise takes the old stories for granted: Neil Baldwin, *Legends of the Plumed Serpent: Biography of a Mexican God* (New York, 1998).

[14] The most useful edition of Cortés is *Letters from Mexico*, J. H. Elliott, intro., and Anthony Pagden, trans. and ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1986). Bernal Díaz is valuable despite the fact that he takes the structure of his book, almost section by section, from López de Gómara, alternating between plagiarizing his words and arguing vociferously and explicitly with them. A few have even argued that he fantasized his own participation in the conquest, given that he situates himself at the heart of all the action and that his name fails to appear on one list of participants housed in the Archive of the Indies in Spain. But all the chroniclers plagiarized; all exaggerated their own role; and no extant list of men or equipment is complete. There is evidence that he was there (in 1540, both Cortés and the viceroy wrote to the emperor on his behalf), and the text includes many details that only a participant would have thought of or gotten right. The most careful positioning of Bernal Díaz in relation to his contemporaries has been accomplished by Rolena Adorno, "Discourses on Colonialism: Bernal Díaz, Las Casas, and the Twentieth Century Reader," *Modern Language Notes* 103 (1988): 239–58; and "The Discursive Encounter of Spain and America: The Authority of Eyewitness Testimony in the Writing of History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 49 (1992): 210–28. The edition of Bernal Díaz used here is *The Conquest of New Spain*, J. M. Cohen, ed. (London, 1963), trans. from *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la nueva España por Bernal Díaz del Castillo*, Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, ed. (Mexico City, 1955). The chronicles of Andrés de Tapia and Francisco de Aguilar are found in Patricia de Fuentes, ed., *The Conquistadors: First-Person Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1993). Another supposedly firsthand account is now known as the chronicle of the "Anonymous Conquistador." It appears to have been written by someone who never actually saw Mexico City. Bernardino Vásquez de Tapia also left a brief military summary. Another conquistador named Ruy González later wrote a letter to the king, but, as the latter two do not help significantly with the issue under discussion, I will leave them aside. See Arthur P. Stabler and John E. Kicza, "Ruy González's 1553 Letter to Emperor Charles V: An Annotated Translation," *The Americas* 42 (1986).

[15] He had some direct sources: in the earliest days, Motolinía worked with Malinche, the Indian woman translator who had worked with Cortés; later, he came to know well the young Indian nobles who studied Latin and other subjects with the fathers, even though communication was at first minimal.

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founding in 1536 of a formal school for Indian noblemen in Tlatelolco in Mexico City and culminated during the 1550s in the work of Bernardo de Sahagún, who spent years orchestrating a grand project in which students did extensive interviews with surviving notables of the *ancien régime*. The most complete extant version is the Florentine Codex.[16] The Dominican Fray Diego Durán, though not born until the 1530s, is also particularly valuable to us because he moved with his family from Seville to Mexico "before he lost his 'milk teeth,'" was raised by Nahuatl-speaking servants, and became fluent in the language.[17]

The last group of sources were produced by the indigenous themselves, but here is the heart of the problem: we have none that date from the years of conquest or even from the 1520s or 1530s. There are sixteen surviving pre-conquest codices (none from Mexico City itself, where the conquerors' book burning was most intense), and then, dating from the 1540s, statements written in Nahuatl using the Roman alphabet, which was then rapidly becoming accessible to educated indigenous through the school of Tlatelolco.[18] The most famous such document about the conquest is the lengthy Book Twelve of the Florentine Codex. Although it was organized by Sahagún, and the Spanish glosses were written by him, the Nahuatl is the work of his Indian aides.[19] At the end of the century, a few indigenous men wrote histories. Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the last king of Texcoco, near Tenochtitlan, was prolific.[20] Though removed in time, he is worth

He noted with humor, "The first one who taught singing . . . was an old friar who barely knew a single word of the Indians' language, . . . and he spoke as quickly as if he were speaking to students in Spain. Those of us who heard him could not help laughing . . . It was a marvelous thing that even though at first they understood nothing . . . in a short time they understood and learned the songs." Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1988), 271.

[16] The original is housed in the Laurenziana Medicean Library, Florence. A facsimile edition is *Códice florentino* (Florence, 1979). An English edition is Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, eds., *The Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain* (Salt Lake City, 1950–82). Sahagún's earliest version of the text is published as *The Primeros Memoriales*, Thelma Sullivan, H. B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles Dibble, Eloise Quiñones, and Wayne Ruwet, eds. (Norman, Okla., 1997). On the Franciscan agenda in general, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2d edn. rev. (Berkeley, Calif., 1970).

[17] He interviewed extensively, often asking about codices he knew villagers still had, once venting his frustration at "Indian wordiness in telling fables—when anyone is willing to listen to them they go on forever," but generally providing a sympathetic ear and recording certain perspectives that are obviously indigenous. Of course, we must approach his work cautiously: he did, for example, insert statements clearly made by contemporaries into the mouths of historical figures. He has Moctezuma make this bitter speech before the Spaniards arrive: "They will reign and I shall be the last king of this land. Even though some of our descendants and relatives may remain, even though they may be made governors and given states, they will not be true lords and kings but subordinates, like tax collectors or gatherers of the tribute that my ancestors and I have won. Our descendants' only task will be to comply with the commands and orders of the strangers." Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, Doris Heyden, ed. (Norman, Okla., 1994), 511–12.

[18] James Lockhart in *We People Here* has gathered together the only six of these statements that describe the conquest and were written before 1560, after which date it is unlikely that people who had clear memories of the events still lived. This is an invaluable collection because it includes careful transcriptions of both the Nahuatl text and the Spanish summaries, and yet it is accessible to everyone because it includes translations of each. A "student-friendly" edition is in preparation at Stanford University Press.

[19] On the methods of interviewing and the names and positions of those Indians who did the interviewing, see Lockhart, *We People Here*; and Alfredo López Austin, "The Research Method of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún," in Munro S. Edmonson, ed., *Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1974).

[20] There were a number of indigenous (or mestizo, but Indian-identified) writers in this period,

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reading, having access to secretly preserved codices; he railed against Spaniards who had confused matters by making false assertions that were taken as truth.[21]

These, then, are the rather limited documents we have to work with. James Lockhart has used circumstantial evidence to argue that we must be mistaken in our notion that the Mexicans responded to the Spanish in the early years with fatalism and awe. Even though we have no indigenous records produced at contact, we have a corpus of materials from the 1550s, including not only explicit commentary on events but also the data preserved in litigation and church records:

> What we find ... is a picture dominated in so many aspects by patently untouched pre-conquest patterns that it does not take much imagination to reconstruct a great deal of the situation during the missing years. It would be a most unlikely scenario for a people to have spent twenty-five undocumented years in wide-mouthed amazement inspired by some incredible intruders, and then, the moment we can see them in the documents, to have relapsed into going about their business, seeking the advantage of their local entities, interpreting everything about the newcomers as some familiar aspect of their own culture.[22]

It is in this context that we must approach the later understanding that the Aztecs were convinced that their own omens had for years been predicting the coming of the cataclysm, and that Cortés was recognized as Quetzalcoatl and the Europeans as gods. The most important source for all of these legends is Book Twelve of the Florentine Codex. Lockhart notes that it reads very much as if it were two separate documents: the first part, covering the period from the sighting of the European sails to the Spaniards' violent attack on warrior-dancers participating in a religious festival, reads like an apocryphal fable (complete with comets as portents), while the second part, covering the period from the Aztec warriors'

including a grandson of Moctezuma named Don Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomac, Diego Muñoz Camargo from Tlaxcala, and Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin from Chalco. None left work as extensive or as useful in the case of this particular project as Ixtlilxochitl, and so in the interest of space, I am leaving them aside. Chimalpahin, however, deserves special mention because he wrote for a Nahua audience. In his accounts, the Spaniards appear not as gods but as a set of foreign invaders. The year summaries for 1519–1522 resemble other year summaries. "The year Three House, 1521: At this time Quauhtemoctzin [Cuauhtemoc] was installed as ruler of Tenochtitlan in Izcalli in the ancient month count, and in February in the Christian month count, when the Spaniards still occupied Tlaxcala. He was a son of Ahuitzotzin." Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder, eds., *Codex Chimalpahin* (Norman, Okla., 1997), 167. See also Susan Schroeder, "Looking Back at the Conquest: Nahua Perceptions of Early Encounters from the Annals of Chimalpahin," in Eloise Quiñones Keber, ed., *Chipping Away on Earth* (Lancaster, Calif., 1994), 377–97.

[21] For example: "No me he querido aprovechar de las historias que hartan de esta material, por la diversidad y confusión que tienen entre sí los autores que hartan de ellas, por las falsas relaciones y contrarias interpretaciones que se les dieron." Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, "Sumaria Relación de la Historia General de Esta Nueva España desde el origen del mundo hasta la Era de Ahora," in *Obras históricas*, Edmundo O'Gorman, ed., vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1975), 525. There is no question that Ixtlilxochitl is a problematic source if one is looking for a "pure" Indian voice: he sometimes relied, for example, on the "Codex Xolotl" (Charles Dibble, ed., *Códice Xolotl* [Mexico City, 1951]), which is clearly a post-conquest creation, and he was personally and politically embedded in elite Creole culture. For a discussion of the latter issue, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Historiographies, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), esp. 221–25. I read him, however, as having a distinctly indigenous perspective in subtle ways. For example, he inserts "por lengua de Marina" (through the words of Malinche) frequently when summarizing communications made with the Spanish—even, in one case, when a local king was asking Cortés and his men to accept some local girls as sleeping partners. "Historia de la nación chichimeca," in *Obras históricas*, O'Gorman, ed., vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1977), 214.

[22] Lockhart, *We People Here*, 5.

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uprising against the Spaniards after the festival to their ultimate defeat over a year later, reads like a military archivist's record of events.[23] Indeed, this phenomenon makes sense: the old men being interviewed in the 1550s would likely have participated as young warriors in the battles against the Spanish, or at least have been well aware of what was transpiring. On the other hand, they would most certainly *not* have been privy to the debates within Moctezuma's inner circle when the Spaniards' arrival first became known: the king's closest advisers were killed in the conquest, and at any rate would have been older men even in 1520.

Still, the fact that the informants for the Florentine were not acquainted with the inner workings of Moctezuma's court only proves that they were unlikely to have the first part of the story straight; it tells us nothing about why they chose to say what they did. It seems likely that they retroactively sought to find particular auguries associated with the conquest. The Florentine's omens do not appear to have been commonly accepted, as they do not appear in other Nahuatl sources.[24] Interestingly, Fernández-Armesto notes that the listed omens fall almost exactly in line with certain Greek and Latin texts that are known to have been available to Sahagún's students.[25]

Why would Sahagún's assistants have been so eager to come up with a compelling narrative about omens? We must bear in mind that they were the sons and grandsons of Tenochtitlan's most elite citizens—descendants of priests and nobles. It was their own class, even their own family members, who might have been thought to be at fault if it were true that they had had no idea that the Spaniards existed prior to their arrival. Durán later recorded some of the accusations against seers as they had been reported to him:

> Motecuhzoma, furious, cried, "It is your position, then, to be deceivers, tricksters, to pretend to be men of science and forecast that which will take place in the future, deceiving everyone by saying that you know what will happen in the world, that you see what is within the hills, in the center of the earth, underneath the waters, in the caves and in the earth's clefts, in the springs and water holes. You call yourselves 'children of the night' but everything is a lie, it is all pretense."[26]

Here Moctezuma himself is the speaker; whether any particular individual ever gave vent to such rage at the time is unknowable. What is clear is that the person speaking years later still felt deceived. It begins to seem not merely unsurprising, but indeed necessary, that Sahagún's elite youths should insist that their forebears *had* read the signs and had known what was to happen. In their version, the Truth

[23] Lockhart, *We People Here*, 18. It is worth noting that other sources purportedly based on interviews with those involved reflect this same bipartite treatment—a history that reads like a recitation of myths suddenly becomes a detailed and realistic description of battle scenes. See Ixtlilxochitl, "Compendio Histórico del Reino de Texcoco," in *Obras históricas*, vol. 1. Ross Hassig also concludes after working extensively with the second part of Book Twelve, "The Aztecs did not lose their faith, they lost a war." *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 149.

[24] The one exception was the Tlaxcalan Diego Muñoz Camargo. Writing in 1580, he claimed that people in his city were also preoccupied with the foretellings of the white gods, but as proof he offered the same set of omens that took the Aztec capital as their point of reference, "an unimaginable attribute of a source resting on authentic Tlaxcalan tradition" (Lockhart, *We People Here*, 17). The repetition of details shows that Muñoz Camargo clearly copied straight from the Florentine.

[25] Fernández-Armesto, "Aztec Auguries."

[26] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain*, 493. This is a motif in Durán's text.

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was paralyzing and left their forebears vulnerable, perhaps even more so than they might have been.[27]

The idea that Cortés was understood to be the god Quetzalcoatl returning from the east is also presented as fact in Book Twelve. Moctezuma sends gifts for different gods, to see which are most welcome to the newcomers, and then decides it is Quetzalcoatl who has come. There are numerous obvious problems with the story. First, Quetzalcoatl was not a particularly prominent god in the pantheon worshiped in Mexico's great city. The one city in the empire where Quetzalcoatl was prominent, Cholula, was the only one to mount a concerted attack against Cortés as he made his way to the Aztec capital. Many aspects of the usual post-conquest description of Quetzalcoatl—that he was a peace-loving god who abhorred human sacrifice, for example—are obviously European mythological constructs, thus rendering the whole story somewhat suspect. Furthermore, in the Codex itself, when the earlier explorer Juan de Grijalva lands on the coast in 1518, *he* is taken to be Quetzalcoatl. So much for the explanation that Cortés happened to land in the right year, causing all the pieces to fall into place in the indigenous imagination.

Susan Gillespie has made a careful study of every sixteenth-century text (pre- and post-conquest) where Quetzalcoatl appears, and has proven that the story as we know it did not exist until Sahagún edited the Florentine Codex in the 1560s. Quetzalcoatl certainly was a deity in the Nahua tradition. If we take as our only sources the pre-conquest codices, archaeological remains of temples, and recitations of pre-conquest religious ceremonies recorded elsewhere, we are left with certain definite elements. Quetzalcoatl was, as his name indicates, a feathered serpent, a flying reptile (much like a dragon), who was a boundary maker (and transgressor) between earth and sky. Like most gods, he could take various forms and was envisioned differently in various villages and epochs: he could be the wind, for example. His name became a priestly title, an honorific for those liminal humans whose role it was to connect those on earth to those beyond. In myth, he was associated with the city of the Toltecs, an ancient state-building people who had preceded the Aztecs in the Central Valley of Mexico. As the invading Mexica often claimed legitimacy by insisting that they were the heirs of the Toltecs, the symbol of Quetzalcoatl often appeared as an iconographic legitimator of a kingly line. In the Aztec ritual calendar, different deities were associated with each cyclically repeating date: Quetzalcoatl was tied to the year Ce Acatl (One Reed), which is correlated to the year 1519 (among others) in the Western calendar.[28]

There is no evidence of any ancient myths recounting the departure or return of such a god, but, in the early years after conquest, discrete elements of the story that

[27] In other versions, less famous to us today, the seers and sorcerers similarly speak the Truth, but to no effect because Moctezuma has grown proud and will not listen. See Stephen Colston, " 'No Longer Will There Be a Mexico': Omens, Prophecies, and the Conquest of the Aztec Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 9 (1985): 244. Ixtlilxochitl relies on this tradition in "Compendio Histórico del Reino de Texcoco," in *Obras históricas*, 1: 450–51. Additionally, Sahagún's young men were mostly from Tlatelolco, once a neighboring city-state, not Tenochtitlan proper, and although they were in many ways identified with the Aztecs, their ancestors had in fact been conquered; thus, as Kevin Terraciano has pointed out to me in a personal communication, they may have found it satisfying to represent the heart of the Aztec state as crumbling in panic.

[28] Gillespie, *Aztec Kings*, esp. 197–98. For a detailed study of the feathered serpent motif throughout Mesoamerica, see Enrique Florescano, *The Myth of Quetzalcoatl* (Baltimore, 1999).

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has become so familiar to us do appear separately in various documents, with the main character being mortal rather than divine. The wandering hero is called Huemac or Topiltzin ("Our Lord" as in "Our Nobleman"); he is not given the name "Quetzalcoatl" until the 1540s, and then not in Nahuatl language texts. He is sometimes said to have ruled Tollan; the city is sometimes said to have fallen in connection with his exile; the prophecy of his return is occasionally made.[29] Motolinía rendered the story relevant to Cortés: Quetzalcoatl (in his version, a mortal apotheosized into a god, in good European tradition) was sent away to build up other lands, but people in Mexico awaited his return, and when they saw the sails of Cortés they said, "Their god was coming, and because of the white sails, they said he was bringing by sea his own temples." Then, remembering that all the Spaniards were supposed to have been gods, Motolinía quickly added, "When they disembarked, they said that it was not their god, but rather many gods."[30]

The elements did not all appear in the same narration until Sahagún's Codex drew them together in the 1560s—although references to the more traditional god Quetzalcoatl and a separate mortal hero named Huemac are also peppered throughout the Codex. By that time, Spanish priests had been interacting with the locals for years, and new European elements had been incorporated almost seamlessly: as they were wont to do elsewhere, the priests had theorized that a Christian saint had previously visited the New World, and such a man makes his appearance in these stories as the hero Quetzalcoatl, now a peace-loving man who is driven into exile because of the people's belief in the devil (the god Huitzilopochtli), and who foretells his own return.[31] In about 1570, the author of the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" became the first Nahua to put all these elements together. To the generation of the 1570s, it seemed logical that their forebears had believed thus, for it provided a needed explanation why they had made such an ineffective defense.[32]

[29] Following is a drastic oversimplification of the transformation of the narrative: I refer the reader to Gillespie's *Aztec Kings* for further details (185–95). In the 1530s, in the first three Spanish texts recounting Aztec history, supposedly as told to the writers by locals, two would-be kings fight, and one ends up leading his followers away (also a common trope in the pre-Hispanic codices); in one version, probably recorded by a well-known friar and linguist, Andres de Olmos, the important hero is named Ce Acatl (One Reed), which is as close as we come to the name "Quetzalcoatl." In the early 1540s, however, while the mortal hero is still "Huemac" in the Nahuatl text "Historia Tolteca Chichimeca" from the Puebla area, he is in Spanish texts explicitly named Quetzalcoatl, apparently in honor of the god in several cases, or as a man who was deified after his death (a common element of European mythology) in Motolinía's and Andrés de Tapia's works.

[30] Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios*, 107–08.

[31] For a full treatment of the church's intellectual wrestling with the Indian question, see Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe*. The most popular version among clerics held it that Quetzalcoatl had in fact been the apostle St. Thomas. It was not only the New World's Christian missionaries who looked for evidence that God had sent previous emissaries to the lands they hoped to convert. By the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits in China also believed they had found proof of an earlier presence. (Personal communication from David Robinson.)

[32] At the end of the century, various authors continued to "mix and match" the contrasting elements. In the case of Ixtlilxochitl, his personal trajectory regarding the legend closely paralleled that of his century. As a very young man, while he is still according to his own testimony struggling simply to decipher certain codices or stories and summarize them, he describes the rise and fall of the hero Topiltzin, making no mention whatsoever of Quetzalcoatl or of anyone fleeing by sea or promising to return. There is a fragmentary document attached to a later work, apparently intended to be a commentary on an accompanying picture, now lost, in which he suddenly says that Topiltzin at last went east and died there and was burned to ashes along with all his treasure, but that he promised to return

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Even if it is untrue that anyone in 1519 thought Cortés was Quetzalcoatl, there remains the question of whether or not Cortés and his men were in general perceived to be gods. Cortés did not claim that he was accorded godly status. It is, however, apparently true that the Nahuas frequently referred to the Spanish as *teotl* or *teutl* (plural *teteo'* or *teteu'*), which the Spanish rendered in their own texts as *teul* (plural *teules*); they translated this word as "god." Sahagún's students in the 1550s clearly believed their parents had used *teotl* as a form of address in their dealings with the Spanish, and this was a matter less open to reinterpretation than some others.[33] Several conquistadors insisted on it. Perhaps the best question is not whether the Indians used the word *teotl* in their groping efforts to categorize the Spaniards before they had any political relation to them but rather why they did so, what it meant to them.

To turn an obvious point into a less obvious one, the indigenous had to call the Spaniards something, and it was not at all clear what that something should be. It is noteworthy that in Durán's history the issue first surfaces in the initial communication efforts of the Indian translator Malinche. "She responded, 'The leader of these men says he has come to greet your master Motecuhzoma, that his only intention is to go to the city of Mexico.'" But in the next interchange: "The Indian woman answered in the following way: 'These gods say that they kiss your hands and that they will eat.'"[34] In the Nahua universe as it had existed up until this point, a person was always labeled as being from a particular village or city-state, or, more specifically, as one who filled a given social role (a tribute collector, prince, servant). These new people fit nowhere; undoubtedly, they had a village or city-state somewhere, but it was not in the known world, and their relationship to it was not clear. Later, they were called "Caxtilteca" (people of Castile), but that came after closer acquaintance. There was no word for "Indian," of course, and the indigenous struggled in certain situations. How to describe the woman translator, for example, who came with the newcomers but was not one of them? She became "a woman, one of us people here."[35] If there were no "Indians," there were no "Spanish" in opposition to them. So what to call the new arrivals? One of them might be a *tecuhtli*, a dynastic lord ruling over his own people, but he was not so in relation to

in the year One Reed, which was when the Spanish came. In a later work, Ixtlilxochitl introduces a section on the pre-Toltec period, which he had never mentioned before, and here he presents a sinless virgin hero "whom they called Quetzalcoatl, or by another name, Huemac" who had come from the east and would come again. The character does not appear anywhere else in the volume; the narrative continues in a more traditional vein. In the magnum opus he wrote before his death, Ixtlilxochitl begins with a full chapter on Quetzalcoatl, who by now is a fully delineated character, indeed, the first great historian of the Americas (implicitly a precursor to Ixtlilxochitl himself), who leaves records of his own great works for posterity to find, and who passes away by sea, promising that when he returned his children would become "the lords and possessors of the earth." Thus Ixtlilxochitl left Aztec history intact yet framed it between the by-now expected departure of the early saint and the arrival of the Spanish. Ixtlilxochitl, "Sumaria Relación de las cosas de la Nueva España" [c. 1600] (273, 387), and "Compendio Histórico del Reino de Texcoco" [c. 1608] (529), in *Obras históricas*, vol. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, "Historia de la Nación Chichimeca," in *Obras históricas*, 2: 7–9. Durán inserts the story even more awkwardly into his manuscript.

[33] Lockhart, *We People Here*, 20.

[34] Durán, *History of the Indies*, 499–500.

[35] This phrase was used in writing a few more times in the sixteenth century, and Lockhart has taken it as the very apt title of his book.

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"us people here." The Nahuatl word for king was *tlatoani*, meaning "he who speaks." Tellingly, in Nahuatl texts where the Spaniards have previously been referred to as *teotl*, first Cortés and then the viceroy become *tlatoani* after the Europeans vanquish the Indians and are in a position of authority over them.[36]

In the Florentine Codex, the moment of political surrender is described by the warriors: "There goes the lord Cuauhtemoc going to give himself to the gods" (*teteu'*). Yet, in the preceding pages, the enemy has been described as execrable rather than divine: in fact, when the Spaniards are temporarily expelled, the warriors perform ceremonies "in gratitude to their gods (*teotl*) for having freed them from their enemies." Tellingly, in the negotiations *after* the surrender, when the Spaniards are demanding full restitution of all the gold and jewels they were ever given, they are termed "our lords" as in "our earthly overlords" (*totecuiovan*, from *tecuhtli*), but in a moment of rage, a leading priest whose tone indicates he does not yet feel he owes allegiance cries out, "Let the god (*teotl*), the Captain [Cortés] pay heed!" He then refuses to pay, until the defeated Cuauhtemoc calms him and uses the word *tecuhtli* again.[37]

Sixteenth-century dictionaries say that *teotl* meant simply *dios*, but they, we must remember, were written years later, after semantic shifts had occurred in the process of Indians and priests working together.[38] Bernal Díaz first says that *teotl* meant "god" (*dios*) or "demon" (*demonio*). We might assume he meant "demon" only in the sense that the Christians called the entire Nahua pantheon "devils," but an anecdote that he relates indicates otherwise. The Spaniards seem to have been given to understand—quite accurately—that the word could mean "devil" in the sense of a capricious immortal over whom mortals had no control, or a ceremonial human impersonator of such a character. After the Spanish had gleaned the word's meaning, they thought to reinforce the notion as follows:

> [Cortés said], "I think we'll send Heredia against them." Heredia was an old Basque musketeer with a very ugly face covered with scars, a huge beard, and one blind eye. He was also lame in one leg ... So old Heredia shouldered his musket and went off with [the Indians] firing shots in the air as he went through the forest, so that the Indians should both hear and see him. And the *caciques* sent the news to the other towns that they were bringing

[36] "Annals of Tlaltelolco" and "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca," both in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 271, 287.

[37] "Book Twelve of the Florentine Codex," in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 244, 179, 252, respectively. The priest's resistance to using the term that binds him as a vassal is particularly noteworthy in that the Spanish tortured those Mexica leaders who did not participate in helping them locate missing gold and jewels.

[38] Louise Burkhart has studied the Franciscans' early efforts to "translate" religion. Theirs was no easy task, as the Nahuas did not see the universe as a struggle between good and evil but rather between order and chaos. There was, for example, no word for "sin," and so the word for "damage" was made to suffice. By the 1530s, the word chosen for "devil" or "demon" was *tlacatecolotl*, or human-owl, a shape-changing sorcerer of legends, so that *teotl* could mean "God" in the Christian sense. In 1519, however, the Spanish were on their own in trying to understand and translate Nahuatl concepts. They seem to have come remarkably close in their initial comprehension of what they were being called. "A single divine principle—*teotl*—was responsible for the nature of the cosmos, negative aspects of it as well as positive ones ... *Teotl* could manifest itself in ritual objects, images, and human deity-impersonators—forms not necessarily consistent with the Western conception of deity." Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989), 36–42.

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along a *Teule* to kill the Mexicans [Aztecs] who were at Cingapacinga. I tell this story here merely as a joke and to show Cortés' guile.[39]

This story is barely comprehensible unless one accepts that the Spanish had been told the word *teotl* encompassed notions of "powerful one" and "deity impersonator." For the impression one is left with here is not that the locals thought the Spaniards were glorious and divine beings but rather that they envisioned them as bizarre sorcerers who owed allegiance to no one and whose powers could potentially be turned against the Aztec overlords and tax collectors. It is even conceivable that the indigenous were referring to "deity impersonators" as potential sacrifice victims for the Aztecs; certainly, *teotl* is used in that sense in descriptions of religious ceremonies elsewhere in the Florentine.

That the word had some ambiguity embedded within it is made clear in several texts. Durán's history—written in Spanish by a Spaniard who spoke Nahuatl and had Nahuatl sources—provides revealing examples. While the Spaniards are wending their way toward the city of Mexico, Moctezuma decides to send out medicine men to combat them. If the newcomers were really understood to be "gods" according to the term's definition in Spanish, then such an action makes no sense—since sorcerers fought human enemies, not gods. Durán's narrator deals with this inconsistency by having a close adviser to the king mention tactfully that such a step will probably be useless. Not long after, Moctezuma prepares to "receive the gods" in his city but then makes the following speech within the same paragraph: "Woe to us! . . . In what way have we offended the gods? What has happened? Who are these men who have arrived? Whence have they come?"[40] Given the varied implications of the term *teotl*, it is not surprising that the Spaniards chose to understand it simply as "god" and to forget about the Heredia incident. Bernal Díaz himself, after his initial avowal, never mentions the second definition again. In other cases, it is clear that the Spanish chose translations of ambiguous passages most in keeping with the notion that they were perceived as divine.[41]

Motolinía was the only Spaniard present in the early 1520s who explicitly addressed this issue. He asserted that, in the first villages the Spaniards entered, the locals thought that the horse-and-man figures were single beings, like classical centaurs, one imagines. Within days, they learned of their error, saw that "the man was a man and the horse a beast," and so had to seek new words. They used *mazatl* (deer) to refer to the horses, and they used the Spanish corruption of their own initial label (*teotl*), or *teul*, to refer to the people, as the Spanish were now introducing themselves as such. They knew no other word for the newcomers until after the victory, when they were instructed to call them *cristianos*. Some Spaniards complained about that shift, Motolinía says scornfully, preferring to be called *Teules*.[42]

[39] Bernal Díaz, *Conquest of New Spain*, 112, 117.

[40] Durán, *History of the Indies*, 513, 524–25.

[41] In the Florentine Codex, for example, Sahagún's students wrote that when Moctezuma was in hopes of establishing a tributary relationship with the Spanish by giving them annual gifts, he ordered his men, "Xicmotlatlauhtilican in totecuio in teotl." This translates best as "Address our political lord, the *teul*, in a courtly manner," but it was given in the Spanish gloss done by Sahagún as "Worship the god in my name." Lockhart, *We People Here*, 68–69.

[42] Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios*, 193–94. A similar corruption that became a permanent name,

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IN THE DEBATES ABOUT WHAT REALLY HAPPENED at the time of conquest, two facts stand out. Acknowledging them both simultaneously is perhaps counterintuitive, as they appear to be in opposition to each other; they are not. First, it was much more difficult than is commonly imagined for the Spanish to vanquish the Aztecs; the Europeans were in desperate straits on more than one occasion. Second, it was inevitable that Cortés and his men—or some other soon-to-follow expedition—would conquer the Aztecs. They had the technological advantage. The outcome was no coincidence. The Spanish conquest of the Mexicans against large numerical odds was replicated in innumerable other confrontations in the Americas—between Francisco Pizarro and the Incas, Hernando de Soto and the Alabama Indians, the English settlers and the Algonkians, etc.—and much later between Europeans and Africans. Yet the victory was never facile, for those less well equipped in a technological sense still did all they could to defend their own interests.

Cortés rapidly learned from his translators what he needed to know—that the Aztec army was the most powerful in the land, that the king offered city-states the alternative of joining the empire peacefully and paying an annual tribute or of fighting and facing brutal defeat, that the Spaniards' most effective strategy would be to turn people against the hated overlords. In July 1519, he scuttled his ships so his men would not be tempted to turn back, and struck inland to seek the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan. First, however, he sent one ship to Spain with the news of his coastal explorations, the information he had received thus far about the Mexican empire, and his hopes of claiming that state on behalf of Carlos V. He did this partly because he was a traitor in a legal sense, having launched his expedition from Cuba without the governor's permission, and so needed to make a case in his own defense. Equally important, he knew he would need reinforcements and supplies. In order not to lose contact with the wider world, he left a number of men in the newly founded town of Vera Cruz who would be there to meet reinforcements (or enemies) when they arrived. That the Veracruzanos not starve or be killed, Cortés took several coastal Indian chiefs hostage.[43]

The story has been told many times of how Cortés and his men made their way to Tenochtitlan—fighting when necessary, turning the Indians against each other through clever ruses, detecting plots and putting them down, and finally coming face-to-face with the great Moctezuma on the causeway leading to the island city. There, according to Cortés, Moctezuma welcomed him, and shortly after agreed to become a vassal of the Spanish king. One week later, following an ancient European tactic of war, Cortés claimed to have seized Moctezuma's person and placed him under house arrest, so that he could rule through him, and Moctezuma agreed to remain in custody even when Cortés later offered to release him upon a promise of good behavior. Cortés ruled the empire successfully for over five months and then

with no meaning attached, is "Malinche." After receiving her as a slave, the Spaniards christened her "Marina." As she was the all-important translator, the Indians added the honorific "-tzin" and called her "Malintzin." (They did not have the sound for "r" in their language.) The Spanish heard "Malinchi" or "Malinche," and that became her name, familiar to both groups, with few people knowing how it had come about.

[43] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 51. It is important to note that, in the earliest dealings with the Nahuas, it was the lord of Cempoala who took the initiative and made overtures to Cortés, not the other way around.

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learned that an army from the Caribbean under Captain Narváez had landed at Vera Cruz in pursuit of him. Leaving a contingent in the city, Cortés made for the coast, and there he brought the hundreds of newcomers over to his side. Yet the temporary division in the Spanish ranks had become visible to the indigenous, and they rebelled, ejecting the Spaniards from their city in the famed Noche Triste.

Even though posterity has tended to accept it, the story is in fact more than a little difficult to believe. The idea that the Aztecs peacefully surrendered their kingdom fits well with the notion that the Mexica responded to the Europeans as gods. If we do not proceed on that assumption, however, the story flies in the face of common sense. The Spanish numbered only about five hundred, the city folk a quarter of a million. The Spanish had only one translator to tell them what was occurring; Moctezuma's people could watch every move that every Spaniard made. Simply to eat every day, the Spaniards were desperately dependent on those they dreamed of ruling. How vulnerable they were in this regard becomes painfully clear in the Codex Aubin, in which a resident of Tenochtitlan recalled that, when the people later stopped feeding the invaders, the horses began to eat the straw mats that lined the floors. Although it is certainly true that the Spanish maintained a "seize the king" policy both before and after Tenochtitlan, early in their dealings with the impressive Aztecs, the newly arrived Spanish were unlikely to have been arrogantly sure of their course. They certainly did not have the power to arrest the emperor without bringing on a state of chaos, as events proved.[44]

John Elliott and others have explained the content of Cortés's letter to the king, which subsequently formed the basis for the story as we have come to know it.[45] Besides justifying the actions he had taken without receiving royal permission, Cortés was using language to leap another legalistic hurdle: Carlos V could only annex territories that came to him voluntarily or through a just war. It was thus very important that Moctezuma swear fealty to the Spanish monarch early in the letter, *before* his people rebelled, when they technically became traitors. Placing Moctezuma under arrest without his protesting the Spaniards' right to do so was a crucial symbolic step.

Francis Brooks has argued that there is strong evidence against Cortés having immediately arrested Moctezuma. First, although he was supposedly in full control of the kingdom from November to May, Cortés made no effort to inform anyone else in the world of his successes, even though he had men perfectly capable of building ships, as they later proved. Second, Cortés's own story contradicts itself often, describing Moctezuma as a prisoner one moment and in control the next.[46]

[44] James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz have noted in *Early Latin America* (Cambridge, 1983) both that a standard mode of operation was developed early on in the period of conquest and that the Aztecs more than any other group gave the Spaniards pause. I would argue that by the time Pizarro faced Atahualpa in Peru, he had reason to have greater confidence than Cortés could immediately have had that he could use the techniques even when facing a great empire.

[45] J. H. Elliott, "Introduction," to Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*; Clendinnen, "Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico." See also Eulalia Guzmán, *Relaciones de Hernán Cortés a Carlos V sobre la invasión de Anahuac* (Mexico City, 1958).

[46] Francis Brooks, "Motecuzoma Xocoyotl, Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo: The Construction of an Arrest," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75 (1995): 164–65. López de Gómara did see the awkwardness of the communication issue, and wrote, "Now that Cortés saw himself rich and powerful, he formed three plans: One was to send to Santo Domingo and the other islands news of the country and his good fortune." He then implied that Cortés had never quite had the time to see to it

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Cortés himself describes what he was doing during those months—continuing to become acquainted with Moctezuma and the city, consulting the mapmakers, sending representatives to visit surrounding towns, collecting gifts of gold, and waiting for his ship to return with an answer from Spain.[47] It is perfectly possible to believe that he was doing all these things as an honored visitor but not as the leader of a handful of coup-staging interlopers.

It is, however, equally certain that Moctezuma was put in irons before the end of the drama. There is real evidence that it occurred in April of 1520, coinciding with the sudden appearance of his rival Captain Narváez. At that point, Cortés had nothing left to lose. On the one hand, a Spanish army larger than his own had arrived on the coast with the intention of arresting him; on the other hand, the Aztecs were aware of this turn of events and planned to use it to their advantage. Only with a gun to Moctezuma's head could Cortés assure the newly arrived Spaniards that he was in control of the kingdom and gain their allegiance, as well as stave off an indigenous uprising. Numerous sworn witnesses in later court cases claimed that Spanish soldiers guarded Moctezuma around the clock in this period. Durán mentions eighty days of confinement, which would indeed place the arrest in April.[48] Cortés claimed that Moctezuma begged to be of service to the Spanish king in defending the land against these evil new arrivals, but that scenario is so preposterous as to be laughable, except when considered in the legalistic light discussed above. Indeed, no other Spaniard writing about these events described them thus: the others universally described Moctezuma's obvious hostility (or duplicity).[49] One is left thinking that Cortés did protest too much; it is quite likely that, rather than swearing eternal friendship, he chose this moment to have Moctezuma clapped in irons. Yet precisely because his situation was so precarious, it was particularly important that he portray his control of the region as long-term.[50]

The accounts of the other conquistadors are replete with inconsistencies concerning their purported power. "While I stayed . . . I did not see a living creature killed or sacrificed," wrote Cortés. "The great Moctezuma continued to show his accustomed good will towards us, but never ceased his daily sacrifices of human

before Captain Narváez and his men appeared. López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror*, 187.

[47] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 113.

[48] Brooks, "Motecuzoma," 181; Durán, *History of the Indies*, 531.

[49] This even includes López de Gómara, usually faithful to the Cortesian narrative, in *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror*, 188–89.

[50] The fact that no Spaniard ever publicly accused Cortés of lying about his ability to arrest the Mexican king within a week of his arrival is not as significant as it first appears. Even those many conquistadors who later came to hate him (and even testify against him on other matters, financial and personal) would have understood, consciously and unconsciously, the importance of maintaining a united voice regarding the Spanish legal right to govern the indigenous population. Juan Cano, married to Moctezuma's daughter Isabel, did later claim in a lawsuit over his wife's inheritance that it was untrue that the Mexica lords had gathered before the conquest to swear loyalty to the Spanish and cede their property, or that, if they had gathered together, they could not possibly have understood the purport of the proceedings. Significantly, he reversed himself in his next document and attempted to use other legal precedents to protect his wife's property: someone had apparently made it quite clear to him how quickly he would lose the judges' sympathy if he touched on the issue of the Spanish right to rule in the first place. For the latter, see "Relaciones de la Nueva España" (Madrid, 1990), 153, cited in Thomas, *Conquest*, 325.

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beings. Cortés tried to dissuade him but met with no success," wrote Bernal Díaz.[51] In the midst of describing Moctezuma's palaces, Francisco de Aguilar seemed almost visibly to recall that he was supposed to be describing a prisoner: "They brought him . . . fish of all kinds, besides . . . fruits from the seacoast . . . The plates and cups of his dinner service were very clean. He was not served on gold or silver because he was in captivity, but it is likely that he had a great table service of gold and silver."[52] Aguilar went on to say (as per Cortés) that the arrest had taken place because the Spanish had learned that Moctezuma had plotted against them and had ordered one of the men left in Vera Cruz to be killed. Aguilar and Andrés de Tapia and a third man had been sent to the coast to ascertain the truth of the matter. But de Tapia's own account says Indians were sent on that errand.[53] His description of the five-month period of supposed Spanish control seems odd: "In this manner we stayed on, the marques keeping us so close to our quarters that no one stepped a musket-shot away without permission."[54]

The friars who wrote about the events also undermined the notion of an immediate arrest,[55] and, although later indigenous sources accept it, the earliest known indigenous record does not. The Annals of Tlatelolco was probably written in the mid-1540s, possibly based on a story that had been memorized in the late 1520s. Here, Moctezuma is detained sometime after Cortés finds he must leave for the seashore and before the Spanish initiate a massacre at a religious festival, leading directly to their own expulsion. Until that point, the city's only relationship with the newcomers had been to provide them with food, water, and firewood, as they would have done for any honored guests.[56]

[51] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 107; Bernal Díaz, *Conquest of New Spain*, 276.

[52] "The Chronicle of Fray Francisco de Aguilar," in Fuentes, *Conquistadors*, 148.

[53] "The Chronicle of Andrés de Tapia," in Fuentes, *Conquistadors*, 39.

[54] "Chronicle of Andrés de Tapia," in Fuentes, *Conquistadors*, 44.

[55] Motolinía skipped from Moctezuma's welcoming speech on the causeway to the arrival of Narváez, without addressing who ruled in the interim (*Historia de los Indios*, 55). Durán writes in his own inimitable style: "According to traditions and to paintings kept by certain [indigenous] elders, it is said that Motecuhzoma left the sanctuary with his feet in chains [the day he welcomed the Spaniards]. And I saw this in a painting that belonged to an ancient chieftain from the province of Tezcoco. Motecuhzoma was depicted in irons, wrapped in a mantle and carried on the shoulders of his dignitaries. This seems difficult to believe, since I have never met a Spaniard who will concede this point to me. But as all of them deny other things that have always been obvious, and remain silent about them in their histories, writings and narrations, I am sure they would also deny and omit this, one of the worst and most atrocious acts committed by them. A conqueror, who is now a friar, told me that though the imprisonment of Motecuhzoma might be true, it was done with the idea of protecting the lives of the Spanish captain and his men" (*History of the Indies*, 530–31). Durán, anxious to demonstrate the ways in which the Indians were victimized, is willing to move the day of arrest forward to the day of arrival—even more impossible to believe. But his source is a native picture that would, if in the standard format, only have been meant to portray a significant episode, not necessarily to give it a date. It was apparently that same native source that told Durán Moctezuma had been imprisoned eighty days. Interestingly, the "conqueror who is now a friar" was probably Aguilar, who said in his statement for public consumption that Moctezuma had been arrested as a traitor to the Spanish king, not in a desperate power ploy intended to protect their own lives.

[56] "Annals of Tlaltelolco," in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 257. There has been controversy surrounding the age of this manuscript, as it bears the date "1528" in the scribe's handwriting, but this would not have been possible, as Nahuatl speakers had not yet learned to write their language in the Latin alphabet. Lockhart convincingly dates it to the 1540s in *We People Here*, 39–42. This document's potentially very early date makes it essential that we consult it in the general matter under discussion in this article. Even though it makes no reference whatsoever to Cortés being taken for Quetzalcoatl,

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Just as we must refrain from imagining that the Spanish arrived with the power to arrest Moctezuma immediately, we must also avoid the equally wrong-headed assumption that they were able to defeat the Aztecs militarily with a few well-aimed shots. When Cortés struck inland from Vera Cruz, he had only fifteen horses with him. Later, when the Aztecs rebelled and ejected the Spanish from the city, between four and six hundred men were killed as they fled along the causeways leading out of the city, along with at least a thousand Tlaxcalan allies. Narrow passages rendered the Europeans vulnerable to attack: on at least two different occasions, over forty Spaniards were ambushed and killed while traveling through gorges.

Yet, in the end, it was no accident that the Europeans won. I have recounted the difficulties the Spanish faced, the impossibility of their having taken over immediately, in order to be more credible in saying that Europeans were bound to destroy the Mexicans eventually. Although it can be argued that diseases weakened both the Mexica and the Spaniards' Indian allies, and thus were not determinant, there remained a huge divide between the military capabilities of the two sides. Outside the city, on open ground, the Spanish were nearly invincible. After regrouping in the wake of their expulsion from the city, Cortés launched a campaign against Tenochtitlan. Several weeks and numerous battles later, one Spaniard died of his wounds, and Cortés mourned "the first of my company to be killed . . . on this campaign."[57] What nearby village chief could say the same? The Spanish had learned how to use what they had to enable groups of two hundred men to withstand masses of enemies. Both their harquebus and crossbow firings were able to slice through the Indians' cotton armor, and, because of their weapons' range, they could attack lethally when the Indians were still distant; furthermore, mounted Europeans carrying long metal lances could forge a path through the throngs. The Indians could fire their arrows at six times the rate of a Spanish blunderbuss, but to no avail, because metal armor rendered the Europeans nearly impervious.[58]

The horses were of utmost importance. Three horses could turn a dire situation into a rout. They could even solve the problem of food supplies: clusters of armed horsemen could take a village or market by surprise and return with what the Spanish needed. The Europeans' own engineering experience was also crucial. As soon as they arrived in Tenochtitlan, Cortés put his master shipbuilder to work on four brigantines in case they should be needed to escape across the lake. They later came in handy in the final battles in the canals of the city: "The key to the war lay with them . . . As the wind was good, we bore down through the middle of them, and although they fled as fast as they were able, we sank a huge number of canoes and killed or drowned many of the enemy, which was the most remarkable sight in the world."[59]

it does use the word *teotl* or "god" to designate the Spaniards, as we would expect, given the analysis of Book Twelve. What the speakers may have meant by this has been addressed by Anja Utgennant, University of Cologne, "Gods, Christians and Enemies: The Representation of the Conquerors in a Nahuatl Account," paper presented at "El Cambio Cultural en el México del siglo XVI," University of Vienna, June 6–13, 2002.

[57] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 176.

[58] Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 52, 65–68. Hassig notes that a few did fall to slingstones, and others died when minor wounds became infected.

[59] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 212.

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It is true as many have maintained that the Spanish would have been crushed by greater numbers in the long run or starved to death had they not worked with Indian allies ("special forces" style). A few hundred Spaniards became an unbeatable force only when combined with thousands of indigenous pouring in behind them. Cortés himself and several other chroniclers willingly attest to this. "When the inhabitants of the city saw . . . the great multitude of our allies—although without us, they would have had no fear of them—they fled, and our allies pursued them."[60] What we must understand, though, is that the technological advantage was what, in the last analysis, made it possible for the Spanish to retain their indigenous allies. The indigenous learned quickly that they did not have the requisite technology: they saw that their civilian populations could not survive the onslaughts of the Spaniards even in the short term, and they recognized the undeniable long-range importance of the Europeans' maritime connections to distant lands.

Much ink has been spilt over the question of why the Tlaxcalans, for example, traditional enemies of the Mexica, briefly battled the Spaniards, then sided with them as their unwavering and most significant allies. The Tlaxcalans had little love for the Mexica and could not afford the luxury of acquiring another powerful enemy in the persons of the Spanish. Cortés, however, tells us what the clincher was. "I burnt more than ten villages, in one of which there were more than three thousand houses, where the inhabitants fought with us, although there was no one [no warriors] there to help them." He kept 'round the clock guard of their camp with their long-range weapons to make sure the Tlaxcalans did not retaliate in kind, "which would have been so disastrous." When they sued for peace, Cortés explained, "They would rather be Your Highness's vassals than see their houses destroyed and their women and children killed."[61] Likewise, when Cortés and the other survivors of the Noche Triste made it back to Tlaxcala, they made it their business within days to attack villages that were not friendly to them. Most sued for peace. "They see how those who do so are well received and favored by me," wrote Cortés, "whereas those who do not are destroyed daily."[62] Meanwhile, Moctezuma offered one year's tax relief to those who refrained from going over to the Spanish, but that was a distant carrot compared to the immediate threat constituted by mounted lancers riding through town. When a set of villages received emissaries from Tenochtitlan, the Spanish torched the towns. "On the following day three chieftains from those towns came begging my forgiveness for what had happened

[60] Cortés, "Second Letter" (131) and "Third Letter" (218), in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*. There are numerous additional examples.

[61] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 60, 62, 66. In case Cortés had some unfathomable reason for making this story up, confirmation is easily found in the words of a Tlaxcalan warrior as recounted to Durán: "If you wish to have my opinion I shall give it to you: have pity upon your children, brothers, the old men and women and orphans who are to die, all of them innocent, perishing only because we [noblemen] wish to make a defense." *History of the Indies*, 522. Some of the other conquistadors clearly felt squeamish about this, or wanted to defend themselves from the likes of Las Casas, for later accounts include strange stories of villages they could have plundered at this point but did not. (See Aguilar, Tapia, and Bernal Díaz.) Durán notes the inconsistency and says the Indians definitely remembered events the way Cortés did.

[62] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 156, 158.

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and asking me to destroy nothing more, for they promised that they would never again receive anyone from Tenochtitlan."[63]

More important than any weapons or horses the Spanish had with them, however, were Spanish ships, which had the potential to bring endless reinforcements. One of Cortés's first acts after fleeing from Tenochtitlan had been to send two expeditions loaded with treasure, which they were to use to purchase horses and weapons. Before they could return, in mid-1520, seven ships loaded with men and supplies appeared off the coast, for word had spread since Cortés had dispatched his initial messages in 1519.[64] Three more fully stocked vessels would arrive in early 1521. Even though we have since tended to overlook it, Europeans of the time understood how crucial this factor was. When Aguilar narrated his memory of the post–Noche Triste period, he said first that other ships had arrived and then that the Indian towns had chosen to "offer themselves peaceably."[65] Cortés recalled, "One of my lads, who knew that nothing in the world would give me such pleasure as to learn of the arrival of this [new] ship and the aid it brought, set out by night [to bring me word], although the road was dangerous."[66] Indeed, Cortés was so well aware of the importance of his connection to the rest of the world that he made it his first order of business to build and staff forts along the road from Tenochtitlan to the sea, before proceeding with a campaign against Tenochtitlan.

At last he was ready: "When, on the twenty-eight of April . . . I called all my men out on parade and reckoned eighty-six horsemen, 118 crossbowmen and harquebusiers, some 700 foot soldiers with swords and bucklers, three large iron guns, fifteen small bronze field guns and ten hundredweight of powder, . . . [t]hey knew well . . . that God had helped us more than we had hoped, and ships had come with horses, men and arms."[67] After only a few days of battle, it was clear to many of the towns surrounding Tenochtitlan how well supplied the Spanish now were. "The natives of Xochimilco . . . and certain of the Otomí, . . . came to offer themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, begging me to forgive them for having delayed so long." After a major defeat suffered by the Spanish, in which forty were captured and sacrificed, many of the Spaniards' allies withdrew again. It is commonly accepted that they returned only when the Nahua priests' predictions of a great victory to occur within the ensuing eight days did not come true. Cortés, though, outlines events as follows: first messengers arrived from Vera Cruz telling of the arrival of yet another ship and bringing powder and crossbows to prove it, and then, in the next sentence, "all the lands round about" demonstrated their good sense and came over to the Spaniards' side.[68] Perhaps, after all, the Indians' decisions were less spiritually than practically motivated.

We must now expand our list of relevant technological implements to include

[63] Cortés, "The Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 181. The Florentine Codex, like Durán, confirms these stories, only telling them with a tragic rather than triumphant tone.

[64] Two were sent to the aid of Narváez; four constituted an independently got-up exploratory venture from Jamaica, and one was sent by Cortés's father in Spain.

[65] Aguilar, in Fuentes, *Conquistadors*, 157; Bernal Díaz, in *Conquest of New Spain*, 309, also comments on the affection and joy with which new arrivals were greeted.

[66] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 182. See also 147–48, 164–65, 191–92.

[67] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 207.

[68] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 221, 247.

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printing presses. The comparatively quick and widespread communication channels available to the Spanish gave them a geopolitical perspective throughout the events that the Aztecs, for all their intelligence, even brilliance, simply lacked. At the end of sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, would make a comment about books that the Aztecs would have appreciated, although they themselves envisioned texts in other ways: "The whole point of writing things down . . . is that your voice carries for thousands of miles."[69] Matteo Ricci read the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian explorers, who themselves read Ibn Battutah and Marco Polo. As Todorov put it, "Did not Columbus himself set sail because he had read Marco Polo's narrative?"[70] In 1504, Amerigo Vespucci published his suggestion that what Columbus had found was not the tip of the Orient but a New World, and, by 1511, Peter Martyr's Latin compendium of reported observations on the New World was available to educated Europeans everywhere—within five years, it would even make its way into the best-read fiction of the day.[71] In 1509, the Spanish crown promulgated a law that no royal official was to do anything to impede the sending of any information about the Indies back to Spain.[72]

Albrecht Dürer is known for having spoken with awe of Aztec art that had been shipped back by Cortés and that he saw in an exhibit in the town hall in Brussels: "All the days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things, for I have seen among them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle intellects of men in foreign parts."[73] What is less well known is that Dürer saw these objects in July of 1520. Over a year before the conquest was complete, the Europeans were already putting on exhibits of their findings and spreading the word throughout their continent. Yet, on the other side of the sea, the Aztecs did not even know what to call the newcomers in their midst. The inequality of their positions is stunning, the subtle intellect of the Aztec artists notwithstanding.

WHAT, THEN, WERE THE INDIGENOUS THINKING? Available evidence indicates that the Aztecs responded to their situation with clear-sighted analysis of the technological differential, rather than by prostrating themselves before the "white gods."[74] As

[69] Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984), 22.

[70] Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 13. Indeed, Columbus annotated his copy of Marco Polo's book.

[71] One of the speakers created by Sir Thomas More in *Utopia* was supposed to have sailed with Vespucci: his utopia was thus a New World island. More drew explicitly from Vespucci's 1504 work as well as from Martyr's 1511 volume, seamlessly stirring in elements of ancient European tales of fantasy. It was a popular book: *Utopia* was published in Latin in 1516, 1517, 1518, and 1519, in German in 1524, and in English in 1551. Interestingly, the 1517 edition contained a map of "Utopia" drawn by Ambrosius Holbein (younger brother to Hans Holbein); it bears striking resemblances to a stylized map of Tenochtitlan that appeared in Nuremberg in 1524 in a Latin translation of Cortés's Second and Third Letters (supposedly based on a sketch sent back by Cortés).

[72] Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, 1949), 9. Jared Diamond in his previously cited chapter "Collision at Cajamarca: Why the Inca Emperor Atahualpa Did Not Capture King Charles I of Spain," in *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, shows in an interesting way that Spanish guns alone could not have accomplished Pizarro's purpose for him but that the total constellation of Spanish technology was of paramount importance.

[73] Dürer's diary, quoted in Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971), 69.

[74] We must sift our usual expectations. The Spanish, for example, imagined that the Nahuas were overawed by their first sight of European ships, and we have tended to repeat this. In fact, they seem

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difficult as it is, let us first consider what we know of Moctezuma's thoughts. The version of the king's response that later became popular was the vision of Moctezuma sighing and lapsing into paralyzing depression, but the evidence that we have about the steps taken by Moctezuma indicates that he actually behaved like the experienced twenty-year sovereign he was. All sources agree that, after the first sighting of a Spanish ship in 1517, he had the sea watched from various vantage points. When Cortés and his men landed near today's Vera Cruz and began conversing with the locals, Moctezuma sent court painters to record the numbers of men, "deer," and boats.[75] Even though the Spaniards saw these paintings as quaint, we must keep in mind that Moctezuma moved within a world in which accurate counts concerning distant territories were kept as pictoglyphic records as a matter of course.[76] As the Spanish began their ascent toward Tenochtitlan, Moctezuma organized a veritable war room. "A report of everything that was happening was given and relayed to Moctezuma. Some of the messengers would be arriving as others were leaving ... There was no time when they weren't listening, when reports weren't being given."[77] Cortés also reported that Moctezuma's messengers were present in every town they visited, watching every step they took. Bernal Díaz said by the time the Spaniards got to the capital, the sermon they had given frequently along the way had been repeated so often to Moctezuma that he asked them not to give it again, as the arguments were by now familiar to him.[78] Despite his intelligence and his organizational apparatus, however, Moctezuma still had the problem that his frame of reference was not as wide as that of the Spaniards: Durán's informant said that he called for priests and sages from different parts of the kingdom to consult their libraries and traditions and tell him who these

to have recognized them for what they were—boats that were larger and more impressive than their own. Durán asserts that the native messenger found them "wondrous and terrifying" but then elaborates that the messenger "described how, while he had been walking next to the seashore, he had seen a round [water]hill [the same word used for "village" or "settlement"] or [water]house [same word used for "boat"] moving from one side to another until it had anchored next to some rocks on the beach." Durán, *History of the Indies*, 495. Durán's text gives the Spanish for "hill" and "house," contributing to the myth that the Indians perceived the boats as floating mountains or great houses, like temples. However, any Nahuatl speaker cannot help but wonder what his Nahuatl source originally said, as the word for "village" or "settlement" in Nahuatl is "water-hill," and the word for "boat" is "water-house." Thus it is quite likely that the speaker meant to say, "He saw some sort of settlement, a boat, moving from side to side," and his Spanish hearer or reader mistakenly removed the prefix meaning "water" from the two words, thinking it referred to the fact that the messenger had seen these things in the water. This view is supported by another messenger's comment a few pages later (505): "Before showing him the paintings he narrated that some men would come to this land in a great wooden hill. This wooden hill would be so big that it would lodge many men, serving them as a home. Within it they would eat and sleep." In the Florentine Codex, after the famous hyperbole, Moctezuma's emissaries reached the Spanish ship by canoe and reported matter-of-factly: "They [the newcomers] hitched the prow of the [Indians'] boat with an iron staff and hauled them in. Then they put down a ladder" (Lockhart, *We People Here*, 70).

[75] Several conquistadors, Durán's source, and the Florentine Codex all refer to this event.

[76] Cortés, "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 94. Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), studies Spanish resistance to seeing the kinds of information conveyed in Aztec records and maps; see esp. 296–313. On the topic in general, start with Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Aztec Pictorial Histories: Records without Words," in Boone and Mignolo, eds., *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

[77] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 94.

[78] Bernal Díaz, *Conquest of New Spain*, 222.

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strangers were, but they could find nothing. Only one man said anything useful, describing the power of the Spaniards and mentioning that the first explorers were merely there to scout a route, that others would return.[79]

The words of Moctezuma's that we have come from Cortés, who claimed to quote a long speech of greeting in which Moctezuma turned over his kingdom to the Spaniard.[80] The elaborate statement may well have been loosely based on something that Moctezuma actually said—minus the immediate surrender of his entire kingdom—as it employs the classic courtly Nahuatl style, makes no reference to Cortés being Quetzalcoatl or any other god, and mentions facts that would otherwise have been unknown to the Spanish at this early date—that the Aztecs themselves were migrants to the region and had a long history of banished kings—which Moctezuma found sufficient to explain the arrival of the newcomers. Later, Cortés actually has Moctezuma insist to his Spanish audience that he himself is *not* a god, and does not possess untold wealth: "I know that [my enemies] have told you the walls of my houses are made of gold, and that the floor mats in my rooms . . . are likewise of gold, and that I was, and claimed to be, a god; . . . The houses as you see are of stone and lime and clay . . . Then he raised his clothes and showed me his body, saying, 'See that I am of flesh and blood like you and all other men.' " This may have been invented by Cortés.[81] But a Nahuatl speaker would have been very likely to use "floor mats" and "flesh and blood" as important metaphors; their poets did so frequently. Indeed, one is hard-pressed to think of a convincing political reason for Cortés to throw in this particular paragraph. On the other hand, Moctezuma had every reason to make the statement—to minimize the extent of his wealth and in order to work his way around in courtly and indirect speech in true Nahuatl style to his impolite punch line: he wanted it known that he did not believe the Spaniards to be gods. One is even more inclined to read the statement this way in that it is apparently how the Spanish read it then, judging from the style in which both López de Gómara and Bernal Díaz recounted the incident. Bernal Díaz embellished: "You must take the [stories] as a joke, as I take the story of your thunders and lightnings."[82]

If we cannot be certain of what Moctezuma said, we can at least analyze his actions as a text of sorts: indeed, his decision to allow the Spaniards and many hundreds of their Tlaxcalan allies to enter his city has been analyzed for many years as if it were a declaration of sentiment. In lieu of the traditional interpretation that he was a coward or a fool, scholars have proffered various motivations—caution, a desire for secrecy, a need to wait for the dry season.[83] There is a central explanation

[79] Durán, *History of the Indies*, 503–06.

[80] Some form of the speech Cortés attributes to Moctezuma appears in most of the later Spanish accounts, and a variation in the Florentine Codex. For several centuries, it was assumed that these sources were quoting the king verbatim; more recently, it has been assumed that the king said nothing of the kind. The truth probably lies in between. For examples of courtly Nahuatl speech, see Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart, eds., *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues* (Los Angeles, 1987).

[81] J. H. Elliott, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 17 (1967): 41–58.

[82] López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror*, 140–42; Bernal Díaz, *Conquest of New Spain*, 223–24.

[83] See esp. Clendinnen, "Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico," 97–98; and Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 77.

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for Moctezuma's decision, however. Besides attempting to turn the potential conquerors back by offering them annual tribute, the emperor apparently did try to have the Spanish killed at least twice while they were still distant; somebody certainly gave the order to attack them. Yet, when the Spaniards were nearing the city, "Moctezuma did not give orders for anyone to meet them in battle."[84] He could not: he knew now that the Spaniards won battles in the open field. Even if he had had time to arm every warrior in his kingdom and then surround and destroy the Spanish with the sheer force of numbers, he would have been politically destroyed. The casualties would have been immense, beyond anything ever seen, and the people of the Central Valley accepted the arrogance of their Mexica neighbors in exchange for peace and the privilege of living close to power. If the Aztecs could not deliver a quick victory on the outskirts of their own capital, they were doomed; so if his army could not win quickly and easily here—and Moctezuma knew they could not—then they could not fight. At the time, Cortés and his followers did not understand the political situation well enough to grasp this fact; centuries later, posterity tends to lose sight of the realities of that world. Not so those who wrote a few decades later. Said López de Gómara: "It seemed unfitting and dishonorable for him to make war upon Cortés and fight a mere handful of strangers who said they were ambassadors. Another reason was that he did not wish to stir up trouble for himself (and this was the truest reason), for it was clear that he would immediately have to face an uprising among the Otomí, the Tlaxcalans, and many others." Said Bernal Díaz: "Moctezuma's captains and *papas* also advised him that if he tried to prevent our entry *we would fight him in his subject towns*."[85]

It is reasonable to assume that, while Cortés and his men were in the city gathering information about the kingdom, Moctezuma was also attempting to gather information about them. It may have been his hope that they would eventually leave of their own accord. Almost all accounts except the letter by Cortés indicate that it was Moctezuma's messengers who first told of the arrival of Captain Narváez: it was the Mexican king who told the Spanish the news, not the other way around. Whether Moctezuma was initially behind it or not, his people did raise a rebellion against the Spanish as soon as Cortés returned from the coast. Moctezuma himself became known for the speeches he made from the rooftops in which he asked the warriors to lay down their arms. "Let the Mexica hear: we are not their match, may they be dissuaded [from further fighting]."[86] By then, he was in irons, and so has been seen as a coward doing his best to save his life. But it is possible that he, the warrior king who had led so many successful campaigns, preached peace in relation to the Spanish out of true conviction that his people would be destroyed if they pursued violence. In interpreting his actions, we would do well to remember that if so, *he was right*. Moctezuma, with his knowledge of the capabilities of both sides, was one of the few Mexica in a position to be able to see the *longue durée*.[87]

[84] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 106.

[85] López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror*, 134; Bernal Díaz, *Conquest of New Spain*, 205 (emphasis added).

[86] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 138. Almost all the sources mention such speeches on his part.

[87] It is possible to get a sense of what the commoners thought about the Spanish during all this time.

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Inga Clendinnen has studied the reactions of the Mexica warriors to the Spanish. She finds evidence that, despite the great respect the Aztecs had for the horses, they held the Spanish men themselves in outright contempt. When the Spanish returned to retake the city, there is no evidence that the warriors operated according to sacred signs or astrology; instead, they put immediate practicality before all else. Contrary to popular opinion, they did not fight to take prisoners for sacrifice rather than to kill: they did not even want the Spanish for sacrifice, and, when they had a chance to destroy them, did so with a blow to the back of the head, as they did with criminals. In general, the only use the warriors made of sacrifice in this campaign was as a tool to instill terror in the hearts of the Spanish who were close enough to see what they were doing.[88]

We have significant evidence about the military men's attitude toward technology. The Aztecs cleverly used their own inventions against their enemies whenever they could. When the Spanish approached the city in what was to be the final campaign, the Indians secretly opened a dike in an effort to trap the opposing forces on an island that was connected to land by only one causeway.[89] More often, though, the indigenous were in the position of needing to decode Spanish tactics and technology as quickly as possible, rather than showing off their own. Through keen observation, they were able to make remarkable headway. First, there was the question of seizing some of the Spaniards' powerful weapons and learning to use them. They quickly put captured lances to use but recognized that the Spaniards' other weapons were more powerful: "The crossbowman aimed the bolt well, he pointed it right at the person he was going to shoot, and when it went off, it went whining, hissing and humming. And the arrows missed nothing, they all hit someone, went all the way through someone. The guns were pointed and aimed right at people . . . It came upon people unawares, giving no warning when it killed them. However many were fired at died, when some dangerous part was hit: the forehead, the nape of the neck, the heart, the chest, the stomach, or the abdomen."[90] These weapons, however, were more difficult to use: at one point, some captured crossbowmen were apparently either forced to shoot at their countrymen or to give lessons to Aztec soldiers; in either case, the arrows went

Nahua sources refer not only to the foreigners' insatiable demand for gold but also to the overwhelming quantities of food and water that they consumed—and that the city folk were asked by Moctezuma to provide. Not only food, added Sahagún's students, but also hundreds of bowls, pitchers, and pans. One presumes that there may also have been the usual tensions over women, but only a single particularly egregious incident regarding lewd glances at sacred women made its way into the oral tradition that was passed on to Sahagún. "[Before the ceremonies] the women who had fasted for a year ground up the amaranth . . . in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards came out well adorned in battle equipment . . . arrayed as warriors. They passed among the grinding women, circling around them, looking at each one, looking upon their faces. And when they were through looking at them, they went into the great palace." Far from regarding the Spanish as gods, the city dwellers apparently saw them as dish thieves and profaners of the sacred. Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 122, 128.

[88] Clendinnen, "Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico," esp. 107–14. She notes that there may have been one exception—a single incident in which the Indians seem to have come close to killing Cortés and apparently chose not to, perhaps hoping to take him alive so as to sacrifice his still-beating heart to the gods. Hassig, *Time, History and Belief*, echoes her incredulity that Aztec political and military leaders were making practical decisions based on religious tradition rather than realpolitik.

[89] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 175.

[90] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 146.

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astray. And the guns of course would not work without powder, even if the Aztecs could have learned to make bullets. When they captured a cannon, they recognized they had neither the expertise nor the ammunition to make it useful to themselves. The best they could do was make it impossible for the Spanish ever to regain it: they wisely sank it in the lake.[91] The second pressing concern was to thwart Spanish technology even if they could not harness it themselves. The natives made extra long spears and managed to take an occasional horseman by surprise, killing the beast and pulling down the rider. Canoe men learned to zigzag so rapidly that guns could not be trained on them, and, once, they were able to lure two Spanish boats into shallow water and capture them.[92] Yet what they could do in this regard was limited.

As frustrated as they were by their technological shortcomings in comparison to the Spanish, at no point do the warriors seem to have responded as if they were awestruck. In one case, the Spanish decided to build a catapult to turn against the city. Cortés wanted to believe that the Indian observers were petrified: "Even if it were to have had no other effect, which indeed it had not, the terror it caused was so great that we thought the enemy might surrender. But neither of our hopes was fulfilled, for the carpenters failed to operate their machine."[93] Little did he know that, in Indian memory, the incident would border on the humorous:

> And then those Spaniards installed a catapult on top of an altar platform with which to hurl stones at the people . . . Then they wound it up, then the arm of the catapult rose up. But the stone did not land on the people, but fell [almost straight down] behind the marketplace at Xomolco. Because of that the Spaniards there argued among themselves. They looked as if they were jabbing their fingers in one another's faces, chattering a great deal. And [meanwhile] the catapult kept returning back and forth, going one way and then the other.[94]

Indeed, this relatively straightforward view of Spanish accomplishments is pervasive in Nahua accounts of the war. European technology is mentioned frequently—not as something mystifying in the hands of gods but as the clear and concrete explanation for indigenous military losses. As early as the Annals of Tlatelolco, writers mentioned at the key point in their narration that "the war leaders were dying from the guns and iron bolts." As late as the end of the century, Ixtlilxochitl mentions that a local king decides to heed his sister and not try to stop Cortés: she warned of "a young man with a light in one hand that would exceed that of the sun, and in the other an *espada*, which was the weapon that this newly arrived nation used."[95] The Florentine Codex, in the middle of the century, is full of the "We are not their match" concept to which Moctezuma gives full voice before he

[91] Clendinnen, "Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico," 107; and Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 121, both working with the texts of Cortés, Bernal Díaz, Durán, and the Florentine Codex. It is possible that Indians were learning to make some of the Spanish goods, since Cortés mentions having nails, pitch, oars, and sails made locally, but he probably meant that Spaniards were manufacturing them. "Second Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 157.

[92] The Spanish describe such memorable events as atrocities, but they are recounted with pride in the Florentine Codex; Lockhart, *We People Here*, 188, 192, 210, 232. For a thorough discussion, see Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 129–33.

[93] Cortés, "Third Letter," in Elliott and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, 257.

[94] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 230. Lockhart also comments on this incident in the same volume (7).

[95] Ixtlilxochitl, "Historia de la Nación Chichimeca," in *Obras históricas*, 2: 244.

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dies; indeed, it is the messengers' comment upon their first return from seeing the newcomers.

Reading Book Twelve from start to finish, including the first part, which contains the obviously revisionist account of the facts, as well as the more faithful second section, one is left with two predominant images—which surely speak to the most profound impressions the Indians received and passed on to their children. Both images are direct reflections of the technological discrepancy between the peoples involved, of which the narrators are clearly very much aware. First, page by page, the mounted Spaniards in their clanking armor with their metallic weapons move ever closer to the great city. That the Spanish had passed through the Iron Age was certainly not lost on the Mexica. The word *tepoztli* (metal, or iron) appears more than any other. The initial report Moctezuma is given is presented in three sections. First come the Spaniards' weapons. "Their war gear was all iron. They clothed their bodies in iron, they put iron on their heads, their swords were iron, their bows were iron, and their shields and lances were iron." Next, the horses are described, and last the vicious dogs who accompany their masters. Later, when the Indians attempt to fight, they lose dramatically. "Not just a few but a huge number of them were destroyed." After killing yet more Indians in Cholula, the Spanish set out again: "Their iron lances and halberds seem to sparkle, and their iron swords were curved like a stream of water. Their cuirasses and iron helmets seemed to make a clattering sound." When they file into Tenochtitlan, their metal weapons and armor are described in even greater detail, filling whole pages.[96]

Secondly, throughout the narrative, although the Indians do not know who the newcomers were, the newcomers know enough about the world to search for Moctezuma; they will not rest until they find him. First, Cortés uses his knowledge to flatter. "I want to see and behold [your city], for word has gone out in Spain that you are very strong, great warriors." The Spaniards ask many questions. "When Moctezuma heard this, that many and persistent inquiries were being made about him, that the gods wanted to see his face, he was greatly anguished." Later: "When they saw [an Aztec general] they said, 'Is this one then Moctezuma?'" On the causeway, Cortés greets the king: "Is it not you? Is it not you then? Moctezuma?" and Moctezuma at last answers, "'Yes, it is me."[97] This element makes the indigenous feel at least as vulnerable as do the metal weapons: the Spaniards have somehow used their knowledge to make their way to the heart of Aztec power, but the Aztecs could not begin to envision a similar expedition to the seat of Carlos V. They now knew about the ships, but only a few—probably Moctezuma, for example—had seen the compasses and printed books in the possession of the Spaniards. Ordinary people could only begin to piece together an explanation. What is remarkable is that they knew this is what needed to be explained.

THIS IS A CASE IN WHICH the ending is only the beginning. In the first few years after the conquest was complete, the Aztecs exhibited few signs of believing that gods

[96] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 80, 90, 96, 110.
[97] Florentine Codex, in Lockhart, *We People Here*, 74, 86, 98, 116.

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walked in their midst. Motolinía tells us that, for the first five years, no one paid any attention to the priests who were attempting to reach out to the people. In 1526, the Franciscans held a marriage ceremony for a prince, but when they tried to convince others to follow his example, the Indians said dismissively that Spanish men themselves had more than one woman. When the fathers opened a school and Cortés ordered the indigenous nobles to send their sons, the families sent servants as substitutes. They had no intention of turning their children over to such men and were confident that the newcomers were too stupid or ill informed to know the difference.[98] What would they have said if they could have known that posterity would insist they believed the Spaniards to be divine?

[98] Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios*, 147–48, 173, 276. If we believe that the 1540s write-up of the initial conversations between the Franciscan Apostles and the Aztec priests represents a close approximation of what was said, then we have a 1524 indigenous statement to the effect that not only are the Spaniards not divine but they do not even have the right to determine how the indigenous shall worship. The speech begins with exaggerated courtesy, "Our lords, leading personages of much esteem, you are very welcome to our lands and towns. We ourselves, being inferior and base, are unworthy of looking upon the faces of such valiant personages." In true courtly Nahuatl style, the speaker builds gradually to his point: "All of us together feel that it is enough to have lost, enough that the power and royal jurisdiction have been taken from us. As for our gods, we will die before giving up serving and worshiping them. This is our determination; do what you will . . . We have no more to say, lords." "Chapter 7: In Which the Reply of the Principal Holy Men to the Twelve Is Found," *Coloquios y doctrina cristiana*, in Kenneth Mills and William B. Taylor, eds., *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington, Del., 1998), 21–22. Jorge Klor de Alva has worked extensively with the *coloquios* on the question of their veracity. See, for example, "The Aztec-Spanish Dialogues of 1524," *Alcheringia/Ethnopoetics* 4 (1980): 52–193. While acknowledging that we have only a text based on notes made at the time, he asserts the probability that the notes reflect a genuine resistance to the Spanish priests, as other evidence suggests. The notion that the Aztecs simply accepted what the Christians had to say in a "spiritual conquest" has been abandoned by scholars. To begin, see Burkhart, *Slippery Earth*; and most recently, Viviana Díaz Balsera, "A Judeo-Christian Tlaloc or a Nahua Yahweh? Domination, Hybridity and Continuity in the Nahua Evangelization Theater," *Colonial Latin American Review* 10 (2001): 209–28.

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The Myth and Reality of Italian Regionalism: A Historical Geography of Napoleonic Italy, 1801–1814

MICHAEL BROERS

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE WAS A BREAKER OF WORLDS, shattering the European state system in a few swift military campaigns in the first years of the nineteenth century. He shoved regions and populations together to suit his immediate purposes, and the results of this cavalier attitude toward the map of Europe often had surprising ramifications, exposing many harsh geopolitical truths. These brusque shifts in borders revealed regional configurations hitherto obscured from view;[1] the very creation of a French empire herded different societies into closer contact than ever before. The particular conditions of this brief, convulsed period provide a remarkable laboratory for the study of political culture, imperialism, and of the place of geography within them. Although this essay may not be devoid of direct comparative interest, it is less a study of the Napoleonic period than an attempt to use its singular conditions as a methodological springboard. Its first task is to establish the usefulness of terms and concepts drawn from historical geography in this context; it then examines the consequences of a brutally swift change of regime in a definable region where geography was already a seminal influence on political culture. Finally, it points to the fluid, evolving character of European macroregions, too often regarded as timeless.

History has not been the first discipline to borrow from historical geography; Anthony Giddens pointed to its usefulness in the development of social theory. Giddens saw that regionalization is not just a question of space but also "the zoning of time-space for routine social practices"; regions represent "the structuralization of conduct across time-space," contexts within which social interaction takes place.[2] The process of interaction between politics and physical geography in the particular context of those parts of Italy Napoleon annexed directly to France, a region subdivided into clear centers and peripheries, offers a useful arena in which to test

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[1] For an exploration of this at the supra-regional level, see Michael Broers, "Napoleon, Charlemagne, and Lotharingia: Acculturation and the Boundaries of Napoleonic Europe," *Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001): 135–54.

[2] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (London, 1984), 118–19, 122.

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this conceptualization. Whereas social theorists tend to examine the place of regions in the process of human interaction in the search for social routines, this is a study in dislocation. It examines the transition of a physical region from weak to strong government, exploring the consequences of the regional relocation of authority, of the interaction of old and new ruling elites, and how two different systems of government responded to the same physical environment. Italy in the Napoleonic period offers a useful example of the meeting of a determinedly centralizing, authoritarian form of imperialism with communities hitherto dominated by geography and largely immune from external control.

Any regional approach is particularist.[3] Not without reason are local studies decried as villains in the fragmentation of history, but this essay tries to set itself against that trend. First, within its chosen period and area of specialization, it seeks to bring a degree of coherence out of seemingly incompatible micro-regions. Studies of Napoleonic Italy treat the two satellite kingdoms of Naples and Italy as wholes,[4] the composite nature of the latter not withstanding.[5] The political unity created in the Kingdom of Italy by Napoleon, however short-lived, is assumed to outweigh the *longue durée* of the diversity of its geography and the past and future political history of its varied territories. Incongruously, the very large area annexed to France, the *départements réunis* (the reunited departments), as the French perversely called them officially, has never been treated as one. The Napoleonic reorganization of Italy brought together a group of states linked by the geography of the Apennine mountain chain in the seemingly most heterogeneous parts of the peninsula. On closer examination, however, they arguably constitute a coherent region. Their internal configurations were all marked by the existence of clear central urban and lowland or coastal cores and highland peripheries. In the terminology of historical geography, the Apennine spine created a natural periphery for the states of Piedmont, Liguria, Parma-Piacenza, Tuscany, and—in a more fragmented way—for the Papal States, just as the lowland or coastal regions adjacent to the Apennine highlands created traditional "nodal cores"—political, cultural, and economic *foci*—around the great urban centers of each state. Where political variety and formal borders may denote fragmentation on one level, a shared geography transcended a myriad of local particularisms.[6]

[3] Such a juxtaposition was not typical of the whole of Napoleonic Europe; conditions in the Rhineland, for example, appear very different. See Michael Rowe, "Between Empire and Home Town: Napoleonic Rule on the Rhine, 1799–1814," *Historical Journal* 42, no. 3 (1999): 643–74.

[4] The Napoleonic reordering of Italy left the southern Kingdom of Naples intact territorially, and the natural response of historians has been to continue to treat it as a historical and geographical unit, despite the change of regime.

[5] The Kingdom of Italy lumped together the Habsburg province of Lombardy with the Duchy of Modena, the papal provinces of the Legations around Bologna, and, after 1807, the Italian territories of the Venetian Republic.

[6] This is not to argue that other parts of Italy did not share many characteristics with the states of the *départements réunis*, any more than it is to dispute the importance of intense localism, *campanilismo*, by positing the existence of macro-regions. Modena was entirely part of this complex, separated from it only by the new Napoleonic political boundaries that placed it in the Kingdom of Italy. The mainland Kingdom of Naples, too, was part of the Apennine spine, and had much in common with these states. Neapolitan political culture was somewhat different from that of the states of the northern Apennine spine, however, for reasons more historical than geographic. The prevalence of feudalism in the southern kingdom and a deep-rooted political culture of opposition to it, both among the educated elites of the capital, Naples, and within the rural bourgeoisie, the *galant'uomini*, were

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This is not to disclaim the differences among these states in their political institutions or traditions, for they were very real, and their importance is now being reasserted by historians.[7] It is to argue, however, that the similarities among them outweigh the differences. The experience of direct rule from Paris revealed a common political culture shaped by their common geography. The formal, political borders of these *ancien régime* states were long established. Changes of dynasty did little to alter their territories and nothing to change the relationships between center and periphery within each of them. The new political framework revealed the existence of comparable—if still unintegrated—political cultures across those small and middle-sized Italian states lumped almost by chance by Napoleon into the *départements réunis*. To follow Giddens, the conditions of early modern Italy allowed the macro-region of the states of the Apennine spine to extend itself deeply in time; the Napoleonic upheaval allowed it to emerge in terms of space.[8]

The reconfiguration of the macro-regions of the peninsula challenges the tendency among historians to regard such regions as permanent and unchanging, almost in the way that a previous generation sought to pound heterogeneous units into the framework of nation-states. As historiography and contemporary politics enter a phase when regional identity vies with nationalism, or identify regions as the true nations, there is a danger of replacing one limiting concept with another. A wider purpose in what follows is to force European historians, in particular, to accept the possibility that there are not just regions hidden within nations but that such regions can change over time to the point where they disappear or mutate beyond useful recognition.

THE SHIFTING CHARACTER OF REGIONS has not been the basis of many classic analyses of modern Italy, however. The Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci crystallized the centrality of a north-south fracture for every aspect of modern Italian history during the Fascist period. Gramsci saw the durability of these regional divisions extended and further entrenched by the processes of urbanization and industrialization in his own times, to the point that "north and south" had become almost synonymous with "urban and rural." His territorial definitions have become almost axiomatic, but a new current of Italian historiography, "the new southern history," has done much to destroy the vision of the south as a monolith.[9] This essay attempts to do the same for northern Italy, to shatter the concept of a "northern bloc," defined not on its

elements of much less significance in the states of the future *départements réunis*. Geography could unite on the one hand, but political conditions, shaped by political history, could also divide.

[7] For Adrian Lyttleton, "The territorial states of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries each had their distinctive style of government and 'political personality.' These differences in state traditions were decisive for the constitution of regional identities"; Lyttleton, "Shifting Identities: Nation, Region and City," in *Italian Regionalism: History, Identity and Politics*, Carl Levy, ed. (Oxford, 1996), 33–52, 33. For a regional study of different legal traditions at work in one state, see Giovanni Santini, *Lo stato estense tra riforme e rivoluzione* (Milan, 1987).

[8] Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 122.

[9] Italian scholars in this group are centered on the journal *Meridiana*. For its major exponents in English, see the collection of essays in *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country*, Jane Schneider, ed. (Oxford, 1998). See also John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860–1900* (London, 1999), for a fine analysis of the "southern problem" in cultural terms.

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own terms but as a counter image of an equally false vision of the south. The Italian example reveals that the "southern problem" was not always unique to the Kingdom of Naples, even in comparatively recent times, and that other factors both united and divided what is now Italy in ways not given the prominence they deserve. Geography remains central but not in terms of physical reductionism; regions are not just delimited areas but ones with long-established social and political traits.[10] There are many affinities between conditions in the states of the future *départements réunis* and those in the southern kingdom, and they are of real significance for the history of modern Italy. That the states of northern and central Italy were possessed of isolated, recalcitrant mountain hinterlands is the most powerful proof possible that backwardness and the weakness of the state in such conditions were not the preserve of the southern part of the peninsula. This essay assents to Franca Assante's assessment, made primarily with reference to the economy, "Every province has its own 'South,' its own dualisms between backward and dynamic sectors."[11] This in no way contradicts the importance of the political differences between Naples and the states of the north and center, but it does alter many general assumptions about the nature of regionalism.

Fernand Braudel detected a unique element in the Apennine spine by contrasting it to the Alps. He rightly insisted on the unique character of the Alps among the mountains of the Mediterranean basin as exceptional "from the point of view of resources, collective disciplines, the quality of its human population and the number of good roads."[12] Although vital for local trade, the Apennines did not stand at any of the great crossroads of Europe. Neither were they drawn into the wider pattern of European politics, as were many Alpine communities in the Napoleonic period: whereas the great Tyrolean revolt of 1809 spread to parts of the Kingdom of Italy,[13] the much larger risings in the central Apennines later that year had no wider affiliations or, indeed, any readily identifiable epicenter or leadership.[14] The contrasting characters of these two revolts are emblematic of the different relationships of the Alps and the Apennines to the outside world in general and of their different political relationships to their respective "centers" in particular. The Alps were a busy crossroads; the Apennines—the core of "French Italy"—are much closer to Braudel's general dictum, "mountain freedom."[15] This is

[10] Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 122.

[11] Franca Assante, "Le trasformazioni del paesaggio agrario," in *Il mezzogiorno preunitario*, Angelo Massafra, ed. (Bari, 1988), 22; cited in English in Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento* (London, 1994), 58.

[12] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Sîan Reynolds, trans., 3 vols. (London, 1975), 1: 33. This judgment is supported by recent local studies. Of particular relevance in this context is Pier Paolo Viazzo, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population, and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989).

[13] F. Gunther von Eyck, *Loyal Rebels: Andreas Hofer and the Tyrolean Uprising of 1809* (New York, 1986).

[14] Alex Grab, "State Power, Brigandage and Rural Resistance in Napoleonic Italy," *European History Quarterly* 25 (1995): 39–70. It should be noted that, although the epicenter of the 1809 revolt fell within the Kingdom of Italy, this same area in the Apennines west of Bologna had belonged not to the Habsburgs but to the Papal States prior to Napoleonic rule.

[15] "The mountains are as a rule a world apart from civilisations, which are urban and lowland achievements. Their history is to have none, to remain almost always on the fringe of the great waves of civilisation, even the longest and most persistent, which may spread over great distances in the

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a defining element of the political culture of the Apennine periphery and its relationship to the urban cores of the states of the *ancien régime*.

It is not my purpose to judge the claims of some Italian politicians that a northern block—Padania—is a contemporary reality.[16] However, there is a strong argument that such a concept has no relevance to Italy in the century before unification. Thus there may be a wider, if unpopular, historical lesson in this case study. This essay sets itself the unfashionable task of seeing the past on its own terms, and is suspicious of tracing too many contemporary assumptions even to the fairly recent past. The roots of regionalism—seen by many as the best antidote to the myth of nationalism—may be very shallow, indeed. So, too, might the notion among some proponents of "Orientalism" of Europe itself as a cultural whole.[17] In other words, the past was different and, if seen on its own terms, does not always provide a ready guide to the present, save in the clouds it dispels.

IT IS WELL TO REMEMBER the usefulness of the tools of historical geography in the task of rethinking regional configurations and their historical significance. The profession has long embraced the importance of the frontier and its corollary, the heartland, often with seismic results.[18] Indeed, history and geography mix best, but also most blatantly, in areas where there is a clear frontier, and where crude political expansion has dominated the history of a given part of the world. In such cases, historians must assume physical geography as the first given. However, there is a need, well understood by historical geographers, to make a clear distinction between frontiers and peripheries. Daniel Nordman, working in a French context, points to the unique character of the frontier, because it is inseparable from the idea of extension and expansion; its dimensions are elastic.[19] This is not the same as the periphery, which is best understood as the hinterlands of a state or region, linked to a central core, perhaps not even distant from the core, but rendered relatively remote from it by permanent geographic conditions. Unlike the frontier, peripheries need not carry the connotations of emphatic rupture.

Equally, the concept of the center—as serving political, cultural, or economic *foci*—offers historians nuanced possibilities of definition, particularly important in periods of convulsed political history, such as imperial expansion, when the roles of the ecumene can alter suddenly. Moving from the psychological to the political,

horizontal plane but are powerless to move vertically when faced with an obstacle of a few hundred meters." Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1: 34.

[16] For a prescient, realistic analysis of the reemergence of the politics of division, written early in the process, see the unjustly neglected Giorgio Bocca, *La disUnità d'Italia* (Milan, 1990). More recent scholarship includes Anna Cento Bull, "Ethnicity, Racism and the Northern League," in Levy, *Italian Regionalism*, 171–87; Ilvo Diamanti, *La lega: Geografia, storia e sociologia di un nuovo soggetto politico* (Rome, 1993).

[17] This important point has been raised recently in the pages of the *American Historical Review*, in relation to concrete historical contexts in a series of articles: "Review Essays: *Orientalism* Twenty Years On," *AHR* 105 (October 2000). A perceptive analysis in an imperial context broadly contemporaneous with the present one is Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *AHR* 107 (June 2002): 768–96.

[18] The classic studies remain William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago, 1964); McNeill, *The Great Frontier: Freedom and Hierarchy in Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J., 1983).

[19] Daniel Nordman, *Frontières de France: De l'espace au territoire* (Paris, 1998), 514–15.

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Giddens equates the periphery with "back regions," by which those on the periphery "sustain a psychological distancing between their own interpretations of social processes and those enjoined by 'official norms,'"[20] a conceptualization well suited to the relationship between the Apennine valleys and their centers. Yet even so careful a formulation as this is not perfect in all circumstances. Social theorists stress the domination of center over periphery, either economically or through some form of social closure that rendered those on the periphery as inferior "others."[21] The example of *ancien régime* Italy shows the complexities of historical realities against which such broad theories must be measured, and nuanced. The Italian peripheries looked to their centers for judicial wisdom and arbitration, for noble patronage, and for food in times of crisis through the system of public granaries—the *annona*[22]—which were powerful weapons of social control under the old order. However, the peripheries had their own weapons in these games: as route centers, they controlled supplies and smuggling activities; physical remoteness made the state and official culture—sacred and profane—come to them, being adapted and altered in the process. Foreigners on the Grand Tour arguably had a more conventional view of the Italian centers than their hinterlands, recognizing at least their traditional cultural domination.[23]

Nevertheless, if not slavishly applied as abstract models to complex historical

[20] Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 126.

[21] In sociology, see Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 130–31. In historical geography, Sidney Tarrow, *Between Center and Periphery: Grassroots Politicians in Italy and France* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), offers an important, pioneering critique of traditional models in historical geography and political science, which depend on diffusionist models that characterize the periphery as isolated and dependent on the center, politically, culturally, and economically. For political dependency, see Michel Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (Chicago, 1964). For cultural dependency, Alessandro Pizzorno, "Amoral Familialism and Historical Marginality," in *European Politics: A Reader*, Mattei Dogan and Richard Rose, eds. (London, 1971), 87–98, which is deeply indebted to Gramsci. For a Marxist approach to economic dependency, Ronald J. Johnston, *Geography and the State: An Essay in Political Geography* (London, 1982). Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chiçago, 1975), is, perhaps, the classic statement of the diffusionist view of center-periphery relations, but is more sensitive to regional and historical nuances than many later studies.

[22] An institution common to all the great cities and states of the Italian *ancien régime*, well defined by Gregory Hanlon as "the array of government intervention mechanisms and regulations in the sector of provisioning and distributing food and essential items to the population, indispensable because of frequent dearth." Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800* (London, 2000), 421. For an overview of the workings of the *annona*, see 96–102. For the *annona* in Turin, where the municipality and the royal government worked in close partnership—and where the state often had to prod the municipal officials to extend its charity beyond the walls of Turin in times of acute crisis, see Donatella Balani, *Il vicario tra città e stato: L'ordine pubblico e l'annona nella Torino del settecento* (Turin, 1987). On the dominant role of the church in the administration of charity in Parma, and the general absence of the secular state in this form of social control in the duchies, see Michela Dall'Aglio Maramotti, *L'assistenza ai poveri nella Parma del Settecento* (Parma, 1985). For the Papal States: Alberto Guenzi, "Sistema annonario e controllo sociale a Bologna nei secoli XVII e XVIII," Ercole Sori, ed., *Città e controllo sociale in Italia tra XVIII e XIX secolo* (Milan, 1982), 293–305; Gregori Fiocca, "Struttura urbana e controlo sociale a Roma nel '700 e nel primo '800: Mobiltà sociale, paesaggio urbano ed enti di sorveglianza pontifici," in Sori, *Città e controllo sociale*, 381–99. On Liguria: Giovanni Assereto, "I gruppi dirigenti liguri tra le fine vecchio regime e l'annessione all'Impero Napoleonico," *Quaderni storici* 37 (1978): 73–101, 76–77.

[23] On the cultural attraction of the center, see Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992); Wolfgang Leppmann, *Winckelmann* (London, 1970). See, above all, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Goethe's Travels in Italy: Together with His Second Residence in Rome and Fragments on Italy*, A. J. W. Morrison and Charles Nisbet, trans. (London, 1885). On the traditional concept of the Renaissance cultural centers, Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance; Centers and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1998), 1–17.

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sets of circumstances, these concepts drawn from historical geography can help the historian grasp the fluid nature of regional boundaries, particularly in parts of the world that have long been settled but where fundamental change is also inherent. Modern Italy provides an obvious example. Recognizing the distinction between frontier and periphery—and the complex nature of the center—has greatly illuminated the nature of *ancien régime* Italy; political historians of the post-unification period are also increasingly alert to their role as the determining agents in shaping the contours of Italian regionalism.[24] However, other studies have also pointed to the importance and further refinement of the concepts of center and periphery, as in Qing China and Massachusetts in the Early Republic.[25]

The difference between frontiers and peripheries and their relationships to the center assume particular importance in the context of powerful states capable of changing political geography through conquest. When swamped and abolished by imperial expansion, border zones can become localized peripheries, now surrounded by and part of a larger, more powerful state. Their former central cores become the ecumene of the new empire, well-settled urbanized regions no longer synonymous with the centers of political power. The periphery, though a more fluid concept than either "frontier" or "central core," is of singular importance to the historian of empire, given the propensity for such regions to fuel unrest and change. An ever-widening "middle ground" was formed by the convergence of "Roman" and "barbarian" regions in northwestern Europe in late antiquity, which eventually saw this periphery swamp the Roman Empire when its central core weakened. In Britain, during the period prior to the union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603, the "weak border zone" between the two countries, long a source of lawlessness, became an internalized periphery. Its marginal bandit society was smashed within a decade, while the real frontier of the British kingdoms became the Highland line, further north.[26] In each of these cases, their great diversity not withstanding, the importance of the periphery—as opposed to the true frontier—is clear for the process of state development.[27] It assumes a central place in the

[24] For the *ancien régime*, see Osvaldo Raggio, *Faida e parentela, lo stato genovese visto dalla Fontanabuona* (Turin, 1990); Giovanni Tocci, *Le terre traverse: Poteri e territori nei ducati dei Parma e Piacenza tra Sei e Settecento* (Bolgona, 1985). For modern Italy, see the collection of essays in Levy, *Italian Regionalism*.

[25] Robert L. Edmonds, *Northern Frontiers of Qing China and Tokugawa Japan: A Comparative Study of Frontier Policy* (Chicago, 1985); David P. Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Amherst, Mass., 1980). These studies are all the more important because they make the clear distinction between frontier and periphery, and between center and ecumene.

[26] Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh, 1986).

[27] The significance of the frontier to the central core of states has been much debated, and the nature of such relationships remains in dispute. This has largely centered on the Turner thesis as applied to American history, but the implications of this thesis for European borders might have relevance for the formation of national identities, as well as regional ones. Together with Turner's own oeuvre, those who initiated the debate were George R. Taylor, *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History* (Boston, 1956); Ray A. Billington, *The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History?* (New York, 1966); David W. Noble, *Historians against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830* (Minneapolis, 1965). For several European studies moving in this direction, see Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Alex V. Murray, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500* (Ashgate, 2001); Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, 2000).

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development of powerful, expansionist states, quite distinct from that of the frontier, simply because they have the power to transform "weak borders" into internalized peripheries. Indeed, peripheries in areas of small, exposed states are essentially "weak borders" between two similar communities on the edge of their respective states, as opposed to a true frontier, where very different societies face each other over enforceable lines of demarcation.[28] This is the first, most fundamental stage in the process of imperial expansion. It can be achieved gradually, as in British India or Qing China, or by swift, brutal conquest, as in Spanish Latin America; it emerges as the result of economic and social processes, as in Massachusetts, or through political consensus, as in Britain after the Union of Crowns in 1603.

The periphery reveals what powerful polities sweep away. They are often, if hardly universally, the product of the interaction of weak central control and difficult physical geography, imposed not only—and often not even—by geographic obstacles but by the weakness of the state. Such governments ruled only indirectly, and so the collective tradition of practical experience in most early modern European states was to rely on the politics of mediation and arbitration between local interests, mixed with sporadic incursions into their peripheries, best described as "government at one remove," in the context of early modern Scotland.[29] The states of *ancien régime* Italy, without exception, conform to this pattern. They had this in common with the Tudors, who faced none of the natural obstacles posed by the Apennine spine but needed "to persuade or convince their subjects to remain passive through a generally accepted theory of obligation and submission."[30] Transforming this situation was exactly the purpose of imperial expansion, when conquest gave way to governance.

FRENCH IMPERIAL EXPANSION IN ITALY offers just such an example of the role of geography during a brusque change of regime. Napoleonic imperialism was remarkable for its cultural coherence, based on an eclectic but very conscious blending of the cultural heritage of seventeenth-century French absolutism with the political and administrative centralism of the French Revolution of the 1790s, shorn of its democratic elements. However warped this view of its heritage may have been, it nonetheless gave the empire a well-defined center—France in cultural terms, Paris for practical administration—to which all else was subject and on which all else had to model itself. Thus all previously existing central cores, whether political or cultural in their influence, were now subordinate and superfluous in the new imperial order. Further, their peripheries were to be reduced to greater levels of conformity and administrative control, to the point—it was hoped—that they would cease to be peripheries.

The French were the first masters of Italy to lump the center and periphery together into an undesirable mass, but this, in turn, pulled their policy in two contradictory directions. Having utterly discredited and discarded the traditional

[28] Owen Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (London, 1962), 470.
[29] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625* (Edinburgh, 1991).
[30] Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 4th edn. (London, 1997), 7.

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cores of the *départements réunis* as all but spatial bases, rejecting them as sources of authority in terms of both personnel and values, they also exerted levels of control—as distinct from an authority—over the Italian peripheries never witnessed before. The French dispatched first their soldiers, then their gendarmes, and, finally, their administrators to the Apennine spine in unprecedented numbers and with unheralded potency. The resources of a huge empire were now flung at some of the most ungoverned parts of Europe, and French efforts were further aided by the very completeness of Napoleonic hegemony over Italy, which transformed the Apennine peripheries from weak border zones into islands surrounded by the lowland and urban central cores, now all under French control. The periphery had finally been breached by the state, but the French chose to do it almost alone. Here is the manifestation of a particular form of imperialism, where the ability to master geography allowed the new masters to all but dispense with indigenous collaboration. In this case, the ultimate failure of the imperial model to take root was not in its inability to master geography but in its very strength.

The intensive introduction of the people of the *départements réunis* to the ways of the modern state did not embrace meaningful participation in a model of public administration, much less an exercise in self-government. Their experience of Napoleonic rule was not one of "nation-building." John Davis rightly argues that the "advanced" northern regions of post-unification Italy provide "endless examples of the survival of forms of private power and influence that remained almost untouched by the presence or realities of the State until 1900 or beyond."[31] An examination of the north under Napoleon, sensitive to historical geography, helps answer why.

After 1814, arbitrational political culture and the independence of the periphery soon reasserted itself. The "natural unit" based on the traditional cores returned as a fact of life, and remained so after unification in 1859, although these natural units do not correspond readily with those regarded as axiomatic in modern Italy. The Catholic Church and the landowning elites, both outside the experience of Napoleonic rule, resumed the direction of the cores. It is not surprising that local elites schooled in the politics of intimate, personal relationships between rulers and ruled resented unification and "continued to address *suppliche* in the old style to indifferent offices."[32] Their powerful presence in local life soon forced the unitary state to abandon plans for regional devolution and drove it down a centralizing, authoritarian road.[33] The failure of the French to incorporate Italians into state service then made Italian regionalism the preserve of reaction.[34] Napoleonic rule

[31] John A. Davis, "Casting Off the 'Southern Problem': or The Peculiarities of the South Reconsidered," in Schneider, *Italy's "Southern Question,"* 205–24, 217.

[32] Lyttleton, *Italian Regionalism*, 44.

[33] Lyttleton, *Italian Regionalism*, 37–38. Lyttleton also underlines the disappointment of many liberal supporters of unification, particularly in Lombardy and Tuscany, who had hoped to see the end of Austrian centralization, only to find it replaced by a unitary state equally committed to stifling regional autonomy; 39–43.

[34] Ironically, the presence of effective parliamentary institutions—unthinkable under Napoleon—provided the conduit through which the old culture of patronage survived and national political parties remained coalitions of local interests. Levy, *Italian Regionalism*, 3–5, stresses the regional nature of both Christian Democrat and Communist support in modern politics. See Alessandro Pizzorno, "Amoral Familialism," on the consequences of the absence of patronage for a region. Tarrow, *Between*

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made a powerful, if often blunt, impact on Italy, but in its workings were revealed more fundamental geopolitical truths.

NAPOLEON ATTACKED ITALIAN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY with the same verve and audacity he showed in battle. French rule in Italy was a ruthless exercise in imperialism, conquest, and state-building. It was an assault on the routines of both space and time, as mapped by Giddens.[35] Between 1800 and 1814, Napoleon shattered the state system Phillip II had sanctioned in Italy during the sixteenth century, and that had endured ever since; there had been many changes of dynasty but few alterations to the borders of the Italian states. Napoleon now replaced its nine major polities[36] with three units. These were the satellite Kingdom of Naples, in the south, based on the existing territorial state there, which he gave first to his elder brother Joseph and then to his cavalry commander and brother-in-law Joachim Murat; the Kingdom of Italy, centered on Milan and Bologna in the north and center, of which he was himself king, but which he entrusted to his stepson Eugène de Beauharnais, to which the Veneto was added in 1807; and finally, a third unit composed of many former states, all of which were annexed directly to France, the *départements réunis*.[37] This thoroughgoing attempt to break the mold ended with his fall in 1814, and there followed a general if not complete restoration of the pre-Napoleonic status quo.

Italian physical geography proved rather more difficult to reduce than the small, weak states that made up its political geography, however. The doyen of *Annaliste* history, Fernand Braudel, began his great "total history" of the Mediterranean thus: "It is, above all, a sea ringed by mountains," affirming the enduring presence of geography in politics in the early modern Mediterranean, Italy included.[38] Braudel's point is universal; it applies in any set of historical circumstances where a state must struggle to achieve a "deep and widely ramified impress upon the landscape by the functioning of effective central authority."[39]

That same Mediterranean topography had helped shape a subtle but tenacious

Center and Periphery, emphasizes the positive nature of the relationship between center, periphery, and political patronage.

[35] Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 114–18.

[36] The mainland possessions of the House of Savoy, collectively known as Piedmont; Liguria, officially known as the Republic of St. George; the united Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; the Duchy of Modena; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; Venice, officially the Republic of St. Mark; the Habsburg territories centered on the Duchy of Milan, or Lombardy; the city-state Republic of Lucca; the Papal States; the mainland possessions of the Kingdom of Naples.

[37] This process began in Piedmont, which was occupied definitively in 1800, and shifted progressively south to Liguria and the duchies of Parma and Piacenza in 1805, to Tuscany in 1808, and finally to the Papal States in 1810. These territories eventually became the fourteen imperial departments of the Italian section of the French empire: Dora, Stura, Po, Marengo, and Sesia, carved from Piedmont; Montenotte, Genoa, and Apennines, from Liguria; Taro, made up of the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; Mediterranean, Arno, and Ombronne, from Tuscany; and Rome (first called Tiber) and Trasimeno, from those parts of the Papal States not already annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. One Piedmontese department, Tanaro, was dissolved in 1804.

[38] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1: 25.

[39] Derwent Whittlesey, "The Impress of Effective Central Authority upon the Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 25 (1935): 85–97, 85.

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political culture, and the need to crush that culture was brought home to the French very early. The pan-Italian, expressly anti-French revolts of 1799 were all launched from the periphery, but they also showed the French that, on their own terms and when they chose, the communities of the Apennine periphery could unite and come to the aid of the center, in its hour of greatest need.[40] On their return, after 1800, the French drew from this the obvious lessons that the periphery was hostile to them and capable of a collective resistance belied by its fragmented topography and vendetta-ridden local politics, as well as that their own network of ideological collaborators—the "patriots," or *giacobini*—were too lacking in local influence to provide real stability for the new regime, even if there were often enough of them to staff its administration. However profound the idealistic example set by the "Italian Jacobins" for future generations,[41] their contribution to Napoleonic state-building, if hardly negligible, was essentially inadequate. What the new rulers did not discern was the complex relationship between center and periphery in *ancien régime* Italy.

The political culture of the periphery was highly atomized. Yet in this fragmentation of power lay its common identity. Bishops, magistrates, and enlightened reformers alike lamented any lack of clear leadership beyond local heads of families over most of the Apennines, which set these areas apart from the hinterlands of the Kingdom of Naples, where there was not only an over-mighty baronage to block the center but also a ready "alternative": aspiring elites in the rural bourgeoisie, the *galant'uomini*, and in the municipal councils—the Universitates—where they contested power with the *baroni*, even if they ultimately proved ineffective without backing from a weak center. Although Napoleonic reforms were also thwarted by the feudal barons, they were not without support.[42] Conversely, in the north, the absence of a powerful feudal nobility engendered local factions on the periphery that were independent of all authority and so traditionally less inclined to look to the center for leadership or support. The influence of the Genoese patricians on the clans of the Fontanabuona was just that—influence, not power. Without local power bases, their influence was so indirect that even Ernest Gellner's theory that patronage arises from "territorially incomplete centralisation" seems too structured.[43] All this is underpinned by the ways information flowed from the periphery to the center, the point being that it was on the periphery's terms. The Counter-Reformation church exercised great moral force on the periphery, as did many civil magistrates, but bishops, Inquisitors, and civil magistrates alike were dependent on denunciations of individuals or groups by others in what they were

[40] For an overview in English, see Michael Broers, "The Parochial Revolution: 1799 and the Counter-Revolution in Italy," *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 33 (1989): 159–73.

[41] There is a vast historiography on the Italian Jacobins. For a recent discussion of "the canon," see the introduction to Michael Broers, *Napoleonic Imperialism and the Savoyard Monarchy, 1773–1821: State-Building in Piedmont* (Lampeter, 1997).

[42] Well analyzed in John A. Davis, "The Napoleonic Era in Southern Italy: An Ambiguous Legacy?" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 80 (1991): 133–48.

[43] Raggio, *Faida*, is a study of such a northern region. According to Ernest Gellner, "A state may have partial control of outlying geographic areas . . . It may then hand over power in them to individuals who in name may be its officials, but who in fact possess a local power base, and who mediate between central requirements and local interests"; Gellner, "Introduction," in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, Gellner and John Waterbury, eds. (London, 1977), 1–7, 3.

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given to act upon, not on information gathered by their own agents.[44] When Italians chose to go to law, it was to use the courts as a way to attack their enemies; all the magistracy could often do was weigh the evidence before it, not pursue its own inquiries, nor was going to law any guarantee that vendettas were not pursued simultaneously.[45] The hard truth of political life was that what went up did not always come down, and, when it did, it was when the highlands so decided.

This Apennine spine was in great part defined by a political culture shaped by the ability of the periphery to force the center into a reactive style of government. Any examination of the relationship between the central governments of the Italian states and the communities of their peripheries prior to Napoleon is a salutary lesson for historians attracted to the concept of a steady advance of the modern state under the influence of enlightened thought. There was plenty of enlightened reform, at least on paper, in the late eighteenth century, although this varied widely from state to state; Tuscany was its fulcrum, Piedmont and Parma knew it only partially, Liguria not at all.[46] It did not move mountains, however, any more than the religious zeal of the Counter-Reformation had done before it. This is not to argue that neither of these intellectual currents had no influence on the periphery, it was rather that the periphery was independent enough to absorb or reject them as it wished, and on its own terms. The response of the Tuscan periphery to the reforms of Peter-Leopold, in the 1780s, exemplifies this. While his attempts to free the grain trade and curb popular religiosity provoked ferocious—and successful—revolts, his legal reforms, which softened criminal penalties generally and abolished capital punishment, were well received and enhanced the reputation of the magistracy.[47] This contrasts with the relative ease he had in weakening urban guilds

[44] On the ecclesiastical need for denunciations, see Elena Brambilla, *Alle origini del sant'Uffizio: Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo* (Bologna, 2000), 504–13, 541–44. On the more general, negotiation culture of Italians, see David Gentilcore, "The Ethnography of Everyday Life," in *Early Modern Italy*, John A. Marino, ed. (Oxford, 2002), 188–205, 191–93.

[45] Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy*, 298–99.

[46] The classic general study remains Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, 5 vols. (Turin, 1969–90), Vol. 1: *Da Muratori a Beccaria* (1969); Vol. 2: *La chiesa e la repubblica dentro i loro limiti, 1758–1764* (1976); Vol. 5: *L'Italia dei lumi* (1987, 1990). On Tuscany, see Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800* (Chicago, 1973); Furio Diaz, *Francesco Maria Gianni: Dalla burocrazia alla politica sotto Pietro Leopoldo di Toscana* (Milan-Naples, 1966); Bernardo Sordi, *L'amministrazione illuminata: Riforme delle comunità e progetti di costituuzione nella Toscana Leopoldina* (Milan, 1991). On the collapse of Guillaume Du Tillot's work in Parma, see Giovanni Tocci, "Il Ducato di Parma e Piacenza," in *I Ducati padani, Trento e Trieste*, Lino Marini, Giovanni Tocci, and Cesare Mozzarelli, eds., vol. 17, *Storia d'Italia*, Giuseppe Galasso, ed. (Turin, 1979), 306–07. On Liguria, see Giovanni Assereto, *La Repubblica ligure: Lotte politische e problemi finanziari (1797–1799)* (Turin, 1975).

[47] On the collapse of the economic reforms, see Gabriella Turi, *"Viva Maria!" La reazione alle riforme leopoldine, 1790–1799* (Florence, 1969). On the religious reforms, see Carlo Fantappiè, *Riforme ecclesiastiche e resistenze sociali: La sperimentazione istituzionale nella diocesi di Prato alla fine dell'antico regime* (Bologna, 1986), which points to the importance of rural revolt as a spur to urban protest. On the later reaction, Franz Pesendorfer, *Ferdinando III e la Toscana in età napoleonica*, Franca Cattaneo and Marco Nardi, Ital. trans. (Florence, 1986). Later French officials often remarked on the "lax" and lenient character of Tuscan justice and the popular support it received; see Michael Broers, "Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy," *Past and Present*, no. 170 (February 2001): 152–80.

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and confraternities.[48] On the periphery, direct attempts at change were unenforceable; influence, on the other hand, might endure.

The three main sources of influence at the disposal of the center were those of government at one remove. They were the moral authority of the church (and its information-gathering techniques), the ability of senior civil magistrates to arbitrate serious local disputes, and the informal links of patronage (*clientelismo*) exercised by wealthy patricians from the urban center on the hinterland. The Italian periphery, defined as a moral barrier to the values of the center—as opposed to an area of different social and economic character where state authority was ephemeral—was invented by the Jesuits and other missionary orders in the sixteenth century, when they compared the levels of spiritual, cultural, and moral degeneration they perceived in the communities of the Apennine spine with those they had first encountered among the native peoples of the New World.[49] In the centuries that followed, the burden of making real the concept of "social control" fell to the Counter-Reformation church, and it poured its missionaries and inquisitors into the periphery, as Napoleon later would pour his soldiers and police. Peripheral provinces and communities ignored or defied the center, but they were drawn into networks of patronage, informal in character but closely linked to the state and emanating from that same center. Peripheral communities and families were semi-dependent on members of ruling elites but not on the state as such. Generally, the Italian peripheries drew the center into local politics as a source of mediation or patronage, essentially on local terms, and through processes acquiesced in by the center rather than resented by it.[50]

Even the Savoyard monarchy, an absolutism unique among Italian states, proved to have feet of clay in French eyes. The royal legislation, the Reali Costituzioni, neither negated nor replaced local statutes or the traditional norms of provincial legal culture,[51] and, when the center challenged the independence of the periphery,

[48] On the guilds, see Corine Maitte, "Le réformisme éclairé et les corporations: L'abolition des Arts en Toscane," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 49 (2002): 56–88. On the confraternities, Fantappiè, *Riforme ecclesiastiche*.

[49] Adriano Prosperi, "*Otras Indias*: Missionari della Contra-Riforma tra contadini e selvaggi," in *Scienze, credenze, occulte, livelli di cultura*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Florence, 1980 (Florence, 1982), 205–34.

[50] Raggio, *Faida*, ix. The importance of the informal nature of the *ancien régime* state—and of flexible relationships that blur the boundaries of Jürgen Habermas's public and private spheres—interests historians of the court while still stressing the centrality of the transition from medieval to modern institutions, as in the collection of essays *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age*, Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, eds. (Oxford, 1991). In the concluding essay of this volume, Robert J. W. Evans notes the importance of courtly patronage as a link between center and periphery: "Patronage provided the social rationale of the court, but also distributing it through vertical networks of clientage, a two-way bond between the greater courtiers and their private retinue of supporters on the fringe or in specific regions. Such patronage proved a necessary mechanism even for the most efficient and devoted of rulers." Evans, "The Court: A Protean Institution and an Elusive Subject," 481–91, 488.

[51] On the legislation, see Mario Viora, *Le costituzioni piemontesi* (Rome, 1928). On the attempts to enforce it, *La guerra del sale, 1680–1699: Rivolte e frontiere del Piemonte barocco*, Giuseppe Lombardi, ed., 3 vols. (Milan, 1986). This is not to deny the continued presence of a reforming, statist impulse within the Savoyard state, which bridged the gap between an older generation of absolutist officials and the emergence of civil servants more influenced by currents of the Enlightenment during the late eighteenth century. Their impact remained marginal, at the level of practical social control, however, despite their shared determination to advance state power; see Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Gli strumenti dell'assolutismo sabaudo: Segretarie di stato e consiglio delle finanze nel XVIII secolo," *Rivista storica*

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it did not find lasting success.[52] Thus a vibrant, atomized provincial political culture survived, underneath—and largely unhampered by—the monarchy.[53] Napoleonic administrators were struck more by the gaps in Savoyard absolutism than by any resemblance to their own *ancien régime*. They decried both the powerful influence wielded by noble patrons over senior magistrates and the more general leniency accorded criminals by the monarchy: "they avoid proper punishment for all these offences ... taking advantage of amnesties granted by the king, on various occasions"[54]— hardly an image of unbending absolutist centralism.

Influence made the world go round, not brute force or reforming initiatives, and there were many complex, intricate ties through which it could work.[55] Few of them were readily grasped by the French progenitors of the modern state, however. That they snapped them so readily was due more to their contempt for the cultural values of the *ancien régime* elites at the center than to the nature of the periphery.

OWEN LATTIMORE OBSERVED in an essay on the frontier that, "whether two communities that are set apart from each other ... are similar in a general way like France and Italy, or notably dissimilar like India and Tibet, the maximum difference is to be sought near the center of gravity of each country and not at the frontier where they meet."[56] That France and Italy are generally thought of as similar in a general way was not the perspective of those contemporaries involved most directly in empire-building. From their vantage point, Lattimore probably had it the wrong way 'round. The closer the imperial agents of the French center got to the old centers of the states of the Apennine spine, the less they found in common with them. The wider point, however, is that the real differences between cultures emerge when their centers meet and interact.

italiana 102 (1990): 796–873. There was a conscious, deliberately fostered and reinforced division between the higher, royal magistracy in the Senate of Turin and the judges of the provincial and municipal courts, which resurfaced again, after the end of Napoleonic rule; see Isidoro Soffietti, "Sulla storia dei principi dell'oralità del contraddittorio e della pubblicità nel procedimento penale: Il periodo della Restaurazione nel Regno di Sardegna," *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 59 (1971–72): 125–241.

[52] The Savoyards coerced many imperial fiefs in the Apennines, insofar as they constituted a challenge to their own power, but they could neither uproot them nor effectively reduce their local authority. For this problem in the Ligurian and Piedmontese Apennines, see Giuseppe Bracco, *I feudi imperiali del Tortonese (sec. XI–XIX)* (Turin, 1956). Practical control of the related problems of smuggling and banditry also eluded Turin, despite the ferocity of its legislation. The monarchy had an almost traditional antipathy to the collective, public aspects of popular religion, but its persistent attempts to curb such excesses had little lasting impact; see Angelo Torre, "Politics Cloaked in Worship: State, Church and Local Power in Piedmont, 1570–1770," *Past and Present*, no. 134 (1992): 43–92; Luciano Allegra, "Stato e monopolio del controllo sociale: Il caso del Piemonte fra '700 e '800," *Emarginazione, criminalità e devianza in Italia fra '600 e '900*, Angelo Pastore and Paolo Sorcinelli, eds. (Milan, 1990), 77–84.

[53] Michael Broers, "La crisi delle Comunità piemontesi fra *ancien régime* e Impero Napoleonico," in *Quando San Secondo diventò giacobino*, Atti del Convegno "Asti repubblicana: Bicentenario della Repubblica astese: 1797–1997," Giuseppe Ricuperati, ed. (Alessandria, 1999), 399–411.

[54] Archives Nationales de Paris (hereafter, ANP), F^7 8919 (Police-Générale, dépt. Sture), d'Auzers to Min. 3^e arrond., Police-Générale, July 11, 1811.

[55] Indeed, the importance of communication networks is now increasingly recognized by historians in many periods and contexts; see Brambilla, *Alle origini*; Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996).

[56] Lattimore, *Frontier History*, 470.

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David A. Bell's vision of a French elite imbued with "the perception of God's withdrawal from the world," and their belief in "society" as an autonomous arena of human activity,[57] finds its fullest expression in their abhorrence of Italian elite culture in its traditional centers. Here lies the true break with the past under Napoleon: Italian elite culture was a thing of loathing to the new order, and so the central cores of the old states became obsolete for all but functional purposes. Rather, they became the ecumene, ciphers in an imperial system dependent on Paris. The French did not readily attribute the political culture of the Italian center to geography; they saw it as the result of cultural decadence, hastened by Baroque Catholicism.[58] Unlike the fury of the periphery, the passivity of the center was to be pitied rather than feared.[59] Confronted with this supposed heritage, the fundamental intellectual assumption of the new regime was, simply, that it had nothing to learn from the old order.

The French were confronted with alien political worlds in the *départements réunis*, with only the partial exception of Piedmont. A political culture shaped in accordance with the periphery, not the center, was anathema to them; thus the incompatibility of old and new ruling elites and their utter inability to work together had direct repercussions for how the French dealt with the periphery. First, they felt it imperative to push the old elites aside. The powerful state and vast human resources they possessed made it possible to do this by importing their own personnel into Italy at almost every level of the administration. They then systematically uprooted the subtle, opaque ties that bound the periphery to the center, even as they stamped their own authority on the former as no previous regime had ever been able to do. However, as an exercise in the policy of rallying and amalgamating local elites to the empire—a policy cherished by the regime, in theory[60]—this was an abject admission of failure. A desire to work with and through traditional sources of authority is common among new imperial regimes; the French had this much in common with experiences as diverse from their own as the British in India or Hernando Cortés in Mexico.[61] However, in their Italian provinces at least, they felt compelled to abandon such aspirations.

The new regime regarded the cities and plains as, at best, "safe bases," in a purely military sense. In contrast to its presence in the equally hostile environment of western France, for example, the Napoleonic state in the Italian *départements réunis* could not even claim to be a "regime of the towns" in terms of its sources of support.[62] The French sought to shift the core, as a "phenomenon of the realm of

[57] David A. Bell, "Culture and Religion," in *Old Regime France*, William Doyle, ed. (Oxford, 2001), 78–104, 90–91.

[58] Broers, "Cultural Imperialism."

[59] For an exploration of this in a military context, see Michael Broers, "Noble Romans and Regenerated Citizens: The Morality of Conscription in Napoleonic Italy, 1800–1814," *War in History* 8, no. 3 (2001): 251–70.

[60] Frédéric Bluche, *Le Bonapartisme: Aux origines de la Droite autoritaire, 1800–1850* (Paris, 1980).

[61] Bayly, *Empire and Information*; Hugh Thomas, *The Conquest of Mexico* (London, 1993).

[62] The two studies that stress the town-country nature of the political divide in the west are Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); and Paul Bois, *Paysans de l'Ouest: Des structures économiques et sociales aux opinions politiques depuis l'époque révolutionnaire dans le Sarthe* (Le Mans, 1960). On the urban "siege mentality" in the Vendée during the Hundred Days, see Robert S. Alexander, *Bonapartism and the Revolutionary Tradition in France: The Fédérés of 1815* (Cambridge, 1991), 42, 60, 107–54, 238. Donald Sutherland, *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular*

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values,"[63] even if they accepted the spatial logic of all the *ancien régime* capitals, by making them into imperial departmental and regional centers, but the authority working from them had changed utterly.

The French quickly introduced Gendarmerie brigades composed wholly of Frenchmen and, later, Piedmontese, into the countryside, together with their network of tribunals, whose criminal sections and highest officials were also usually French or Piedmontese. The highest tribunals, the Cours d'Appel, followed the same pattern. None of the major prefectures that centered on the *ancien régime* capitals of Turin, Genoa, Florence, or Rome was ever entrusted to an Italian, nor were any but French prefects deployed in Liguria, the duchies, Tuscany, or the Papal States.[64] Above them presided the real power in the land, the three regional directors-general of police for the *départements réunis*—all French—in Turin, Florence, and Rome. Moreover, these superior officials, both departmental and supra-regional, were not sedentary. The prefects toured their departments at every conscription levy, usually four times a year, and the directors-general of police also did extensive if less regular tours. Thus the French advanced the policing of the periphery well beyond anything conceivable under the *ancien régime*, within a few months of annexing a particular state.[65] Nor were these efforts always or universally unappreciated by Italians. French hopes of winning local support through effective, even-handed, and professional policing proved to be one of the few aspects of imperial rule to find indigenous approval, at least among the propertied classes, which often included the peasantry in many parts of the periphery. Their achievement in this area is all the more remarkable, because the work of the imperial security forces was seriously compromised everywhere by the hated policy of conscription,[66] and the ability of later regimes to match their standards of policing was often a yardstick of their popularity—or lack of it—among the propertied classes under the Restoration.[67] It was, nonetheless, a service provided for the ruled

Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770–1796 (Oxford, 1982), reveals that these divisions reached deep into parts of the countryside as well, while not negating the urban core of the revolution in Brittany. For a fine overview of the Vendée, see Jean-Clément Martin, *La Vendée et la France* (Paris, 1987).

[63] Shils, *Center and Periphery*, 3.

[64] Whereas all prefects in the two kingdoms were natives, only three Piedmontese served as prefects for any length of time in the *départements réunis*: San Martino della Motta, in the Sesia (1803–14), and Degregori-Marcoregno (1801–04) and Arborio-Biamino (1804–10), both in the Stura. A Ligurian noble, Brignole, served briefly as prefect of Montenotte, 1813–14.

[65] Indeed, even before Gendarmerie units arrived in the Tuscan departments, the French had deployed regular Tuscan cavalry and their own troops to do this service on an interim basis: Archives de la Guerre, Correspondance, Armée d'Italie, C^4–93: Correspondance du Général Reille pendant sa mission en Toscane (1807–08).

[66] For an overview of this in the *départements réunis*, see Michael Broers, "The Police and the *Padroni*: Italian *Notabili*, French Gendarmes and the Origins of the Centralised State in Napoleonic Italy," *European History Quarterly* 26 (1996): 331–53.

[67] For an overview, see Clive Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Oxford, 1999), 191–207. For local studies in the ex-Kingdom of Italy, see Steven C. Hughes, *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna* (Cambridge, 1994); David Laven, "Law and Order in Habsburg Lombardy, 1814–1835," *Historical Journal* 39, no. 2 (1996): 383–403. On areas formerly in the *départements réunis*, see Broers, *Napoleonic Imperialism*, 513–20; Alan J. Reinermann, "The Failure of Counter-Revolution in Risorgimento Italy: The Case of the Centurions, 1831–1847," *Historical Journal* 34, no. 2 (1991): 21–41.

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by the rulers, the work not only of a foreign institution but one staffed almost wholly by foreigners. The experience, even at its most positive, was, indeed, passive.

Effectively, the Italian elites of the *départements réunis* were allowed only the most subordinate role by the new regime. The two most powerful influences in the Napoleonic state were its repressive forces, concentrated in the Ministry of Police-General, and the Civil Code, administered by the Ministry of Justice. These two elements held each other in check, existing in a perpetual tension that was mediated in the Council of State, but few Italians played senior roles in either ministerial apparatus. When the realities of power and influence within the Napoleonic state are remembered, the empty experience of the departmental colleges for the Italian "notables" who composed them emerges in full.[68] In contrast, even if those Italian administrators who served the Kingdom of Italy at the local level were subjugated to French practices,[69] "the formation of a technically prepared, modern bureaucracy" recruited from the lower bourgeoisie and entrusted with extensive responsibilities marked the true contribution of the Napoleonic period in Lombardy and the Emilia-Romagna.[70] While stressing the problems the French had in creating a bureaucratic state in Naples, John Davis also notes the enthusiastic participation of the Neapolitan professional classes in the regime, the notable presence of native ministers such as Giuseppe Zurlo in the reform process, and the strengthened position of the rural bourgeoisie under Murat. Many later, distinguished administrators gained their training under the French.[71]

There were signs among the lower echelons of the administration in Piedmont and Tuscany, where local notables had to be employed, that French professionalism was taking root, but it often sat beside older traditions of entryism and *clientelismo*.[72] However, very few Italians, most of them Piedmontese, were more than passive observers in the process of state-building initiated under Napoleon in the *départements réunis*.[73] The centralized, French-dominated nature of the regime in

[68] For a succinct overview of the social composition of the electoral colleges of the *départements réunis* and the two kingdoms, see Carlo Capra, "Nobili, notabili, élites: Dal 'modello' francese al caso italiano," *Quaderni storici* 37 (1978): 12–42. For regional studies in the *départements réunis*, Louis Bergeron, "La place des gens d'affaires dans les listes de notables du premier empire, d'après les exemples du Piémont et de la Ligurie," *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano* 23–24 (1971–72): 316–34. Marco Violardo, *Il notabilato piemontese da Napoleone a Carlo Alberto* (Turin, 1995), regards participation in the lower levels of the local assemblies as an important step forward for municipal leaders in gaining political experience, in contrast to the general indifference of the "higher notables" to the departmental colleges; 98–102.

[69] Armando Saitta, "Appunti per una ricerca sui notabili nell'Italia napoleonica," *Critica storica* 9 (1972): 53–91.

[70] Capra, "Nobili, notabili."

[71] Davis, "Napoleonic Era in Southern Italy."

[72] On Piedmont, see Broers, *Napoleonic Imperialism*, 459–65. Giovanni Fabbroni was a Leopoldine bureaucrat, well respected by the French for his reform of the Tuscan Mint, who used his position in the imperial administration to further the fortunes of his family, and extend his network of clients, in a very traditional manner. His network of clients survived the fall of the empire and protected him under the Restoration. Renato Pasta, *Scienza, politica e rivoluzione: L'opera di Giovanni Fabbroni (1752–1822), intellettuale e funzionario al servizio dei Lorena* (Florence, 1989), 535–80.

[73] The problem of staffing the lowest echelons of the administration—the *maires*, communal councils, justiceships of the peace—was a problem intrinsic to all regimes in this period. It was common to the "interior" of the Napoleonic empire, that is, France itself, as well as to the Italian departments and the satellite kingdoms. As such, it was not a specifically "imperial" problem; see Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s* (New York, 1994), 35–36, 113–43, 307–12.

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these regions did not allow the emergence of Piedmontese, Tuscan, Roman, or Parmense equivalents to Melzi, Prina, and Aldini in Milan, or Zurlo and Ricciardi in Naples, men who stood at the head of the satellite states.[74] The native administrators of the *départements réunis* were truly *fonctionnaires*, since genuinely executive office was denied them.[75] They had no central ministries of their own to control, and those few Piedmontese who rose high enough, such as Peyretti di Condove or Ugo Botton, were absorbed into the French elite, never returning.[76] The notorious collaboration of the Cavours gained them only the direction of the national stud farm.[77]

Some Italians, once at the helm of the *ancien régime*, actively sought service in the imperial order but were then met with rejection born of incomprehension by the new rulers. The true extent of the alienation of the old centers of power from the new order emerges here, for this was not a question of dissident voices crying in the wilderness, be it disillusioned patriots or integrist clergy. Rather, it reveals a bewildered elite, who sought acceptance by a system it did not understand and that could find no place for it. This was especially so among the legal classes. Parma, with its prestigious university—closed by the French in 1805—was a poignant repository of a rejected ex-elite of jurisconsults.

It was in the exclusion of the old elites from the process of taming the periphery that French contempt for them really emerges, however. The periphery was something the French both feared and respected, and it is revealing that they tended to regard the problem of the peripheries as being an absence of conventional authority, whereas the traditional cores suffered from bad government. The director-general of police in Rome saw the former as much preferable to the latter, at least in the case of the upland communities of Umbria, part of the hinterland of the former Papal States. Their climate and their distance from Rome had allowed them "to preserve the purity of their original identity and the memory of their history." The ephemeral presence of papal authority had saved the Umbrians from a worse state than isolation: "being further from the metropolis, they have borne the yoke of the priests far less, and their industriousness has more easily resisted the influence of [the] government."[78]

The very existence of traditional forms of authority was, therefore, harmful to a

[74] Alex Grab, "From the French Revolution to Napoleon," in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century, 1796–1900*, John A. Davis, ed. (Oxford, 1999), 25–50, 36–37. In Naples, Murat sought to confine all senior posts to natives of the kingdom; see Grab, 42. On Zurlo and Ricciardi, the ministers of finance and justice respectively, of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Naples, see Pasquale Villani, *Mezzogiorno tra riforme e rivoluzione* (Bari, 1973), 209 and following. On Melzi, see John M. Roberts, "Francesco Melzi d'Eril, and Italian Statesman (1796–1806)" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1954); Carlo Zaghi, *Napoleone e l'Italia* (Naples, 1966); on Aldini and Prina, Livio Antonielli, *I prefetti dell'Italia Napoleonica* (Bologna, 1983).

[75] For an important reevaluation of the prefects, which actually stresses even their subordinate status in the structure of imperial government, see Edward A. Whitcomb, "Napoleon's Prefects," *AHR* 79 (October 1974): 1089–1118.

[76] On Condove, see Broers, *Napoleonic Imperialism*, 449–50. On Botton, Giorgio Vaccarino, "Ugo Vincenzo di Castellamonte: L'esperienza giacobina di un illuminista piemontese," *Bolletino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 63 (1965): 161–202.

[77] Charles Boyer, "La famille de Cavour et le régime napoléonien," *Revue historique* 185 (1939): 326–45; Rosario Romeo, *Cavour e il suo tempo*, 4th edn., 3 vols. (Bari, 1969–84), vol. 1.

[78] ANP, F^7 6531 (Police-Générale, dépt. Rome), D. Gen. Police, Rome, to Min. 3^e arrond., Police-Générale, October 10, 1812.

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people; despite the many problems involved, virgin soil was preferable to the presence of the *ancien régime*. The French despised the deposed Italian elites for the social degeneration produced by government at one remove. During the 1809 revolt in central Italy, the French police commissioner of Genoa declared it essential to impress on "these turbulent, unsubmissive valley folk" that "we are no longer in the age when a handful of peasant rebels from the valleys could frighten the city and dictate laws to the government."[79] The legacy of the weak, intermittent rule of the old republic was, to the prefect of Genoa, "a country where heads are naturally hot, and where rifles don't wait to be fired,"[80] where the tail of the periphery wagged the dog of the center.[81] Local magnates, too, had a laudable, if very worrisome, capacity to ignore authority, such as the Colonna, feudal barons in the Roman Apennines, "who have shaken off papal authority several times, and who have always been independent," with the net result that "there is even savagery among the richest landowners."[82] They were prime movers and patrons in the political culture of vendetta but hardly conventional sources of authority. The French had the power and determination to challenge this culture, but they lacked the ability to learn from any experience but their own.

On the periphery, it proved easier to establish the administrative skeleton of French rule where no great baronage impeded them, yet the absence of aristocratic authority posed problems of its own. The periphery lacked "the natural leadership of the local community by its nobles in the interests of staving off civil disorder, not promoting it."[83] There was no one with the financial resources or inherent authority throughout the northern and central Apennines to provide such leadership for such ends.[84] However, the casting aside of the elites at the center, of their political culture and the methods of social control rooted in them, made the French presence less assured than it might outwardly appear. They compounded this by their deep suspicion of the church, acquired during the French Revolution. When this history of bad relations culminated in the excommunication of Napoleon by Pius VII in 1809, it destroyed even the pretense of a working partnership between church and state throughout Italy. The imperial regime could never count on the only Italian institution that had always transcended *ancien régime* borders, and that

[79] ANP, F^7 8818 (Police-Générale, dépt. Gênes), Comm.-Gen. Police, Genoa, to Min. 3^e arrond., Police-Générale, June 24, 1809.

[80] ANP, F^7 8818 (Police-Générale, dépt. Gênes), Prefect of Genoa to Min. 3^e arrond., Police-Générale, April 14, 1808. The work of Raggio on the valley of the Fontanabuona in the early modern period lends a fair degree of accuracy to the opinion of the prefect; see Raggio, *Faida*.

[81] The anti-French revolt of 1797 in Liguria actually reveals the partnership between the urban elites and the highlanders, an example of center and periphery influencing each other, along traditional patterns, already evident during the anti-Austrian rising of 1746; see Assereto, *La Repubblica ligure*, 56–58. The classic account of the 1746 revolt makes no attempt to hide this; Gian-Franco Doria, *Storia di Genova, 1745–1750* (Genoa, 1747), 174 and following.

[82] ANP, F^7 6531 (Police-Générale, dépt. Rome), D. Gen. Police, Rome, to Min. 3^e arrond., Police-Générale, November 3, 1812.

[83] Jonathan Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1984), 104. Powis follows the thesis of Kenneth B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973).

[84] The concept of feudal justice had not penetrated the scattered Apennine imperial fiefs, beyond financial impositions; see Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1: 38–39. On the medieval Apennines, see Chris Wickham, *The Mountain and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988).

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took a sustained interest in extending the influence of the center to the periphery.[85] Where once the confessional had been an almost standard source of information and a powerful instrument of social control,[86] the rupture with the church turned it into an active source of fear for the French. One senior French official called the Ligurian clergy nothing less than "this powerful corps, which from time immemorial has been able to rouse the people of town and country at its will," now able to turn on them the "ever more dangerous confessional, against which the police are powerless." They had a long experience of "using the conscience to manipulate the human passions ... of fostering an anathema for evidence, by recourse to superstition," and so were able to unsettle a government.[87] This is more than a recognition of influence, however; it is an admission of defeat.

In their determination to impose the Civil Code on Italy, the French snapped another effective link between center and periphery. Justice at every level in the small states of the *ancien régime* had been essentially arbitrational, because magistrates were respected as mediators, and they valued this role: "tribunals preferred to compose ... conflicts, because the judge saw himself as the arbiter responsible for public order."[88] In Liguria, Osvaldo Raggio believes that "the administration of criminal justice was an area that assumed central significance and linked the government of the localities [with the center]."[89] Only in this traditional way could the intellectually sophisticated jurisprudence of the center hope to penetrate the periphery. The instant imposition of the Code strangled at birth that process of "the carefully crafted legal pluralism," the working through a hierarchy of indigenous tribunals to the apex of foreign, imperial courts—the ultimate but not sole arbiters—which allowed the emergence of cultural intermediaries inside the legal system, as the British sought to foster in India.[90] Within and beyond the legal sphere, the French needed such intermediaries; the *départements réunis* were almost a paradigm of a state operating in "an idiom as yet unintelligible to a large part of its population, who need brokers (lawyers, politicians, or characteristically, both at once)."[91] This was all too alien, retrograde, and, arguably, too subtle, for the French to grasp.

THE FRENCH MASTERED THE ITALIAN PERIPHERY more than any previous regime. It is a tribute to their powers of organization, the ruthless professionalism of their bureaucracy and police, and the sheer resources at their disposal that they did so without significant help from the traditional elites of the region. They advanced the presence of the state in places and in ways their predecessors had never dared to go. Even in areas they occupied for only a few years, such as Tuscany or the Papal

[85] See Michael Broers, *The Politics of Religion in Napoleonic Italy, 1801–1814: The War against God* (London, 2002).

[86] Brambilla, *Alle origini*, 503–13.

[87] ANP, F^7 8826 (Gênes), "Rapport administratif et politique de la ville de Gênes," January 1811; cited in Broers, *Politics of Religion in Napoleonic Italy*, 173.

[88] Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy*, 304.

[89] Raggio, *Faida*, xvi.

[90] Louise Benton, "Colonial Law and Cultural Difference: Jurisidictional Politics and the Formation of the Colonial State," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 563–88.

[91] Gellner, *Patrons and Clients*, 5.

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States, their ability to wring taxes and conscripts from the periphery, or to catch its bandits, was extraordinary. The Napoleonic state was able to overcome the perennial obstacle of Italian geography prior to the invention of the railroad or the telegraph, to say nothing of more modern technologies. Yet, although they changed the way the *départements réunis* were ruled, their failure to win support for their methods, or to impart them to Italians, ensured that the older realities of geography reasserted themselves after 1814, although those realities were not identical to the accepted regional divisions of Italy today. The French controlled their Italian provinces, but they did not acculturate them.

Although the French imposed a single system of government on these hitherto-diverse states, their reconfiguration of Italy also revealed regional complexities, and this is a lesson in the shifting nature of supposed demarcations that historians and politicians take too readily for granted. In part, new political boundaries can expose established realities. The new circumstances of imperial rule, then, were a catalyst for exposing the half-hidden truths of geohistory, in this case, the underlying unity of the Apennine spine. Macro-regions may appear to be traditional subdivisions of nation-states, almost to the point of being submerged nations themselves. In reality, however, they can have far more fluid histories.

Methodologically, the case of Napoleonic Italy both vindicates and qualifies the assertion of Anthony Giddens that "regions of considerable span necessarily tend to develop upon a high degree of institutionalisation."[92] It is disproved, in one sense, by the revelation that a macro-region can exist across the boundaries of states with differing institutional histories, as under the *ancien régime*. Equally, the relative—if transient—triumph of the Napoleonic state on the Italian periphery fits it perfectly. Such are the perils and profits of applying theory to historical realities.

The accepted concepts of historical geography can add considerable understanding to the process of imperialism. Specifically, the penetration of the center by the periphery underlines imperial expansion as a process of discovery for the new rulers and identifies the area of most intense change for their new subjects. Like many explorers, however, the French often failed to understand what they found, and respected it even less. Simultaneously, the interaction of old and new centers, transformed by empire-building, locates the public and private space where the capacity for acculturation is tested most. Above all, the terms themselves open up new perspectives for the historian, if applied with due respect to differing historical circumstances. When the periphery is distinguished carefully from the frontier, the former, more than the latter, emerges as the sector where a powerful state can be differentiated from a weak one, because peripheries are where states must work to assert their authority. They are the "testing grounds" of brute force. By contrast, the interactions of centers, to return to Lattimore's insight, are the testing grounds of the possibilities of acculturation; by identifying them, and gauging their relationships, the cultural and political similitude between cultures, or lack of it, can be gauged at their respective hearts. Imperial relationships, particularly, respond to the tools of historical geography. New dimensions of the process of imperialism can emerge once it is conceived of in terms of geographic space.

[92] Giddens, *Constitution of Society*, 122.

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"Chaos on the Earth": Subjective Truths versus Communal Unity in Islamic Law and the Rise of Militant Islam

INDIRA FALK GESINK

FOLLOWING THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 11, journalists and political analysts scrambled to come up with an explanation of militant Islam that would render the attack on the United States comprehensible. Often, they resorted to the theory that Islamic culture was stagnant, bound to codes of belief and behavior that were suited better to seventh-century Arabia than to modern life. The conflict between tradition and modernity had thus produced a reactionary trend within the Islamic world: those who rejected modern Western modes of globalized industrial capitalism sought to return the world to simpler, purer ways of life that accorded better with the religious tradition. One key part of this hypothesis of reactionism was the idea that Islamic law had been unable to adapt to contemporary social conditions. For example, a prominent *New York Times* columnist wrote that the "mullahs, imams, and religious authorities" who ruled the realms of civil society in Arab Muslim countries were all tied to "traditional Koranic interpretations that are not embracing of modernity, pluralism or the equality of women," and that, for centuries, Islam had essentially "stood still" while the rest of the world changed.[1]

This hypothesis that we have so enthusiastically adopted is based on an invented tradition, issuing not as one might expect from European Orientalists but rather from Muslim religious scholars of the nineteenth century. These scholars were themselves utilizing a tradition that had been constructed by scholars and reformers over centuries in order to promote their own agendas of reform, according to which the methods and norms of the Islamic legal tradition (*shari'a*) had gradually become immutable, leading to legal and social stagnation. A significant change in the use of this tradition occurred when conservative nineteenth-century scholars in Egypt who were concerned about the divisive effects of Western ideas and imperialist institutions began to insist that this invented stagnation was not only true but beneficial, in that it had resulted in a more or less coherent body of law to which

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[1] Thomas L. Friedman, "Breaking the Circle," *New York Times* (November 16, 2001), http://www.nytimes.com/2001/11/16/opinion/ (November 17, 2001).

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Muslims could adhere in order to strengthen their community. Reformers responded with their own use of the tradition, using it to justify significant "updates" in that body of law through interpretation by individual educated believers. These reformers dominated the emerging Arabic print journalism and contacts with Western government officials and Orientalist scholars, and thus their version of Islamic tradition crept into the Western canon of Islamic history. The reformers' emphasis on individual interpretation of the sources of Islamic law had another effect, however. It extracted the authority to issue legal opinions from the purview of specially trained legal scholars and put that authority into the hands of untrained lay believers. This encouraged radical flexibility in interpretation of legal sources—rather than the purported inflexibility—as lay believers interpreted the sources in light of their unique political circumstances. Thus the use of the invented tradition of stagnation, and the subsequent spread of lay interpretation, was a significant factor in the rise of twentieth-century militant groups.

Prior to the nineteenth century, Muslim religious scholars were in many Islamic countries arguably the most influential figures of authority. Centuries of political theory demanded that rulers consult with them; they served as arbiters of law and religious truth for the public; they could control large public and private endowments; they often elected their own leaders; and, in Egypt in 1805, they played a critical role in selecting the new Ottoman viceroy following the French occupation. The rise of the centralized bureaucratic state, and, later, European imperialism, challenged their authority. For example, in Egypt, subsequent Ottoman viceroys centralized government control, and in the process they restricted the authority of the religious scholars. In the 1860s, new legal codes based on Western models limited the scholars to adjudicating matters of belief and family law, while civil and criminal courts were increasingly staffed by Western-educated lawyers and judges.[2] In the 1870s, a constitutionalist movement swept the Egyptian literati, and many adopted European ideologies of the state. In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and helped the Ottoman viceroy suppress the constitutionalist movement. This history of state and Western encroachment was mirrored in many ways in other colonized countries, such as India.

Muslim intellectuals had to grapple with the supremacy of European ideas and might, and most concluded that the Europeans had been able to exploit some internal weakness in the Islamic community. This general trend produced several different schemes for reforming Islamic society, strengthening its communal unity, and extracting it from the grasp of European imperialism. This article focuses on schemes of resistance and reform as developed in Egypt, which form a more or less coherent thread of intellectual thought connecting contemporary Islamic militancy to these nineteenth-century debates. The debate among nineteenth-century Egypt-based scholars is especially worthy of scrutiny, because it not only offers examples of these schemes of resistance and reform but also introduced key concepts that heavily influenced trends in twentieth-century Islamic thought.

Much of this debate focused on schemes to unify an extremely diverse community and to resist or guide state encroachment, which in itself is nothing new.

[2] J. N. D. Anderson, "Law Reform in Egypt: 1850–1950," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, P. M. Holt, ed. (Oxford, 1968), 209–30.

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Throughout Islamic history, Muslim scholars had sought a means of maintaining a coherent interpretation of Islam that would provide some unity of belief and practice and limit the coercive power of the state. The scholars' efforts were expressed in the guidance they offered to believers, and in a framework of interpretation used to derive that guidance from scriptural sources. Out of this the *shari'a* (the Islamic legal tradition) emerged. The communities of scholars became custodians of the *shari'a*, guardians of moral and legal authority. When their authority was threatened by the state, or by sectarian or philosophical divisions, individual scholars would respond by emphasizing the importance of adhering to the *shari'a*. But the *shari'a* was not and is not one monolithic code: it is a legal tradition that encompasses revelatory texts, methods of interpretation, and humanly derived texts of rulings, many of which are contradictory or fully comprehensible only within a particular political context. In the nineteenth century, conservative scholars in Egypt met the challenge of state encroachment and European imperialism by insisting that lay believers follow a consistent body of rulings within the variety offered by the *shari'a*, and they claimed that these bodies of rulings had been unchanged throughout several previous centuries. This assertion helped satisfy their desire for a consistent body of law in the face of external challenges and internal divisions.

In response, another group, generally known today as the Islamic modernists, declared that Islamic society had entered a period of moral and social decline, and that this had produced the divisions in the community that weakened it. The modernist reformers initiated a movement to reinvigorate religious institutions and educational systems. In the process, they played up the invented history of an immutable legal tradition and claimed that this was the cause of moral and social stagnation. They used this argument to justify introducing an epistemological shift in the foundations of law and education away from received knowledge (embodied in a legal method called *taqlid*, which is similar to following juridical precedents) and toward individual judgment (embodied in a legal method called *ijtihad*). The modernists claimed that this shift toward individual judgment, once it became widespread among Muslims through an appropriately reformed educational system, would inspire an intellectual revival of Islamic society. Muslims would discover that the "true" Islam accorded with the principles of science and natural law.[3]

The historical record, however, shows that throughout the supposedly stagnant period (the tenth through nineteenth centuries) legal practitioners had consistently modified the law using degrees of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning used in deriving judgments from sources of law), and that the law had remained flexible and adaptable to change. But this practice had been limited since the fourteenth century to jurists of the highest rank, in order to preserve the rule of law.[4] Indeed, the modernists' proposal to extend the franchise of *ijtihad* horrified many nineteenth-century legal scholars, who had for decades been fighting to preserve an increasingly fractured Muslim community against intellectual and legal divisions. They

[3] Malcolm Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida* (Berkeley, Calif., 1966).

[4] Muhammad Fadel, "The Social Logic of Taqlid and the Rise of the *Mukhatasar*," *Islamic Law and Society* 3, no. 2 (June 1996): 193–233.

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raised concerns about the potential of widespread *ijtihad* to further undermine the Islamic legal tradition and the unity of the Islamic community. However, they too projected a tradition of legal inflexibility, to preserve their authority as interpreters of the *shari'a*, as repositories of correct religious knowledge, and ultimately as defenders of communal unity.

In the end, the modernists' vision of reform prevailed. While they addressed real social ills and made great strides in adapting certain areas of law to changing social circumstances—such as the area of women's education—there was a significant tradeoff. Their epistemological shift in the understanding of legal methodologies fundamentally changed the public's understanding of the meaning and ownership of certain legal methods. *Ijtihad*, which had generally been understood as the province of specially trained legal scholars, became something any educated Muslim could do. This new understanding of *ijtihad* was disseminated worldwide by Egypt-based reformers' domination of both an international market for the emerging Arabic press and contacts with Orientalist scholars. What was initially an epistemological shift became a shift in ownership of the law: legal interpretation became a lay practice.

This shift facilitated the proliferation of militant Islamic groups in the twentieth century. The Muslim community, already divided, became increasingly fragmented, and the modernists' vision gave rise to the Muslim Brotherhood and other groups that interpreted the law in light of oppressive political conditions. Arab Muslim extremist groups of the twentieth century are thus not reactionaries bound to an inflexible law; rather, they are in part the products of a flexible legal tradition that became more so as a result of nineteenth-century Egyptian modernists' campaigns to encourage individual understanding of legal sources.[5]

This article thus makes three arguments: that the telling of Islamic history that informs popular knowledge of Islamic law in the West and in the Middle East is based on an invented tradition, that Egypt-based reformers who engaged in this invention also reimagined key concepts used in legal derivation that have deeply influenced contemporary popular understandings of Islamic law, and that many militant Islamic groups of the twentieth century have roots in those nineteenth-century reimaginings of Islamic legal methodology. The last argument is based on evidence that has long been present in the works of other scholars, the implications of which have been neglected.[6]

AT THE HEART OF THE ISSUE ARE methods of deriving legal judgments from the sources of Islamic laws. Traditionally, most Muslim jurists recognize four main

[5] This is not to ignore the importance of other factors in the rise of militant Islam: resentment of Israel as manifesting European imperialism and of Israeli policies in the occupied territories, reaction to an ever-more prominent commercialism associated with Western cultural and economic influence, and the rise of unitary bureaucratic states and the attempt by some to promulgate state-sanctioned versions of Islam to bolster their nationalist agendas (such as in Egypt and Pakistan) and the subsequent repression of other varieties of politicized Islam.

[6] See, for example, Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (1969; rpt. edn., London, 1993); Giles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, Jon Rothschild, trans. (1984; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

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sources from which legal judgments may be derived. The most authoritative source is the Qur'an, which the majority of Muslims believe to be the word of God as transmitted to the Prophet Muhammad through the angel Gabriel. Unambiguous verses in the Qur'an are held to be absolutely binding on all Muslims, such as the verses that instruct believers to worship one God, pray, offer charity, fast during the month of Ramadan, and, if possible, undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ambiguous verses may be interpreted in different ways and are therefore somewhat less authoritative. These verses may be interpreted by reference to the *hadith*, a body of reports on prophetic sayings and actions and the sayings and actions of the early community of Muslims. *Hadith* were also classified according to their authoritative status. Those that were reported by multiple, trustworthy transmitters and could be traced back through an unbroken line of transmitters to the Prophet or his Companions were considered "sound," or reliable, and had authoritative status as sources of law. Those with single or unreliable transmitters were considered "weak" and less authoritative. Some scholars rejected the use of weak *hadith* entirely.

If a new issue of law arose that neither of these first two sources addressed, a jurist could derive a judgment based on an analogous situation described in either source. Analogy, or *qiyas*, is an interpretive method, humanly derived, and so may only reach authoritative legal status if it is accepted by the community of legal scholars. However, if a community of scholars reached consensus (*ijma'*) on the admissibility of a particular ruling, that ruling was considered to have the authoritative status of an unambiguous text in the Qur'an. This was based on a Prophetic *hadith* in which Muhammad stated that his community could not agree in error. Gradually, "community" came to be understood as the community of scholars in a particular city or region. The idea of communal consensus eventually stabilized into several transregional, internationally accepted schools of legal interpretation, or *madhhabs*. There are four that remain prominent today in Sunni Islam: these are the Hanbali, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanafi *madhhabs*, each one associated with the methods and rulings of its eponymous founding scholar.

The sources and interpretive methods enumerated above are the foundation of the Islamic jurisprudence, or *fiqh*, the result of which is the *shari'a*, the Islamic legal tradition. The *shari'a* has essentially two levels of application: there are jurisconsults called muftis, who interpret the sources for individual petitioners, and there are judges, or *qadis*, who use the interpretations derived by muftis and apply them to criminal and civil cases. A petitioner may, for example, request from a mufti a ruling as to whether Muslims are permitted to engage in a particular kind of commercial transaction. The mufti would then consult his sources and tell the petitioner whether that type of transaction is required, recommended, permissible, reprehensible, or forbidden. The mufti's response, or *fatwa*, contains merely a legal opinion; the petitioner is not required to follow it. However, when a *qadi* applies a mufti's ruling to a legal *case*, the *qadi*'s judgment is binding.[7]

During the first few centuries of Islam's existence, many questions of law and religious belief and practice arose that were not specifically addressed in the Qur'an

[7] Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni usul al-fiqh* (Cambridge, 1997). The distinction between the work of muftis and *qadis* is not always this clear: throughout history, *qadis* have performed their own jurisprudence as well as simply applying its results.

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or *hadith*. In this formative period of Islamic law, jurists had exerted themselves to discover general principles that could be applied to these new questions, a process called *ijtihad* (the root of the word is the same as that of *jihad*, which means "to struggle," and here means to struggle to understand and offer the best-informed guidance). *Ijtihad*, since it involved the use of human reasoning, was an inherently subjective process. Its result was merely an opinion that was subject to change and was not binding on other jurists or on petitioners. This meant that, unless the opinion reached the status of a general rule by means of consensus (*ijma'*), there was no way to ensure that the rulings of individual jurists agreed in any meaningful way. Jurisconsults could not reach a confirmed consensus on which judges could base binding judicial rulings within a reasonable degree of conformity. In other words, there was no way to ensure "regular and predictable legal outcomes," no way to reach the point of rule of law.[8] Thus it was possible to resolve a legal question by using any number of legitimate but mutually contradictory arguments: the unlimited practice of *ijtihad* threatened the integrity of authoritative law.

Muhammad Fadel's study of the Maliki legal school suggests that, by the process of consensus, and by coalescing into *madhhabs*, the results of generations of legal thought and analysis were whittled down until each *madhhab* had a more or less cohesive body of authoritative rules from which to derive rulings. Fadel describes this type of compilation, the *mukhtasar*, as "codified common law."[9] This reduced the problem of legal indeterminacy. However, independent *ijtihad* continued within each *madhhab*. Although this permitted accommodation of changing social conditions, it also remained a problem, because rulings of different muftis within a school might still contradict one another, and a single mufti might change his mind on a particular matter. Eventually, there accumulated a body of authoritative rulings on which the influential jurists within the schools agreed, and gradually muftis began to bind themselves and their juniors to these accepted rulings, limiting muftis' rights to perform *ijtihad*. By the fourteenth century, some jurists had begun to argue that only the most knowledgeable legal scholars should be allowed to perform *ijtihad* at all, and some held that there were no more legal scholars with the great learning and inspiration required to perform *ijtihad* beyond certain limits, as the founders of the four main *madhhabs* had done. While certain modes of *ijtihad* continued to be practiced, generally within the boundaries of school rules, acceptable rules gradually came to be associated with the consensus of the school rather than the opinion of a mufti.[10] After the thirteenth century, with some exceptions, it came to be expected that the majority of legal scholars as well as ordinary Muslims would adhere to *taqlid*—that is, that they would base their legal advice, juridical judgments, and personal behavior on the accepted rulings of their legal schools.

According to recent scholarship, high-ranking scholars and rebel reformers did continue to perform limited *ijtihad* in order to adjudicate novel cases.[11] Neverthe-

[8] Fadel, "Social Logic," 196. Fadel deals more thoroughly with the social origins of *taqlid* in his dissertation, "Adjudication in the Maliki *Madhhab*: A Study of Legal Process in Medieval Islamic Law" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995).

[9] Fadel, "Social Logic," 196; "Adjudication," 274, 283–84.

[10] Fadel, "Adjudication," vol. 1, chap. 3; Hallaq, *History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 153–56, 161.

[11] Wael B. Hallaq, "Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1984): 3–41; Hallaq, "On the Origins of the Controversy about the Existence of Mujtahids and the

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less, in some times and places, Sunni jurists would claim that the "gate of *ijtihad*" was closed, that "independent *ijtihad*"—*ijtihad* independent of *madhhab* rules—was no longer to be performed, and that the community of scholars had achieved consensus on the matter. Several explanations for this claim of consensus have been attempted. According to Fadel, as noted above, Maliki jurists in the fourteenth century wished to solve the problem of legal indeterminacy. According to Frank Vogel, Hanafi jurists under the 'Abbasid Empire were trying to ensure that their interpretations and methods would survive and compete against contending interpretations offered by 'Abbasid authorities.[12] Sherman Jackson has shown that jurists could restrict the power of the state by preserving the *shari'a*'s authority over the lives of believers who adhered to *madhhab* rules.[13] Lutz Wiederhold suggested that some claims of *ijtihad*'s cessation were due to differences of opinion as to what *ijtihad* actually was. If *ijtihad* was understood as meaning the jurist's attempt to solve a difficult legal question within the boundaries of *madhhab* consensus, it might be allowed. On the other hand, if *ijtihad* was understood as "independent reasoning," it might be condemned.[14]

Twentieth-century historians have come up with these contextual explanations for the limitation of *ijtihad* only within the last decade or so. One may still find assertions, even in scholarly literature, that *ijtihad* had ceased completely and that, as a result, Islamic law is rigid and unadaptable to new circumstances. This supposedly explains much of the "reactionism" in the Islamic world today. This misinformation is largely a product of a nineteenth-century debate in which conservative Muslim legal scholars and reformers asserted that the "gate of *ijtihad*" was completely closed.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY EGYPTIAN LEGAL SCHOLARS went beyond restriction of *ijtihad* to complete interdiction. The Orientalist scholar Snouck Hurgronje cited Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajuri (1847–1860), chief mufti of the Shafi'i *madhhab* in Egypt, as

Gate of Ijtihad," *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986): 134–41; Rudolph Peters, "*Idjtihad* and *Taqlid* in 18th and 19th Century Islam," *Die Welt des Islams* 20, nos. 3–4 (1980): 131–45; Judith Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); on flexibility of Mughal law, see Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), 20. Compare Baber Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law: Legal and Ethical Norms in the Muslim Fiqh* (Leiden, 1999), 446–47, which says that while early modern claims to exercise *ijtihad* did exist, that does not mean that those *mujtahid* jurists had much effect on the elaboration of new legal doctrines.

[12] Frank Vogel, "Closing of the Door of Ijtihad and the Application of the Law," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 399. An older line of reasoning held that *ijtihad* was given up out of opposition to rationalist methodologies (such as the Shi'i principle of *'aql*; see Leonard Binder, "Ideological Foundations of Egyptian-Arab Nationalism," in *Ideology and Discontent*, David Apter, ed. [New York, 1964], 143–44).

[13] Sherman Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jursiprudence of Shihab al-Din al-Qarafi* (Leiden, 1996).

[14] Lutz Wiederhold, "Legal Doctrines in Conflict: The Relevance of *Madhhab* Boundaries to Legal Reasoning in the Light of an Unpublished Treatise on *Taqlid* and *Ijtihad*," *Islamic Law and Society* 3, no. 2 (June 1996): 260; see also jurists' definitions of *ijtihad* in Hallaq, "Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?" 24–25, 27.

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having stated that *ijtihad* ended by the third century after Muhammad's death.[15] Hurgronje, whose study set the tone for further Western studies of Islamic law, offered no explanation for the cessation; he assumed that the *shaykh*, who was also the headmaster of al-Azhar, one of the most prominent schools of Sunni jurisprudence in the world, would know his stuff.[16] In the latter part of the twentieth century, the dominant explanation for al-Bajuri's statement was that the community of religious scholars had retreated into a defensive posture as a result of government encroachment on "their" territory. It was true that, throughout the 1860s and 1870s, as the government of Egypt became more centralized, it imposed Western-derived legal codes, and many of the duties once performed by religious scholars, such as adjudication of criminal and commercial cases, were given over to Western-trained lawyers who were familiar with the new codes. According to historian Daniel Crecelius, this produced in the religious scholars an "attitude of entrenchment," in which they clung to static ideals, represented in *taqlid*, that preserved their own authority as repositories of specialized religious knowledge. Their vast influence over the public allowed them to threaten the government with massive popular opposition if it attempted further to encroach on the domain of the *shari'a*.[17]

However, Egyptian religious scholars were not only affected by issues within their own country, they were connected to a larger world and were responding in part to ideas emanating from other parts of that world. For example, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Islamic revivalists arose who claimed that the Muslim community had entered a period of moral decay, largely internally rather than externally caused, and that some variety of renewed *ijtihad* was necessary to revive true Muslim belief. They founded powerful reform communities, including that in North Africa founded by Muhammad 'Ali al-Sanusi, the Wahhabi movement in Arabia founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (which today dominates the Saudi state), and the Deoband movement in India founded by followers of Shah Wali Allah (progenitor of the Taliban).[18] Egyptian scholars of the nineteenth century claimed cessation of *ijtihad* in order to discredit these movements and protect the Islamic community from internal divisions.

One of the most famous legal scholars in Egypt to do this was the chief Maliki mufti, Shaykh Muhammad 'Ilish. Over the course of several decades in office, 'Ilish issued hundreds of *fatwas*, which were published upon his death in 1882. A significant number were framed as explicit criticisms of the "revival" of *ijtihad*.

[15] See Wiederhold, "Legal Doctrines in Conflict," 235, n. 2.

[16] See Johansen, *Contingency*, 43, for an evaluation of Snouck Hurgronje's influence on Western studies of *fiqh*. Subsequent studies of the *shari'a* seemed to confirm that the era of *ijtihad* was over by the beginning of the fourth Islamic century and that, although a few later scholars did claim to practice *ijtihad*, they did not do so with any significant effect. See, for example, Joseph Schacht, "The 'Closing of the Gate of Independent Reasoning' and the Further Development of Doctrine," in *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), 69–75. This opinion has been only recently revised.

[17] Daniel Crecelius, "Nonideological Responses of the Egyptian Ulama to Modernization," in Nikki Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints and Sufis* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 184–97.

[18] Ahmad Dallal, "Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750–1850," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, no. 3 (1993): 341–59. These movements restricted *ijtihad* to their leaders or those trained in their legal schools; this was not lay *ijtihad*. For example, the Deoband founder Shah Wali Allah thought unguided speculation could lead the untrained into error. Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 38.

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Shaykh 'Ilish viewed *taqlid* as the mechanism by which the fabric of Sunni Islamic society was held together. According to him, the very definition of "Sunni," *ahl al-sunnah wal-jama'ah*, implied that Sunnis followed the example of the Prophet (*sunnah*) and agreed to general principles of law that bound them together. Consensus on those principles defined the community. Anyone who did not recognize the overall validity of those principles threatened its unity.[19]

Among 'Ilish's *fatwas* is a response to an inquiry about the Wahhabis (referred to as the Muhammadiyyah sect). According to the petition, the Wahhabis' leader (Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab) believed that there were errors in the collections of legal rulings that judges used in applying the law. Yet, said the petitioner, those books had been elevated (by consensus) to the status of scripture. In order to return to true principles of Islam, this leader had wanted to abandon the books of accepted rulings and to adopt only those rulings that had been based on unambiguous statements in the Qur'an and the sound *hadith*. He therefore claimed to be a *mujtahid*, someone who is qualified to perform *ijtihad*. Some members of this group had even claimed that this leader was the Mahdi or a prophet. The petitioner asked for Shaykh 'Ilish's opinion.

'Ilish's response was unequivocal: "It is not permissible for a layman to abandon *taqlid* . . . and adopt rulings from the Qur'an and the *hadith* . . . [T]he Sunnis have unanimously agreed that *taqlid* is incumbent upon the one who does not possess the qualifications for *ijtihad*." This, he said, was so well known that it had become "an article of faith."[20] According to 'Ilish, the language of the Qur'an could be misleading; the literal meaning apparent to one upon first glance could even be blasphemous. Therefore, no one was capable of interpreting it correctly "but God and those who were thoroughly versed in religion." Of those who were "thoroughly versed," only the Prophet, his Companions from the early Islamic community, and the founders of the four legal schools (Imams) had been able to interpret the Qur'an without danger of falling into error. This was because, according to 'Ilish, the Companions had had direct access to the opinion of the Prophet, and the Imams had been saints inspired by the Prophet through mystical illumination. No one after the founders had possessed both the level of knowledge and the mystical connection to the Prophet to elevate their own interpretation of the Qur'an and other sources of law over those of the founders themselves; thus no one after the founders could legitimately claim the rank of independent *ijtihad* (*al-ijtihad al-mutlaq*).[21] Further-

[19] 'Ilish's *fatwas* on *taqlid* are a hodge-podge of quoted material from earlier scholars, but 'Ilish's point throughout is that jurists must follow the consensus of a legal school whenever possible, and, if contradictory rulings exist, they must follow that preferred by the majority of scholars. Muhammad 'Ilish, *Fath al-'ali al-malik fil-fatwa 'ala madhhab al-imam Malik*, vol. 1 (1882; rpt. edn., Cairo, 1958), 60–111, esp. 86. According to Wael Hallaq, "No person could reject any of these constants [theories of language used in determining the epistemological value of scriptural statements, consensus, principles of reasoning] . . . and still claim affiliation with Sunnism. Consensus and qiyas have become the defining features of Sunnism no less than the Quran and the Sunna" (*History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 125–26).

[20] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 89–93.

[21] 'Ilish follows the opinion of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani that the four founders had confirmed their interpretations of the law by speaking with the Prophet while in a state of mystical illumination. 'Ilish also held out the possibility that contemporary saints of his own Sufi order, the Shadhili order, might also possess this kind of mystical connection, although he asserted that no one since the four founders had legitimately performed independent *ijtihad*. All those who claimed to have done so had really been performing *ijtihad* within the confines of their *madhhab* rules. 'Ilish, *Fath*, 90, 92, 93, 96;

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more, few scholars possessed the qualifications even for limited *ijtihad*, especially "in this recent age, in which Islam has become foreign [*gharib*]."[22]

More important, the texts of Maliki jurisprudence contained rulings that had been upheld throughout centuries of scholarly investigation and debate, and on which the community of scholars within the Maliki school had achieved consensus. In accordance with *hadith* reports that the Prophet had said his community could not agree unanimously in error, juridical consensus on behalf of the community rendered these rulings as epistemologically certain as an unambiguous statement in the Qur'an. 'Abd al-Wahhab's challenge to Maliki jurisprudence therefore negated the validity of consensus-sanctioned rulings. This effectively rendered him a heretic, someone who did not accept the fundamental assumptions that defined one as Sunni.[23]

'Ilish himself adhered strictly to *taqlid*; instead of constructing original arguments to back up his point, he cited the authorities whose works he had consulted. 'Ilish's opinion emerges in his selection of authorities and brief comments of approval or criticism, and in the implied analogy between the legal rulings of these authorities and 'Ilish's own historical context. For example, 'Ilish argued that untrained laymen who took up independent *ijtihad* threatened the integrity of the law, for their rulings would conform to no standard and might contradict the rules of the established legal schools. He cited 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, a sixteenth-century Egyptian scholar associated with the Shadhili Sufi order ('Ilish's own order), to the effect that people who were incapable of studying the sources for themselves had to be restricted to a single legal school, so that they did not lead themselves and others into error. When the unqualified took up *ijtihad*, their results might conform to those of the "sound" legal schools, but sometimes they would conform to "deviant" legal schools or violate the consensus of the community.[24] Muftis had to adhere to the established hermeneutic of legal theory, for an alternative hermeneutic, such as one that challenged the authority of consensus, would invalidate much of the corpus of accepted rulings.[25]

One problem that 'Ilish had to deal with was that the verb *qallada*, from which *taqlid* is derived, appears in the Qur'an in a negative context. God condemns those who follow (*qallada*) their forefathers' ways rather than opening themselves to the truth of Islam.[26] 'Ilish therefore had to draw a clear distinction between the kind of *taqlid* described in the Qur'an and that used by Maliki jurists. For example, 'Ilish reported an opinion by the fourteenth-century Maliki jurist Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi that clearly defined the Qur'anic *taqlid* as different from the *taqlid* of legal methodology: "Abu Ishaq said that insistence upon following [*ittiba'*] customs has

Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, vols. 9–10 in 1 (Beirut, n.d.), 12; 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, *Al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyyah al-jadidah li-Misr al-qahirah* (1887; rpt. edn., Cairo, 1983), 4: 42–43.

[22] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 89–93.

[23] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 90, 92. 'Ilish's argument could not accommodate examples in which consensus failed. Communal unity was an absolute necessity; he may not have wanted to mention exceptions in which the community was shown to be "in error" in a *fatwa*, which was after all a prescriptive form, the audience of which consisted of laymen in a divided community.

[24] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 104.

[25] Hallaq, *History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 207–09.

[26] Qur'an 2: 170–71, 5: 104–05, 7: 70–72.

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corrupted or contradicted the Truth. Following what one's forefathers and *shaykhs* and so forth did, that is objectionable *taqlid* [*al-taqlid al-madhmum*]."[27] In contrast, the legal mechanism of *taqlid* prevented jurists from following "whims" and "worldly objectives" in judging cases and issuing *fatwas*. *Taqlid* of one's mufti was therefore a religious obligation.

The role of the mufti—'Ilish's own role—was thus extremely important. He was responsible for the moral guidance of his petitioners. What if the mufti discovered a case in which he believed the correct ruling was that of another legal school rather than his own? Could he base his *fatwa* on a ruling established in a different legal school, or on an opinion that contradicted the opinions accepted by his legal school? Once again, 'Ilish marshaled the arguments of his predecessors. The fourteenth-century jurist al-Shatibi addressed the dilemma of a mufti who, upon investigating a client's question, found more than one possible answer. Was the mufti required to present his client with both answers? Or should he make an attempt to value one answer over the other so that he could present his client with an unambiguous answer? Al-Shatibi replied: "When a commoner presents his case to a mufti and says to him, 'Extract me from my whims and set me to following the Truth,' it is not possible at this time to say to him, 'There are two reports on your issue, so choose according to your desire either of them you wish.' The meaning of that is legitimation of whim without law." The mufti who did this debased his advice, and, by implication, he damaged the integrity of the law itself.[28] For example, if a mufti were to report to a client that his question had more than one possible answer, and then he were to cite the various arguments and precedents in order to allow the client to make an informed choice, the client might not understand. 'Ilish related a story in which one Shaykh al-Isfahani received a petition from a female client whose husband refused to divorce her even though he did not have relations with her. Al-Isfahani's *fatwa* explained to the woman that jurists had a difference of opinion on that matter, and he referred her to their various opinions. She did not understand the *fatwa* and returned to him sometime later with the same question. The *shaykh* refused to further clarify the matter for her, saying that he had already answered her question, and so she sought an opinion from another mufti.[29] Since the primary duty of the mufti was to provide legal advice to the public, that advice must be readily comprehensible to them. Thus it was beneficial to society for a mufti to simply practice *taqlid* of his *madhhab* and represent the law to his clients as a coherent body of precedent.

[27] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 66.

[28] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 67. It is interesting that 'Ilish used al-Shatibi's work in a manner that was consistent with al-Shatibi's own intent, while modern reformers misconstrued al-Shatibi's arguments as an attempt to introduce flexibility into the law. According to Hallaq, al-Shatibi was trying to preserve *madhhab* consistency and public authority of the law by "navigating a course" between two extremes of legal practice existing at his time (Hallaq, *History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 161, 174, 202–04). At the time, muftis performed *ijtihad* without adequate training, leading to illegitimate rulings (204), and jurists did not adhere to their own rulings, which undermined the belief of the populace in the authority of the law (205).

[29] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 70. See also Hallaq, *History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 181; and Baber Johansen, "Legal Literature and the Problem of Change: The Case of the Land Rent," in *Islam and Public Law*, Chibli Mallat, ed. (London, 1993), 32–36, in which an Ottoman mufti's choice to follow a particular opinion constitutes an action that is legally binding on judges and thus is not merely relevant to the petitioners but also a decisive element in the continual evolution of Hanafi doctrine.

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Another reason for muftis to restrict themselves to *taqlid* of a single school was to protect themselves from the corruptions of power. Al-Shatibi reported that, in his age, "many of the jurists who [used to] practice *taqlid* have begun to give *fatwas* to this relative or that friend that he would not give to others . . . following his objective and desire, or the objective of this relative or that friend." Likewise, Shihab al-Din al-Qarafi (d. 1285) had stated that muftis must follow the ruling established by their legal schools, and, in cases where there was doubt as to what the accepted ruling was, muftis were required to rule according to the opinion preferred by their Imams. "As for the following of whims, it is forbidden completely." Al-Qarafi argued that if muftis were allowed to exercise their own judgment in evaluating the rulings of their legal schools, they would come under increased pressure to give favorable weight to bribes or political advantage.[30] Such preferential practices would undermine public perception of the law's neutrality. Once again, the mufti's advice had to adhere to the valid opinions set forth in the texts of the legal school.[31]

'Ilish held the Maliki position on the cessation of independent *ijtihad* and the social importance of *taqlid* to be of paramount importance. The preponderance of opinion among the Maliki scholars he cited fell on the side of preserving the integrity of legal school rulings—for the sake of individual Muslims. The legal school, or each mufti in relation to his petitioners, had to endeavor to provide clear and consistent rulings on similar cases or questions. If not, the rule of law would break down. Two criminals charged with similar crimes could get different sentences, or two petitioners asking similar questions could receive contradictory answers.[32] If the public perceived that the legal system could not provide consistency in trying legal cases, this would damage the legitimacy of the law itself, or of the government providing legal personnel. According to prevailing notions of social order, public faith in the ruler and in the law surrounding and protecting society was a necessary part of a "circle of justice." If any one part of the circle was broken, society would dissolve into injustice and disorder. The challenge to *taqlid* threatened to break that circle.

Furthermore, 'Ilish's defense was an attempt to preserve the authority of the mufti. In a legal system based on *taqlid*, the muftis would remain crucial as providers of legal and religious advice. A system based on widespread *ijtihad* (by either state-trained legal officials or laymen) obviated the public's reliance on the scholars. Yet clearly, 'Ilish was not motivated solely by concerns of power; the authority of the mufti was a means to an end, the preservation of communal unity. 'Ilish appears to have been genuinely concerned about the relation of the legal system to public welfare. Given the context, the assumption that the "real motivations" for conservative defense of Sunni Islam were primarily materialist or

[30] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 68. See Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State*.

[31] Hallaq's argument that *taqlid* was integral to the functioning of the legal system (*History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 207–09) supports my contention that 'Ilish was primarily concerned with legal determinacy, as does Fadel's general rule that the legitimacy of rulings on private matters (*al-qada'*) depended on public perceptions of the decisions' fairness and neutrality, so that each legal school had an interest in ensuring that judges and muftis applied the same rules to similar cases. Fadel, "Adjudication," 212, 234, 236, 266–67, 353–57.

[32] 'Ilish, *Fath*, 67, 77; Fadel, "Adjudication," vol. 2, *passim*.

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power-based appears to be a projection of late twentieth-century Western secularism onto an alien religious landscape, which has distorted the resulting view of the actors populating that landscape.[33]

Contextual information about 'Ilish seems to bear this out: 'Ilish's contemporaries attested to his concern for maintaining religious morality. For example, the reformer 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, who was extremely critical of the religious scholars in general and rejected *taqlid* as a cause of social stagnation, praised 'Ilish for his uncompromising commitment to moral purity:

> He has a majesty that terrifies the black-hearted one, and [his] lectures curdle the blood . . . It is probable that he never, from his childhood to his old age, missed the Friday prayers . . . Truly, he has overcome those loathsome things with which Paradise is encircled. Out of his respect for God, upon entering a mosque, he puts his sandals into a bag, fearing that he might defile the mosque . . . he never drinks coffee and will not bear even the scent of smoke; he never wears expensive clothing nor anything made of silk, and he avoids the tassel of the tarboosh and stays away from kings, princes, and their ilk.[34]

'Ilish's appointment to the office of chief Maliki mufti came during a series of disturbances among Maliki students in Cairo's schools, and his severity and insistence that others adhere to his high standards of moral behavior were likely considered positive traits at the time. The appointment also placed 'Ilish on the front line of the intellectual defense of Islam during the rapid westernization of the Egyptian legal system under Khedive Isma'il, the imposition of French and British financial controllers in the wake of Egypt's bankruptcy in 1876, and the quasi-nationalist 'Urabi Revolt in 1879–1882—in which 'Ilish was a key participant.

'Ilish's era saw individual morality and social stability threatened by customs and laws imported from foreign, non-Muslim countries and by rebellions within Islam itself. To him, *taqlid* became even more crucial as a mechanism of ensuring the continuity and internal consistency of the Islamic legal tradition. Laymen who practiced *taqlid* of a single established legal school and received unequivocal direction from their muftis would not suffer uncertainty about their religious duties, nor would they be led into error by self-styled *mujtahids* who were insufficiently trained to interpret the law. They would continue to have confidence in the religious law and believe in a coherent body of religious truths. And perhaps if the integrity of the law and confidence in the mufti's office were maintained, Muslims would be less inclined to accept the ways of the foreigners. Thus society's strength lay in the coherence of the law and in the practice of *taqlid*.

Today, Muslim legal scholars echo 'Ilish's concerns, if not his defense of *taqlid*. At present, individuals and organizations may style themselves muftis and issue *fatwas* without regard to the rigorous methods used by muftis in the past.[35]

[33] See John O. Voll, "Foreword," in Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (London, 1993), xii. Michel Foucault helped rid us of one set of Orientalist blinders; did he slip us another set in exchange?

[34] Mubarak, *Al-Khitat*, 4: 43.

[35] Khaled Abou El Fadl, "Text and Authority," and "The Fatwa," in *The Authoritative and the Authoritarian in Islamic Discourses: A Contemporary Case Study*, 2d edn. (Austin, Tex., 1997), 33–45.

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'ILISH'S COMPLEX ARGUMENT about the legal and consensual basis for a stable, moral society would be reduced to a straw man by his political opponents. Throughout the nineteenth century, *ijtihad*-based reform movements gained adherents and influence in the Middle East and South Asia. These reformers were inspired chiefly by the advance of Western imperialism, and they claimed that Europeans had been able to take advantage of internal weaknesses in Muslim society. Whereas conservative legal scholars such as 'Ilish had championed *taqlid* as the means to strengthen Islamic society and claimed that independent *ijtihad* had ceased and should not be revived, the reformers saw *taqlid* as the cause of weakness and independent *ijtihad* as the means of reinvigoration. The Egypt-based reformers took this a key step further: they stripped *taqlid* and *ijtihad* of their legal, technical meanings and recast them as epistemological concepts with social meanings.

Sayyid Jamal al-Din "al-Afghani" was chief among those who redefined *taqlid* and *ijtihad*. Al-Afghani was a Persian-born traveling scholar and political agitator whose experiences in Qajar Persia and British colonial India convinced him that imperialism and tyranny were threats to the strength and unity of the Muslim community. In 1869 and 1871–1879, al-Afghani lived and taught in Egypt. He had no formal teaching position but proved to be an incredibly charismatic teacher nevertheless and attracted a significant following among the brightest minds in Egypt. Students from al-Azhar *madrasa* (college of religion and legal tradition) and civil colleges came regularly to his house in Cairo for extracurricular lectures on science and political philosophy. There, the students imbibed al-Afghani's peculiar philosophy of progress and his call to arms.[36]

In al-Afghani's philosophy, Islamic revival was synonymous with scientific and political revival. According to al-Afghani, the first step in fomenting an Islamic revival was to persuade Muslims to understand their religion correctly and live according to its teachings. Key among these teachings were the Qur'anic commandments to seek wisdom, to investigate, to seek evidence and proof for one's beliefs, and to avoid accepting others' beliefs uncritically. Al-Afghani told his students that Islam enjoined upon all Muslims a spirit of inquiry, which was necessary to promote a personal understanding of the basic tenets of Islam and the acquisition of learning. Once the population was imbued with the proper spirit of inquiry, Muslims would progress naturally to the investigation of both spiritual and scientific matters. Inquiry into spiritual matters would lead to a revitalization of personal morality and communal strength. Then, because the inquiry into scientific knowledge could be directly applied to the military arts, the society would be strengthened militarily. Muslim society, having achieved moral, military, and material strength, could then free itself from foreign tutelage and domination.

According to al-Afghani's European authorities, scientifically derived empirical knowledge held the secrets of social progress. Al-Afghani held knowledge of the world to be discoverable through observation of phenomena, via the scientific method, and expressible as positive laws. He wrote that humanity would benefit by

[36] For details of al-Afghani's biography and political activities outside Egypt, see Edward G. Browne, *Persian Revolution of 1905–1909* (New York, 1966); Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891–1892* (London, 1966); and Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani": A Political Biography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972); and Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (1966; rpt. edn., London, 1997).

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extension of the scientific method to all fields of human endeavor. This he viewed as completely compatible with an Islamic worldview. In fact, in his book *Radd-i-naichiriyyah* (Reply to the Naturists), he cited European history texts to show that scientific inquiry had been sparked in Europe by the Protestant Reformation and had resulted there in progress:

> We must acquaint ourselves with the words of the European, [François] Guizot, the French author of the history of civilization, that is, of the European civilization. He said that one of the most significant causes influencing Europe in its path to civilization was the appearance of a sect in this country that said: we have the right to investigate the sources of our beliefs, and demand proof for them . . . And when this sect gained power and its ideas spread, the minds of the Europeans were freed from the malady of ignorance and stupidity, and they were stimulated into an intellectual circuit and returned to [the study of] scientific subjects and worked hard to acquire the elements of civilization.[37]

According to al-Afghani, this model of advancement was appropriate, even natural, for Islamic society, because the religion itself promoted individual investigation:

> Islam is almost unique among religions in censuring belief without proof, rebuking those who follow suppositions, reproaching those who act randomly in the darkness of ignorance, and chiding them for their conduct. This religion demands that the pious seek proof [for their beliefs] in the sources of their religion . . . Its lessons articulate that happiness results from reason and insight, and that wretchedness and error accompany ignorance, neglect of reason, and the snuffing of insight's light.[38]

Islam thus promoted the required spirit of rational inquiry, as well as the assimilation of new ideas and the advancement of culture and civilization. The problem, according to al-Afghani, was that the cultivation of this spirit of rational inquiry and progress was entrusted to the religious scholars. The scholars, by insisting that believers had to adhere to *taqlid* of a legal school, were preventing them from "seeking proof for their beliefs" in the primary sources of their religion, keeping the people in "the darkness of ignorance," and thereby holding in abeyance the progress of Islamic countries. Although al-Afghani and Shaykh 'Ilish both participated in the 'Urabi Revolt, resisted European encroachment, and desired greater communal unity, al-Afghani and other reformers believed that scholars like 'Ilish, as conservators of the religious/legal tradition, preferred to risk perpetuating errors inherent in *taqlid*, in following their forebears' judgments, to the possibility of introducing new errors into the tradition via *ijtihad*. 'Ilish and those who held to

[37] Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, *Radd-i-naichiriyyah* [Reply to the Naturists], translated into Arabic by Muhammad 'Abduh under the title *al-Radd 'ala al-dahriyin* [Refutation of the Materialists], in *Al-A'mal al-kamilah li-Jamal al-Din al-Afghani*, Muhammad 'Imarah, ed. (Cairo, n.d.), 176–77. The Naturists were followers of the Indian thinker Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who proposed that the acts of God, in his view laws of nature, were the same as the will of God ("Ahmad Khan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2d edn., CD-ROM, I: 287b). The Naturists were not opposed to science, but al-Afghani believed that their British-influenced founder had imbibed too much of positivist prejudices against Islam, which included the idea that Islam's central doctrines were contradictory to the principles of positive knowledge. Al-Afghani's argument emphasized the importance of using *ijtihad* to reinforce religious faith.

[38] Al-Afghani, *Radd*, 177.

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juridical *taqlid* were implicated in the stagnation of their country. Some reformers went so far as to label them *al-jamidun*, the stagnant ones.[39]

Al-Afghani's definitions of *taqlid* and *ijtihad* were subtly different from those used by the legal scholar 'Ilish. Whereas 'Ilish defined *taqlid* strictly as a method for providing legal guidance, in which someone who did not have the knowledge and training to interpret religious sources followed the opinion of an authority on legal matters, al-Afghani defined it as a violation of the Qur'anic injunction to seek out proof for one's beliefs rather than doing as one's forefathers did. Al-Afghani's interpretation of *taqlid* was based on verses of the Qur'an in which ignorant or stubborn peoples refused to abandon the corrupt ways of their forefathers for the religion of the prophets. For example:

> When it is said to them: "Follow what God has revealed," they say "No, we shall follow the ways of our fathers," even though their fathers were void of wisdom and guidance. The parable of those who reject faith is as if one were to shout like a goatherd to things that listen to nothing but calls and cries: Deaf, dumb, and blind, they are devoid of wisdom.[40]

'Ilish had distinguished between legal and reprehensible *taqlid*, but al-Afghani chose to conflate the two. Al-Afghani therefore stripped *taqlid* of its technical, legal meaning and recast it as "blind imitation" of others' beliefs. This redefined *taqlid* came to the forefront in al-Afghani's philosophy as the primary cause and constant of social stagnation and decay:

> the beliefs of the religion should be the first thing engraven on people's souls, built on solid evidence and sound proofs, so that their beliefs do not rest upon the opinions of others. They must disdain contentedness with following [*taqlid*] their forefathers on these matters. If a tenet of faith is held in a person's imagination without proof and without evidence, he may not be convinced, and will not be a believer. Also, the mind of one who accepts beliefs on the basis of supposition becomes accustomed to following suppositions, and he who is content to believe as did his forefathers suffers from the same harm [as did his forefathers] from foolish notions and divergences of opinion. The minds of those who follow supposition and are content with *taqlid* are prevented from moving beyond that to which their perception is accustomed; they do not follow the schools of thought and they do not walk along the paths of thoughtful speculation. If they continue like this, ignorance will gradually deceive them. Stupidity ties their arms behind their backs so that their minds are prevented from performing any rational function at all. They become incapable of distinguishing between good and evil, and they are surrounded by wretchedness.[41]

So whereas 'Ilish's scheme of communal unity had been threatened by the independent *ijtihad* of the revivalists, al-Afghani's scheme to rouse Islamic society from stagnation relied on renewed independent *ijtihad*. First, the jurists had to be convinced that independent *ijtihad* would be beneficial for the Islamic community. Then, *ijtihad* would be used to reevaluate the sources of religion and reinterpret them in light of contemporary conditions, which would result in the gradual adaptation of the legal tradition to the needs and concerns of contemporary Muslims.

[39] See, for example, Muhammad al-Ahmadi al-Zawahiri, *Al-'Ilm wal-'ulama' wa al-nizam al-ta'lim*, 2d edn., Fakhr al-Din Zawahiri, intro. (1904; rpt. edn., n.p., 1955), 89.

[40] Qur'an 2: 170–71.

[41] Al-Afghani, *Radd*, 176.

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However, it was not enough for *ijtihad* to be revived as a legal method; that was simply a first step. Ordinary Muslims had to be taught to read and understand the sources of their religion themselves, to develop critical acumen, and to form their own opinions. Al-Afghani made the following comment during an informal gathering: "What does it mean that the gate of *ijtihad* is closed? By what textual authority was it closed? Which Imam said that no Muslim should do *ijtihad* for the purposes of jurisprudence, or derive guidance from the Qur'an and the sound *hadith* and struggle to renew and widen his understanding of them, or infer by means of analogy things that accord with the contemporary sciences?" Al-Afghani quoted the Qur'an to suggest that it had been sent down to be understood and interpreted by humans using their own powers of reasoning. This did not mean that all humans could interpret it but that anyone with a reasonable degree of religious learning could. In order to derive rulings for oneself, one would still have to master the Arabic language, be sane, and be familiar with the sound *hadiths*, the stories of the Companions, the rulings approved by consensus, the rulings derived from unambiguous verses of the Qur'an or from analogy.[42] This kind of knowledge was, however, more widely available than it had been in the past, and so expanding the franchise of *ijtihad* would result in a more informed, more committed, and therefore stronger Muslim community.

Moreover, ideally, the principle of *ijtihad* should be applied to all kinds of knowledge, not just to religious sources. Al-Afghani used the term *ijtihad* in his writings not just to designate a legal methodology but also to intimate an attitude toward knowledge itself, an attitude of critical curiosity and individual inquiry. Therefore, the term *ijtihad* could be applied to any Muslim male's exercise of his critical faculty and scholarship to arrive at an answer to a question, even a scientific question.[43]

Al-Afghani furthermore argued that, in order to widen the scope of *ijtihad* and bring the methodology of *ijtihad* to bear on more avenues of knowledge, existing educational systems would have to be changed. According to al-Afghani, the old Islamic *madrasa* system was imbued with institutions that supported the practice of *taqlid*; it encouraged excessive deference to the opinions of instructors, as if the instructors were the ultimate arbiters of truth. Some teachers had fallen into the practice of teaching commentaries (*shuruh*) on texts rather than the original texts themselves. This was common because some original texts were densely written, often in archaic language, regional dialects, or had tightly structured logical arguments, and the commentaries were easier for students to comprehend. However, the commentaries themselves often required explanation, and so some-

[42] Muhammad al-Makhzumi, *Khatirat Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani al-Husayni* (Beirut, 1931), 176–79. Al-Afghani claimed that had the Imams still been alive they would still have been performing *ijtihad* and updating the law, and that contemporary interpretations might be "closer to the truth" than ancient ones (176, 178–79). Contemporary scientific information would not have been revealed in the Qur'an because the people who received it in the seventh century would have regarded it as a lie (161–62).

[43] According to Hallaq, mid to late twentieth-century reformers exercised their own version of *ijtihad*, "this in no way being akin . . . to the traditional form of ijtihad." Hallaq traces the beginnings of reformulation of legal theory to Muhammad 'Abduh (*History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 210–12, 220), but 'Abduh's redefinition of *ijtihad* was absorbed from al-Afghani and other reformers such as Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi.

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times super-commentaries were written in the margins of the commentaries, and sometimes marginal glosses were written about other super-commentaries. When scholars taught the commentaries rather than the original texts, students were no longer exposed to the ideas of the original authors but only to others' interpretations, and the interpretations became the object of knowledge to be memorized and reproduced. According to al-Afghani, this method of teaching, as well as the attitude of *taqlid*-bound scholars like 'Ilish, encouraged students to believe that they must accept the interpretations of the commentators or their instructors—if they attempted to interpret the original texts, they might in their ignorance pervert the author's meaning. Thus was the practice of *taqlid* entrenched in the minds of students, and thus were their critical faculties weakened.

Al-Afghani attracted a large number of followers from among both *madrasa* students and the students of civil schools. Al-Afghani also encouraged his followers to take advantage of the emerging Arabic print media to enlighten the public. Some of al-Afghani's followers, like al-Afghani himself, became Pan-Islamists, who sought to strengthen and unify the worldwide Muslim community in order to enable Muslims to throw off the yoke of European domination. Some of his followers were Christians, Jews, and secular nationalists, who were less interested in Muslim unity than in strengthening the Arab or Egyptian nations.[44] However, all carried with them al-Afghani's campaign for a new type of *ijtihad*, an *ijtihad* to be practiced not just by jurists but by any properly educated Muslim. Today, popular manifestos on Islamic law and the duties of Muslims often promote the same agenda: *ijtihad* is now not just the province of the legal specialist, it is a duty of all Muslims.

OVER THE DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, conservatives like 'Ilish who had defended *taqlid* slipped into obscurity, their efforts at first ridiculed as reactionary, then discarded as survivals of a stagnant past.[45] But many of al-Afghani's followers took up his call for *ijtihad*-based reform; several became pioneers of Arabic editorial journalism and dominated the early market for editorials. Arabic journals, many based in Egypt, had international audiences. As a consequence, al-Afghani's ideas came to dominate the international public discourse on reform, religious interpretation, and law in Muslim countries. Seven of the eight most popular newspapers and journals published in Egypt between 1870 and 1911 unabashedly supported some version of al-Afghani's program and utilized al-Afghani's populist concept of *ijtihad*. These included two official government periodicals, *al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyyah* (Egyptian Events) and *Rawdat al-madaris* (Garden of Schools); *al-'Urwah al-wuthqah* (The Indissoluble Bond), a revolutionary journal published in Paris by al-Afghani and his disciples in exile; *al-Mu'ayyad* (The Confirmed), Egypt's

[44] See Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh* (New York, 1933); Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (1962; rpt. edn., Cambridge, 1983); Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*; Irene Gendzier, *Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).

[45] Muhammad Rashid Rida, *Tarikh al-ustadh al-imam al-shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh*, 2 vols. (1908; rpt. edn., Cairo, 1931, 1947), 1: 133–35, 2: 425; Jurji Zaydan, *Tarajim mashahir al-sharq fil-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar*, 2 vols., 2d rev. edn. (Cairo, 1910), 1: 305–06; Adams, *Islam and Modernism*, 30, 42–43, 97. Adams described 'Ilish as a "violent reactionary."

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most popular daily newspaper, run by Azhar-trained Shaykh 'Ali Yusuf; *Misbah al-sharq* (Lantern of the East), a weekly run by Ibrahim al-Muwaylhi, personal secretary to the exiled khedive (hereditary viceroy); *al-Hayat* (Life), a daily run by a second-generation disciple, Muhammad Farid Wagdy; and the intrepid modernist mouthpiece, Muhammad Rashid Rida's monthly journal *al-Manar* (The Lighthouse).[46] Six of these were owned or controlled by al-Afghani himself, the pro-*ijtihad* reformer Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi, or al-Afghani's disciples. The views of the latter two journals have had an enormous impact on the twentieth century, not least because of their considerable influence on the ideas of Hasan al-Banna', founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.[47]

More than being simply pro-*ijtihad*, however, these periodicals promulgated the idea that the religious scholars were stagnating, that they had to be convinced that contemporary scientific discoveries and foreign political events were relevant to the lives of ordinary Egyptians, and that they were primarily responsible for preventing Muslims from reclaiming their lost glories. For example, one of the editors of *Rawdat al-madaris*, 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, accused the scholars of al-Azhar of teaching "books . . . not knowledge."[48] *Al-Mu'ayyad*'s Azhar-trained owner even criticized his former teachers: "our scholars work today writing treatises in answer to [ancient philosophical controversies]; it is necessary that they work on things that are relevant to the current state of things and answer those who today are against Islam."[49] Likewise, *al-Manar*'s stated main objectives were to reform education, rewrite textbooks, and eradicate imitation of obsolete traditions: "until that which is broken is made whole and the blind imitation [*al-taqlid al-a'ma*] of all who went before us is made into knowledge and certainty."[50] Journals did exist in which those who opposed the revival of *ijtihad* published articles, but they never achieved international prominence. Over the course of the twentieth century, they languished in dusty archives, virtually untouched by historians, until even their names were forgotten.[51]

Moreover, it was the reformers who were likely to know European languages and travel in international circles, it was the reformers who were tapped by members of the Egyptian and, later, the British government to lead various government efforts at reform, and it was the reformers who met and instructed Orientalist scholars and laid their journals in Western hands.[52] Al-Afghani's

[46] *Al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyyah* (Cairo, 1828–1942), Dawriyyat nos. 71, 545, Dar al-Kutub (hereafter, DK), Cairo; *Rawdat al-madaris al-Misriyyah* (Cairo, 1870–77), Dawriyyat nos. 506–09, DK, Cairo; *al-Mu'ayyad* (Cairo, 1889–1915), Dawriyyat no. 60, DK, Cairo; *Misbah al-sharq* (Cairo, 1898–1903), Dawriyyat no. 1194, DK, Cairo; *al-Manar* (Cairo, 1897–1935), Arabic periodicals, American University in Cairo. See also Sami 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Kumi, *Al-Sihafah al-islamiyyah fi Misr fil-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar* (Mansurah, Egypt, 1992).

[47] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 5, 322.

[48] Ahmad Amin, "'Ali Pasha Mubarak," *Zu'ama' al-islah fil-'asr al-hadith* (Beirut, 1979), 195.

[49] 'Ali Yusuf, "Ta'mim al-ta'lim," *al-Adab* 3, no. 96 (November 22, 1889): 485.

[50] Muhammad Rashid Rida, *al-Manar* 1 (March 15, 1898); al-Kumi, *Al-Sihafah al-islamiyyah*, 92.

[51] Biographers of the influential reformer Muhammad 'Abduh mentioned that he had once sued several newspapers for libel, but the names of the offending papers were misquoted in the single source that mentioned them. Ahmad Shafiq Pasha, *Mudhakkirati fi nisf qarn*, vol. 2, book 2 (Cairo, 1934–36), 40; Indira F. Gesink, "Beyond Modernisms" (PhD dissertation, Washington University in St. Louis, 2000).

[52] The most oft-quoted source on Islamic modernism is Charles C. Adams's work *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* and its Arabic translation. Adams used modernist sources almost exclusively, most

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followers became the intellectual and political elite of the early twentieth century, including Sa'd Zaghlul, chief architect of the Egyptian independence movement, and Muhammad 'Abduh, chief mufti of Egypt from 1898–1905 and initiator of modernist philosophies that traveled the globe. 'Abduh's ideas in particular inspired Islamic nationalist movements in the Ottoman Empire, the creation of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, and Palestinian *jihad*ist organizations in the 1930s.[53] 'Abduh and his follower Muhammad Rashid Rida were largely responsible for spreading the idea that *ijtihad* was an essential duty required of all Muslims. 'Abduh spent his life trying to eliminate the vestiges of *taqlid* from the legal and educational systems of Egypt. Rida wrote in *al-Manar* that *taqlid* had lulled the Muslim community into intellectual laziness, which undermined their faith and weakened their commitment to Islam. In order to "cure" this weakness, *taqlid* of the founding Imams would have to be replaced by a kind of *ijtihad* based on the Qur'an and the practice of the early community (*salaf*), which could be performed by all who were educated in Arabic; this would help strengthen their beliefs and unify the community.[54] For the insufficiently educated, 'Abduh and Rida did permit *ittiba'*, which meant following someone else's ruling with knowledge of the sources and reasoning used.[55]

Opponents of the new definition of *ijtihad* reacted with horror. One pointed out that what al-Afghani's followers "imagined to be religious reform" would lead to "religious anarchy" by "destroying trust in the religious law." He exclaimed, "My heart constricts from hearing your argument for abandoning *taqlid* . . . for I anticipate chaos in religion for the common Muslims." Revival of unbridled *ijtihad* would only result in further divisions in the religious community: "what I think of this hell-spawned reform is that there will be a *fitnah* [chaos or civil warfare] on the earth and a great corruption." Another complained that he feared "the proliferation of *madhhabs* from the proliferation of opinions."[56] These were the same concerns raised by 'Ilish in 1882: abrogating *taqlid* and extending the franchise for *ijtihad* would undermine the rule of law and threaten the stability of beliefs that underlay the social order and imposed some unity on the Sunni Muslim community. Division and uncertainty would result. Even 'Abduh, as one of the most prominent advocates of revived *ijtihad*, said that a layman's *ijtihad* should be applied only to

notably Muhammad Rashid Rida's journal *al-Manar* and his *Tarikh al-ustadh al-imam*, and Jurji Zaydan's *Tarajim mashahir al-sharq fil-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar* [Biographies of the celebrities of the East in the nineteenth century].

[53] See, for example, William L. Cleveland, *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism* (Austin, Tex., 1985); Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 5, 14, 23, 237, 321, 325; Abdullah Schleifer, "Izz al-Din al-Qassam: Preacher and *Mujahid*," in *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, Edmund Burke III, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 166–67.

[54] "Al-Muhawirat bayna al-musallih wal-muqallid: Al-muhawirah al-thaniyyah," *al-Manar* 3, no. 29 (December 23, 1900): 677; "Al-Muhawirat bayna al-musallih wal-muqallid: Al-muhawirah al-rabi'ah," *al-Manar* 3, no. 32 (February 6, 1901): 895, 897, 903; "Al-Muhawirah al-khamisah . . . al-jafr wal-zayirjah," *al-Manar* 4 (March 7, 1901): 53, 54; "Al-Muhawirah al-sadisah . . . al-ijtihad wal-taqlid," *al-Manar* 4, no. 5 (May 5, 1901): 165–69; "Al-Muhawirah al-sabi'ah . . . al-ijtihad wal-wihdah al-islamiyyah," *al-Manar* 4 (May 19, 1901): 206, 208, 215–16; "Al-Muhawirah al-tasi'ah . . . al-taqlid wal-talfiq wal-ijma'," *al-Manar* 4, no. 10 (July 17, 1901): 362.

[55] Daniel Brown, *Re-thinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 1996), 31.

[56] "Al-Muhawirah al-sadisah," 169; and "Al-Muhawirah al-sabi'ah," 212; Muhammad Rashid Rida, "Irad 'ala tark al-taqlid," *al-Manar* 8 (June 19, 1905): 294.

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matters of personal belief and not to matters of law.[57] But the Egyptian public, increasingly socialized into late nineteenth-century Western notions of progress, and encouraged by modernist historians' portrayals of their history, glossed over the warnings and rejected conservatives' objections as stale and reactionary. And through the international market for reprints of Egyptian modernist journals ("from Fez to Peking") and the graduates of schools influenced by modernist reforms, lay *ijtihad* was accepted by an international audience.[58]

The interpretation of *taqlid* as a cause of social stagnation, and the redefinition of *ijtihad* as the cure, came to dominate both paradigms of "modern" Islam and Western Orientalist descriptions of Islamic law. By the early twentieth century, Orientalists had picked up the rhetoric about the closure of the gate of *ijtihad* and were instructing the next generation of Western scholars in the centuries of legal stagnation under Islamic law. By the end of the twentieth century, modernist prejudices toward the intellectual superiority of the redefined *ijtihad* had become so rooted in intellectual Islamic thought that many considered *taqlid* a perversion of Truth, a reification of a text that is open to multiple interpretations.[59] *Ijtihad* had become the hallmark of modern attitudes, *taqlid* a vestige of an embarrassing past.

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, the redefined *ijtihad* was accepted as the intellectually preferred mode of legal interpretation, among not only revivalist and militant groups but also many "orthodox" Sunnis. While Islamic components of the judicial systems in countries such as Egypt and Pakistan still cling to the legal stability inherent in *taqlid*, they are increasingly challenged by governments and intellectuals who seek legal change via renewed *ijtihad*.[60] Likewise, assertions that the "gate of *ijtihad*" had been closed, and that *taqlid* was responsible for Islam's political subordination, are common. The historical reality in which *ijtihad* continued to be used to bring rulings into conformity with contemporary practices has only been uncovered in the last decade, and the rationale behind *taqlid* still remains buried under a century of polemical fallout. The redefinition of *ijtihad* and *taqlid* has had a transformative effect on the political landscape of the Islamic world. The reformers' extension of the right of *ijtihad* to lay believers contributed to the rise of many divergent sects, from secularists to relativists to militant groups. The emergence of twentieth-century sects from Egypt-based modernist movements and these sects' adoption of lay *ijtihad* has already been well established by other scholars. For example, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna', the Brotherhood's chief theorist of the 1960s, Sayyid Qutb, and members of the Brotherhood's more militant splinter groups all trace their philosophies to Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and the early Islamic modernists' popularization of *ijtihad*. Most

[57] Rida, "Irad 'ala tark al-taqlid," 295.

[58] International circulation figures and influence from Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (London, 1995), 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59.

[59] Representative of this perspective are works of Islamic modernists such as Muhammad Arkoun, "Postivism and Tradition in an Islamic Perspective," *Diogenes*, no. 127 (Fall 1984): esp. 86 and 89; and Taha J. 'Alwani, "Taqlid and the Stagnation of the Muslim Mind," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 513–24.

[60] John Esposito, *Women in Muslim Family Law* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1982), 105.

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follow elaborations of al-Afghani's philosophies by Muhammad 'Abduh's and Muhammad Rashid Rida, both of whom tended to assume that *ijtihad* would lead believers to the essence of a "true" Islam.[61] According to Shukri Mustafa, executed leader of the militant splinter group Jama'at al-Muslimin (al-Takfir wa al-Hijra), "Islam has been in decline ever since men have ceased to draw their lessons directly from the Koran and the Sunna, and have instead followed the tradition of other men, those who call themselves *imams*." Shukri Mustafa's own interpretation of Qur'anic verses 2: 216 and 2: 232 indicated to him that God possesses knowledge and we do not, and that therefore everything outside of the Qur'an and *hadith* is based on uncertain knowledge—including the rulings and methods generated by centuries of jurisprudence. In his opinion, the Qur'an is clear Arabic and understandable by anyone who has a good dictionary, and so there is no need to be bound by texts of antique interpretations.[62]

This, however, leaves the leaders of groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood with a paradox: they want believers to engage in *ijtihad* to strengthen their faith, to understand the sources of their religion and "inscribe their beliefs on their souls" in the manner al-Afghani described, and yet they want believers to reach the same conclusions about the principles of their faith as their leaders do—especially regarding the types of action necessary to achieve the group's social and political goals. They have therefore tended to restrict members' *ijtihad* to results they approve. Like al-Afghani's follower Muhammad 'Abduh, twentieth-century groups did this by distinguishing between *taqlid*, which they defined as ignorant imitation, and *ittiba'*, which means following a ruling with full knowledge of its sources and method of reasoning. However, *ittiba'* does not serve legal consistency in the same way *taqlid* once did. *Ittiba'* only ensures consistency if everyone uses the same sources and reaches the same conclusions as the author of the ruling in question. Hence it is still an imperfect solution, and disagreements over interpretation still produce disgruntled radicals and more splinter groups.[63] Thus the groups that embrace individual *ijtihad* cannot prevent their own dissolution without modifying the principles that gave rise to them in the first place.

Governments also have to deal with the *ijtihad* paradox. The proliferation of individual *ijtihad* prevents any significant degree of uniformity in legal interpretation: thus it is difficult to establish definitively recognized rules on the status of women, or on the admissibility of violence against other Muslims, or on criminal or even commercial regulations—unless the government imposes a hegemonic legal code. Such an imposition can have negative consequences, such as for example when Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir, president of Egypt (1954–1970), began in the 1960s to promote a state-sanctioned articulation of Islam. That action alienated the Muslim Brotherhood and contributed to the formation of various militant splinter groups, including Hamas (which employed *ijtihad* to respond to political circumstances in Israel's occupied territories), al-Takfir wa al-Hijra (responsible for the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat), and al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (the "Islamic Group" responsible

[61] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 5, 14, 23, 186, 237–39, 321; Kepel, *Muslim Extremism*, 79.
[62] Quoted in Kepel, *Muslim Extremism*, 79. See also Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 231.
[63] Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 326, 327.

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for the 1997 attack on tourists at Luxor and for producing key personnel in al-Qaida, such as Ayman al-Zawahiri), among others. Egypt's state interpretation of Islam was also ridiculed by Muslims from the secularist end of the spectrum, one of whom claimed that an organ of state Islam was a "fake" engineered to undermine Islamist popularity.[64] The proliferation of independent *ijtihad* gives any faction within society a readily available weapon with which to challenge the government's religious legitimacy—much as *taqlid* was wielded by the scholars in previous centuries, but with less stabilizing effects.

The paradox persists even if a government declares that it will establish legal norms based on the *shari'a*, as for example in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi government still faces criticism from religious scholars who embrace different sets of interpretations, and from laymen who wish to discredit the Saudi family, both of whom claim that the government is not truly Islamic. When the Saudi regime imprisoned the scholars Salman al-Awdah and Safar al-Hawali for speaking out against the regime, one of their lay followers, Osama bin Ladin, called up his contacts from the Afghan war for a campaign against the government and their American supporters. Bin Ladin said:

> the Saudi regime imposed on the people a life that does not appeal to the free believer. They wanted the people to eat and drink and celebrate the praise of God, but if the people wanted to encourage what is right and forbid what is wrong [a duty enjoined upon them by the Qur'an], they can't. Rather, the regime dismisses them from their jobs and . . . they are detained in prisons. I have rejected to live this submissive life . . . I found myself forced . . . to carry out a small part of my duty.[65]

Bin Ladin, whose formal education consists of college degrees in business and engineering, has carried out his "duty" in part by issuing *fatwas*, or legal advice, previously the prerogative of the specially trained legal scholars, the muftis. Indeed, the issuing of "lay *fatwas*" has proliferated to such an extent that almost any authority figure can claim that privilege and be accepted, despite the fact that such *fatwas* are often reached using simplistic methods of legal derivation that ignore contrary evidence and effectively replace an authoritative text with an authoritarian interpreter.[66] In countries where trained muftis generally serve a state-sanctioned version of Islam, such as Egypt, muftis insist that lay *fatwas* are invalid. But the mufti's *fatwa* has never been more than an opinion anyway, and petitioners may prefer the politics of lay muftis. Indeed, widespread acceptance of lay *ijtihad* justifies differences of opinion on the sectarian, political, or individual level and can delegitimize governments' attempts to establish legal norms within their own countries.

The *ijtihad* paradox also clouds the possibility for greater political unity among Islamic countries, an ideal that political analysts often assume to be the goal of militant organizations such as al-Qaida. Islamic law in Saudi Arabia may be quite different from Islamic law as practiced by the Sudanese or the Taliban. In fact,

[64] Kepel, *Muslim Extremism*, 37–67, 70–102; Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam* (1985; rpt. edn., New Haven, Conn., 1990), 50–56; Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work*, 245.

[65] Osama bin Ladin, interviewed by Peter Arnett, CNN (March 1997), available at www.anusha-.com/osamaint.htm (May 11, 2003).

[66] Abou El Fadl, "Text and Authority," and "Construction of the Authoritarian," in *Authoritative and the Authoritarian*, 33–38, 89–99.

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some scholars now say that there is no such thing as "Islamic law" per se, since there are as many possibilities for variant interpretations of some issues as there are interpreters. As one famous contemporary Muslim scientist, speaking of the Qur'an, said: "the text is mute," and only its interpreters give it voice.[67] This renders the theoretical "ideal" of a great Islamic empire, unified by adherence to the *shari'a*, problematic to say the least.

The redefinition of *ijtihad* as a lay rather than restricted practice has facilitated radical transformations in the ways Muslims define Islam's unifying ethical ideals. Communities of Muslims became bound by the search for a "true" Islam, and a set of hermeneutical tools for that search, but the hermeneutics of "true" Islam only produce multiple truths and multiple communities. I do not argue that this independence of thought and religious diversity is inherently dangerous, or that law must be as rigid as the nineteenth-century conservatives claimed it was in order to preserve social order. Indeed, the search for religious truth is part of human existence, and legal systems must be able to adapt to changing social circumstances. Although those who sought to preserve the unity of their community by restricting *ijtihad* predicted the contemporary upheaval in public belief, this "chaos on the earth," a return to *taqlid* would probably not provide the flexibility needed to maintain a legitimate legal system today. Some sort of synthesis of traditional sources and methodologies that restricts *ijtihad* and provision of *fatwas* to specialists, to encourage some measure of social consensus on the definition of the community, and its legal basis, is needed. Attempts so far to create such a synthesis have been given little popular attention.[68]

Journalistic attempts to explain Islamic militancy as reactionary adherence to an outdated and inflexible legal system are informed by an invented history. Islamic extremism is partly a result of the radical flexibility of twentieth-century Islam, not its purported rigidity. The Islamic legal tradition was in past practice adaptable to contemporary social conditions, and attempts to claim that it was not were largely political in nature and rhetorical in effect. However, a debate in the nineteenth century over its very flexibility fostered both an invented tradition of legal *in*flexibility, which continues to influence Western and Muslim views, and a subsequent dramatic move toward lay interpretation. Widespread lay interpretation has allowed individuals to read their own purposes into legal sources and manipulate them to serve various political agendas—producing the "chaos on the earth" that nineteenth-century "reactionaries" had tried to prevent.

[67] Abdolkarim Soroosh, "Islam, Pluralism and Democracy," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Saturday, December 5, 1998.

[68] For examples of and suggestions for new syntheses, see Wael Hallaq, "Crises of Modernity," in *History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 207–54; and Abou El Fadl, *Authoritative and the Authoritarian*.

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AHR Forum Essay

Can We Save the Present for the Future?

Historians are dependent on archives. They constitute the basic building blocks of our scholarship. However, **Roy Rosenzweig** *argues in this* Forum Essay, *in the future, scholars trying to understand our time will likely face a very troubling and indeed ironic prospect: the archival record of our era may be too scarce or too abundant. In either case, the basic scholarly mission of historians will be challenged in fundamental ways. Rosenzweig argues that historians today have a professional and ethical obligation to address this issue now. It is, he insists, at the core of our responsibilities as scholars as much as is the production of scholarship itself. Indeed, he contends that the connections between these twin responsibilities must be remade, because we have allowed them to wither over the years. This can be done, he maintains, by first understanding the complexities of the problem and then devising solutions that include reestablishing connections with potential allies such as archivists. His message is clear: The problem is dire, the need for action immediate. Rosenzweig invites responses to his plea for understanding and action.*

And so do we. This Forum *is the sixth installment of a format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will host a moderated electronic discussion between Rosenzweig and those who wish comment on his essay. The discussion will take place September 1–15, 2003, on the* AHR *web site at http://www.historycooperative.org. Participants can send questions or comments of up to 700 words. Guidelines will be posted on the discussion sign-in page. Our primary goals for the discussion are to make the exchanges as open and useful as possible and to ensure that they comply with the established standards of the* AHR. *After the discussion has concluded, the exchanges will become a permanent part of the electronic version of this* Forum Essay. *Questions about the process can be sent to the* American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401, or to our e-mail address: ahr@indiana.edu.

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Forum Essay

Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era

ROY ROSENZWEIG

ON OCTOBER 11, 2001, THE SATIRIC *Bert Is Evil* web site, which displayed photographs of the furry Muppet in Zelig-like proximity to villains such as Adolf Hitler (see Figure 1), disappeared from the web—a bit of collateral damage from the September 11th attacks. Following the strange career of *Bert Is Evil* shows us possible futures of the past in a digital era—futures that historians need to contemplate more carefully than they have done so far.

In 1996, Dino Ignacio, a twenty-two-year-old Filipino web designer, created *Bert Is Evil* ("brought to you by the letter H and the CIA"), which became a cult favorite among early tourists on the World Wide Web. Two years later, *Bert Is Evil* won a "Webby" as the "best weird site." Fan and "mirror" sites appeared with some embellishing on the "Bert Is Evil" theme. After the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, sites in the Netherlands and Canada paired Bert with Osama bin Laden.[1]

This image made a further global leap after September 11. When Mostafa Kamal, the production manager of a print shop in Dhaka, Bangladesh, needed some images of bin Laden for anti-American posters, he apparently entered the phrase "Osama bin Laden" in Google's image search engine. The Osama and Bert duo was among the top hits. "Sesame Street" being less popular in Bangladesh than in the Philippines, Kamal thought the picture a nice addition to an Osama collage. But when this transnational circuit of imagery made its way back to more Sesame Street–friendly parts of the world via a Reuters photo of anti-American demonstrators (see Figure 2), a storm of indignation erupted. Children's Television

This article has benefited greatly from the generous and astute comments of a number of friends and colleagues: Joshua Brown, Michael Grossberg, Deborah Kaplan, Gary Kornblith, Michael O'Malley, Kelly Schrum, Abby Smith, James Sparrow, Robert Townsend, and four anonymous readers for the *American Historical Review*. My thanks also to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and Pat Denault of the Charles Warren Center at Harvard University for providing the congenial setting in which most of this was written.

[1] Greg Miller, "Cyberculture: The Scene/The Webby Awards," *Los Angeles Times* (March 9, 1998): D3. On Ignacio, see the interview "Dino Ignacio: Evil Incarnate," in Philippine Web Designers Network, *Philweavers*, www.philweavers.net/profiles/dinoginacio.html; Buck Wolf, "Osama bin Muppet," *ABC News*, www.abcnews.go.com/sections/us/WolfFiles/wolffiles190.html; "Media Killed Bert Is Evil," http://plaza.powersurfr.com/bert/, viewed online April 15, 2002, but unavailable as of July 4, 2002; Peter Hartlaub, "Bert and bin Laden Poster Tied to S.F. student," *San Francisco Chronicle* (October 12, 2001): A12; Gina Davidson, "Bert and Bin: How the Joke Went Too Far," *The Scotsman* (October 14, 2001): 3.

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FIGURE 1: Bert the Muppet at Hitler's side, from the now defunct "Bert Is Evil!" web site.

Workshop, the show's producers, threatened legal action. On October 11, 2001, a nervous Ignacio pushed the delete key, imploring "all fans [*sic*] and mirror site hosts of 'Bert is Evil' to stop the spread of this site too."[2]

Ignacio's sudden deletion of Bert should capture our interest as historians since it dramatically illustrates the fragility of evidence in the digital era. If Ignacio had published his satire in a book or magazine, it would sit on thousands of library shelves rather than having a more fugitive existence as magnetic impulses on a web server. Although some historians might object that the *Bert Is Evil* web site is of little historical significance, even traditional historians should worry about what the digital era might mean for the historical record. U.S. government records, for example, are being lost on a daily basis. Although most government agencies started using e-mail and word processing in the mid-1980s, the National Archives still does not require that digital records be retained in that form, and governmental employees profess confusion over whether they should be preserving electronic

[2] "Bert Is Evil!" in *Snopes.com*, www.snopes2.com/rumors/bert.htm; "Bert Is Evil—Proof in the Most Unlikely Places," in *HermAphroditeZine*, www.pinktink3.250x.com/hmm/bert.htm; Josh Grossberg, "The Bert-Bin Laden Connection?" in *E! Online News*, October 10, 2001, www.eonline.com/News/Items/0,1,8950,00.html; Joey G. Alarilla, "Infotech Pinoy Webmaster Closes Site after 'Bert-Bin Laden' Link," *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (October 22, 2001): 17; Dino Ignacio, "Good-bye Bert," in *Fractal Cow*, www.fractalcow.com/bert/bert.htm. See also Michael Y. Park, "Bin Laden's Felt-Skinned Henchman?" *Fox News* (October 14, 2001), www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,36218,00.html; Declan McCullagh, "Osama Has a New Friend," *Wired News* (October 10, 2001), www.wired.com/news/conflict/0,2100,47450,00.html; "Sesame Street Character Depicted with bin Laden on Protest Poster," *AP Worldstream* (October 11, 2001). Nikke Lindqvist, *N!kke*, www.lindqvist.com/art.php?incl=bert.php&lang=eng, provides an excellent chronicle of the unfolding story. Significantly, many of the links on this site, which I first viewed in February 2002, were no longer working in March 2003.

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FIGURE 2: Supporters of Osama bin Laden demonstrate against the United States in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on October 11, 2001. The poster, which was created from images downloaded from the Internet, includes bin Laden juxtaposed with the Sesame Street character Bert. Copyright Reuters 2001. Reuters News Picture Service Photo by Rafiqur Rahman.

files.[3] Future historians may be unable to ascertain not only whether Bert is evil, but also which undersecretaries of defense were evil, or at least favored the concepts of the "evil empire" or the "axis of evil." Not only are ephemera like "Bert" and government records made vulnerable by digitization, but so are traditional works—books, journals, and film—that are increasingly being born digitally. As yet, no one has figured out how to ensure that the digital present will be available to the future's historians.

But, as we shall see, tentative efforts are afoot to preserve our digital cultural heritage. If they succeed, historians will face a second, profound challenge—what would it be like to write history when faced by an essentially complete historical record? In fact, the *Bert Is Evil* story could be used to tell a very different tale about the promiscuity and even persistence of digital materials. After all, despite Ignacio's pleas and Children's Television Workshop's threats, a number of Bert "mirror" sites persist. Even more remarkably, the Internet Archive—a private organization that began archiving the web in 1996—has copies of *Bert Is Evil* going back to March 30, 1997. To be sure, this extraordinary archive is considerably more fragile than one would like. The continued existence of the Internet Archive rests largely on the interest and energy of a single individual, and its collecting of copyrighted material is on even shakier legal ground. It has put the future of the past—traditionally seen as a public patrimony—in private hands.

[3] Jeffrey Benner, "Is U.S. History Becoming History?" *Wired News* (April 9, 2001), www.wired.com/news/print/0,1294,42725,00.html.

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Still, the astonishingly rapid accumulation of digital data—obvious to anyone who uses the Google search engine and gets 300,000 hits—should make us consider that future historians may face information overload. Digital information is mounting at a particularly daunting rate in science and government. Digital sky surveys, for example, access over 2 billion images. Even a dozen years ago, NASA already had 1.2 million magnetic tapes (many of them poorly maintained and documented) with space data. Similarly, the Clinton White House, by one estimate, churned out 6 million e-mail messages per year. And NARA is contemplating archiving military intelligence records that include more than "1 billion electronic messages, reports, cables, and memorandums."[4]

Thus historians need to be thinking simultaneously about how to research, write, and teach in a world of unheard-of historical abundance *and* how to avoid a future of record scarcity. Although these prospects have occasioned enormous commentary among librarians, archivists, and computer scientists, historians have almost entirely ignored them. In part, our detachment stems from the assumption that these are "technical" problems, which are outside the purview of scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Yet the more important and difficult issues about digital preservation are social, cultural, economic, political, and legal—issues that humanists should excel at. The "system" for preserving the past that has evolved over centuries is in crisis, and historians need to take hand in building a new system for the coming century. Historians also tend to assume a professional division of responsibility, leaving these matters to archivists. But the split of archivists from historians is a relatively recent one. In the early twentieth century, historians saw themselves as having a responsibility for preserving as well as researching the past. At that time, the vision and membership of the American Historical Association—embracing archivists, local historians, and "amateurs" as well as university scholars—was considerably broader than it later became.[5]

Ironically, the disruption to historical practice (to what Thomas Kuhn called "normal science") brought by digital technology may lead us "back to the future." The struggle to incorporate the possibilities of new technology into the ancient practice of history has led, most importantly, to questioning the basic goals and

[4] Arcot Rajasekar, Richard Marciano, and Reagan Moore, "Collection-Based Persistent Archives," www.sdsc.edu/NARA/Publications/OTHER/Persistent/Persistent.html; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History: The Archival Presentation of Federal Computer Records*, HR 101–987 (Washington, D.C., 1990); National Academy of Public Administration, *The Effects of Electronic Recordkeeping on the Historical Record of the U.S. Government* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 8, 29; Joel Achenbach, "The Too-Much-Information Age," *Washington Post* (March 12, 1999): A01; General Accounting Office (hereafter, GAO), *Information Management: Challenges in Managing and Preserving Electronic Records* (Washington, D.C., 2002), 11, 66. See also Alexander Stille, *The Future of the Past* (New York, 2002), 306; Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis-Brown, "The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries, and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 17–32; Deanna Marcum, "*Washington Post* Publishes Letter from Deanna Marcum," *CLIR Issues*, no. 2 (March/April 1998), www.clir.org/pubs/issues/issues02.html#post.

[5] John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (1965; rpt. edn., Baltimore, 1983), 16–20. See also American Historical Association Committee on Graduate Education, *The Education of Historians in the 21st Century* (Urbana, Ill., forthcoming 2004). To observe this broader vision is not to deny the very different historical circumstances (such as the disorganization of archives), the obvious blindness of the early professional historians on many matters (such as race and gender), and the early tensions between "amateurs" and professionals.

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methods of our craft. For example, the Internet has dramatically expanded and, hence, blurred our audiences. A scholarly journal like this one is suddenly much more accessible to high school students and history enthusiasts. And the work of history buffs is similarly more visible and accessible to scholars. We are forced, as a result, to rethink who our audiences really are. Similarly, the capaciousness of digital media means that the page limits of journals like this one are no longer fixed by paper and ink costs. As a result, we are led to question the nature and purpose of the scholarly journals—why do they publish articles with particular lengths and structures? Why do they publish particular types of articles? The simultaneous fragility and promiscuity of digital data requires yet more rethinking—about whether we should be trying to save everything, who is "responsible" for preserving the past, and how we find and define historical evidence.

Historians, in fact, may be facing a fundamental paradigm shift from a culture of scarcity to a culture of abundance. Not so long ago, we worried about the small numbers of people we could reach, pages of scholarship we could publish, primary sources we could introduce to our students, and documents that had survived from the past. At least potentially, digital technology has removed many of these limits: over the Internet, it costs no more to deliver the *AHR* to 15 million people than 15,000 people; it costs less for our students to have access to literally millions of primary sources than a handful in a published anthology. And we may be able to both save and quickly search through all of the products of our culture. But will abundance bring better or more thoughtful history?[6]

Historians are not unaware of these challenges to the ways that we work. Yet, paradoxically, these fundamental questions are often relegated to more marginal professional spaces—to casual lunchtime conversations or brief articles in association newsletters. But in this time of rapid and perplexing changes, we need to engage with issues about access to scholarship, the nature of scholarship, the audience for scholarship, the sources for scholarship, and the nature of scholarly training in the central places where we practice our craft—scholarly journals, scholarly meetings, and graduate classrooms. That scholarly engagement should also lead us, I believe, to public action to advocate the preservation of the past as a *public* responsibility—one that historians share. But I hope to persuade even those who do not share my particular political stance that professional historians need to shift at least some of their attention from the past to the present and future and reclaim the broad professional vision that was more prevalent a century ago. The stakes are too profound for historians to ignore the futures of the past.

[6] For interesting observations on "abundance" in two different realms of historical work, see James O'Toole, "Do Not Fold, Spindle, or Mutilate: Double Fold and the Assault on Libraries," *American Archivist* 64 (Fall/Winter 2001): 385–93; John McClymer, "Inquiry and Archive in a U.S. Women's History Course," *Works and Days* 16, nos. 1–2 (Spring/Fall 1998): 223. For a sweeping statement about political and cultural implications of "digital information that moves frictionlessly through the network and has zero marginal cost per copy," see Eben Moglen, "Anarchism Triumphant: Free Software and the Death of Copyright," *First Monday* 4, no. 8 (August 1999), www.firstmonday.dk/issues/issue4_8/moglen/index.html.

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ALTHOUGH HISTORIANS HAVE MOSTLY BEEN SILENT, archivists, librarians, public officials, and others have loudly warned about the threatened loss of digital records and publications for at least two decades. Words such as "disaster" and "crisis" echo through their reports and conference proceedings. As early as 1985, the Committee on the Records of Government declared, "the United States is in danger of losing its memory."[7] More than a dozen years later, a project called "Time and Bits: Managing Digital Continuity" brought together archivists, librarians, and computer scientists to address the problem once again. Conferees watched the Terry Sanders film *Into the Future: On the Preservation of Knowledge in the Electronic Age*, and some likened it to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and themselves to the environmentalists of the 1960s and 1970s. A *Time and Bits* web site assembled conference materials and promoted "ongoing digital dialogue." But, as if to prove the conference's point, the site disappeared in less than a year. Computer scientist Jeff Rothenberg may have been over-optimistic when he quipped, "Digital documents last forever—or five years, whichever comes first."[8]

Those worried about a problem like digital preservation that lacks public attention are prone to exaggerate. Probably the greatest distortion has been the implicit suggestion that we have somehow fallen from a golden age of preservation in which everything of importance was saved. But much—really, most—of the record of previous historical eras has disappeared. "The members of prehistoric societies did not think they lived in prehistoric times," *Washington Post* writer Joel Achenbach observes. "They merely lacked a good preservation medium." And non-digital records that have survived into this century—from Greek and Chinese antiquities to New Guinean folk traditions to Hollywood films—are also seriously threatened.[9]

Another exaggeration involves stories about the grievous losses that never occurred. One widely repeated story is that computers can no longer read the data

[7] Committee on the Records of Government, *Report* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 9 (the committee was created by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council on Library Resources, and the Social Science Research Council with funding from the Mellon, Rockefeller, and Sloan foundations); John Garrett and Donald Waters, *Preserving Digital Information: Report of the Task Force on Archiving of Digital Information* (Washington, D.C., 1996); Paul Conway, *Preservation in the Digital World* (Washington, D.C., 1996), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/conway2/index.html. For other reports with similar conclusions, see, for example, the 1989 report of the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators, cited in Margaret Hedstrom, "Understanding Electronic Incunabula: A Framework for Research on Electronic Records," *American Archivist* 54 (Summer 1991): 334–54; House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*; Committee on an Information Technology Strategy for the Library of Congress, Computer Science and Telecommunications Board, Commission on Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Applications, and the National Research Council, *LC21: A Digital Strategy for the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C., 2000), http://books.nap.edu/html/lc21/index.html; GAO, *Information Management*; *NHPRC Electronic Records Agenda Final Report (Draft)* (St. Paul, Minn., 2002).

[8] Margaret MacLean and Ben H. Davis, eds., *Time and Bits: Managing Digital Continuity* (Los Angeles, 1998), 11, 6; Jeff Rothenberg, *Avoiding Technological Quicksand: Finding a Viable Technical Foundation for Digital Preservation* (Washington, D.C., 1998), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/rothenberg/contents.html. The 1997 conference "Documenting the Digital Age" has also disappeared from the web, nor is it available in the Internet Archive. The Sanders film is available from the Council on Library and Information Resources, www.clir.org/pubs/film/future/order.html.

[9] Achenbach, "Too-Much-Information Age." See also Stille, *Future of the Past*; Council on Library and Information Resources (hereafter, CLIR), *The Evidence in Hand: Report of the Task Force on the Artifact in Library Collections* (Washington, D.C., 2001), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub103/contents.html.

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tapes from the 1960 U.S. Census. In truth, as Margaret Adams and Thomas Brown from the National Archives have shown, the Census Bureau had by 1979 successfully copied almost all the records to newer "industry-compatible tapes." Yet, even in debunking one of the persistent myths of the digital age, Adams and Brown reveal some of the key problems. In just a decade and a half, migrating the census tapes to a readable format "represented a major engineering challenge"—hardly something we expect to face with historical records originating from within our own lifetimes. And although "only 1,575 records . . . could not be copied because of deterioration," the absolute nature of digital corrosion is sobering.[10] Print books and records decline slowly and unevenly—faded ink or a broken-off corner of a page. But digital records fail completely—a single damaged bit can render an entire document unreadable. Here is the key difference from the paper era: we need to take action now because digital items very quickly become unreadable, or recoverable only at great expense.

This has already happened—albeit not as much as sometimes suggested. "Ten to twenty percent of vital data tapes from the Viking Mars mission," notes Deanna Marcum, the president of the Council on Library Information Resources, "have significant errors because magnetic tape is too susceptible to degradation to serve as an archival storage medium." Often, records lack sufficient information about their organization and coding to make them usable. According to Kenneth Thibodeau, director of the National Archive and Record Administration's Electronic Records Archives program, NARA lacked adequate documentation to make sense of several hundred reels of computer tapes from the Department of Health and Human Resources and data files from the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse. Some records could be recovered by future digital archaeologists but sometimes only through an unaffordable "major engineering challenge."[11] The greatest concern is not over what has already been lost but what historians in fifty years may find that they can't read.

Many believe—incorrectly—the central problem to be that we are storing information on media with surprisingly short life spans. To be sure, acid-free paper and microfilm last a hundred to five hundred years, whereas digital and magnetic media deteriorate in ten to thirty years. But the medium is far from the weakest link in the digital preservation chain. Well before most digital media degrade, they are likely to become unreadable because of changes in hardware (the disk or tape drives

[10] Margaret O. Adams and Thomas E. Brown, "Myths and Realities about the 1960 Census," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 32, no. 4 (Winter 2000), www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/winter_2000_1960_census.html. See also letter of August 15, 1990, from Kenneth Thibodeau, which says that recovering the records took "substantial efforts" by the Bureau of the Census, quoted in House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*, 3. According to Timothy Lenoir, it is now too expensive to rescue the computer tapes that represent Douglas Englebart's pioneering hypermedia-groupware system called NLS (for oNLine System)—the basis of many of the features of personal computers. Timothy Lenoir, "Lost in the Digital Dark Ages" (paper delivered at "The New Web of History: Crafting History of Science Online," Cambridge, Mass., March 28, 2003).

[11] Marcia Stepanek, "From Digits to Dust," *Business Week* (April 20, 1998); House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*, 16; Jeff Rothenberg, "Ensuring the Longevity of Digital Documents," *Scientific American* (January 1995): 42–47. See also Garrett and Waters, *Preserving Digital Information*. Many Vietnam records are stored in a database system that is no longer supported and can only be translated with difficulty. As a result, the Agent Orange Task Force could not use important herbicide records. Stille, *Future of the Past*, 305.

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become obsolete) or software (the data are organized in a format destined for an application program that no longer works). The life expectancy of digital media may be as little as ten years, but very few hardware platforms or software programs last that long. Indeed, Microsoft only supports its software for about five years.[12]

The most vexing problems of digital media are the flipside of their greatest virtues. Because digital data are in the simple lingua franca of bits, of ones and zeros, they can be embodied in magnetic impulses that require almost no physical space, be transmitted over long distances, and represent very different objects (for instance, words, pictures, or sounds as well as text). But the ones and zeros lack intrinsic meaning without software and hardware, which constantly change because of technological innovation and competitive market forces. Thus this lingua franca requires translators in every computer application, which, in turn, operate only on specific hardware platforms. Compounding the difficulty is that the languages being translated keep changing every few years.

The problem is still worse because of the ability of digital media to create and represent complex, dynamic, and interactive objects—another of their great virtues. Even relatively simple documents that appear to have direct print analogs turn out to be more complex. Printing out e-mail messages makes rapid searches of them impossible and often jettisons crucial links to related messages and attachments. In addition, multimedia programs, which generally rely on complicated combinations of hardware and software, quickly become obsolete. Nor is there any good way to preserve interactive and experiential digital creations. That is most obviously true of computer games and digital art, but even a large number of ordinary web pages are generated out of databases, which means that the specific page you view is your own "creation" and the system can create an infinite number of pages. Preserving hypertextually linked web pages poses the further problem that to save a single page in its full complexity could ultimately require you to preserve the entire web, because virtually every web page is linked to every other. And the dynamic nature of databases destabilizes mundane business and governmental records since they are often embedded in systems that automatically replace old data with new—a changeability that, notes archival educator Richard Cox, threatens "the records of any modern day politician, civic leader, businessperson, military officer, or leader."[13]

[12] Most Microsoft software moves into what the company calls the "non-supported phase" after just four or five years, although it offers a more limited "extended support phase" that lasts up to seven years. After that, you are out of luck. Microsoft, "Windows Desktop Product Life Cycle Support and Availability Policies for Businesses," October 15, 2002, www.microsoft.com/windows/lifecycle.mspx; Lori Moore, "Q&A: Microsoft Standardizes Support Lifecycle," *Press Pass: Information for Journalists* (October 15, 2002), www.microsoft.com/presspass/features/2002/Oct02/10-15support.asp. On media longevity, see Rothenberg, *Avoiding Technological Quicksand*; MacLean and Davis, *Time and Bits*; Margaret Hedstrom, "Digital Preservation: A Time Bomb for Digital Libraries" (paper delivered at the NSF Workshop on Data Archiving and Information Preservation, March 26–27, 1999), www.uky.edu/~kiernan/DL/hedstrom.html; Frederick J. Stielow, "Archival Theory and the Preservation of Electronic Media: Opportunities and Standards below the Cutting Edge," *American Archivist* 55 (Spring 1992): 332–43; Charles M. Dollar, *Archival Theory and Information Technology: The Impact of Information Technologies on Archival Principles and Methods* (Ancona, Italy, 1992), 27–32; GAO, *Information Management*, 50–52.

[13] Richard J. Cox, "Messrs. Washington, Jefferson, and Gates: Quarrelling about the Preservation of the Documentary Heritage of the United States," *First Monday* 2, no. 8 (August 1997), http://firstmonday.org/issues/issue2_8/cox/. See also Peter Lyman and Brewster Kahle, "Archiving Digital

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WHILE THESE TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES ARE IMMENSE, the social, economic, legal, and organizational problems are worse. Digital documents—precisely because they are in a new medium—have disrupted long-evolved systems of trust and authenticity, ownership, and preservation. Reestablishing those systems or inventing new ones is more difficult than coming up with a long-lived storage mechanism.

How, for example, do we ensure the "authenticity" of preserved digital information and "trust" in the repository? Paper documents and records also face questions about authenticity, and forgeries are hardly unknown in traditional archives. The science of "diplomatics," in fact, emerged in the seventeenth century as a way to authenticate documents when scholars confronted rampant forgeries in medieval documents. But digital information—because it is so easily altered and copied, lacks physical marks of its origins, and, indeed, even the clear notion of an "original"—cannot be authenticated as physical documents and objects can. We have, for example, no way of knowing that forwarded e-mail messages we receive daily have not been altered. In fact, the public archive of Usenet discussion groups contains hundreds of deliberately and falsely attributed messages. "Fakery," write David Bearman and Jennifer Trant, "has not been a major issue for most researchers in the past, both because of the technical barriers to making plausible forgeries, and because of the difficulty with which such fakes entered an authoritative information stream."[14] Digital media, tools, and networks have altered the balance.

"It took centuries for users of print materials to develop the web of trust that now undergirds our current system of publication, dissemination, and preservation," notes Abby Smith, a leading figure in library and preservation circles. Digital documents are disrupting that carefully wrought system by undercutting our expectations of what constitutes a trusted and authentic document and repository. But to make the transition to a new system requires not just technical measures (such as digital signatures and "watermarks") but, as Clifford Lynch, the executive director of the Coalition for Networked Information, observes, also figuring out responsibility for guaranteeing claims of authorship and financing for a system of "authentication and integrity management."[15]

Cultural Artifacts: Organizing an Agenda for Action," *D-Lib Magazine* 4, nos. 7–8 (July/August 1998), www.dlib.org/dlib/july98/07lyman.html. Voyager's CD-ROM explicating Beethoven's Ninth Symphony—a landmark work in multimedia—no longer operates, in part, because Apple changed a CD-ROM driver that the program relied on. Robert Winter, *Ludwig Van Beethoven Symphony No. 9* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1991). Digital art presents particularly difficult problems; see, for example, Scott Carlson, "Museums Seek New Methods for Preserving Digital Art," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (August 16, 2002).

[14] Margaret Hedstrom, "How Do We Make Electronic Archives Usable and Accessible?" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997); Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science," *Archivaria* 28 (Summer 1989): 7–27; Peter B. Hirtle, "Archival Authenticity in a Digital Age," in Council on Library and Information Resources, *Authenticity in a Digital Environment* (Washington, D.C., 2000), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub92/contents.html; CLIR, *Evidence in Hand*; Susan Stellin, "Google's Revival of a Usenet Archive Opens Up a Wealth of Possibilities But Also Raises Some Privacy Issues," *New York Times* (May 7, 2001): C4; David Bearman and Jennifer Trant, "Authenticity of Digital Resources: Towards a Statement of Requirements in the Research Process," *D-Lib Magazine* 4, no. 6 (June 1998), www.dlib.org/dlib/june98/06bearman.html.

[15] Abby Smith, "Authenticity in Perspective," in CLIR, *Authenticity in a Digital Environment* (Washington, D.C., 2000), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub92/smith.html; Clifford Lynch, "Authenticity

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Such questions are particularly hard to answer since digitization also undercuts our sense of who owns such materials and, thus, who has the right and responsibility to preserve them. Consumers (including libraries) have traditionally purchased books and magazines under the "first sale" doctrine, which gives those who buy something the right to make any use of it, including lending or selling it to others. But most digital goods are licensed rather than sold. Because contract law governs licenses, vendors of digital content can set any restrictions they choose—they can say that the contents may not be copied or cannot be viewed by more than one person at a time. Adobe's eBook reader even includes a warning that a book may not be read aloud.[16]

But if libraries don't *own* digital content, how can they preserve it? The problem will become even worse if publishers widely adopt copy protection schemes as they are seriously considering doing for electronic books. Even a library that had the legal right to preserve the content would have no reason to assume that it would be able to do so; meanwhile, the publisher would have little incentive to keep the protection system functioning in a new software environment. In general, digital rights management systems and other forms of "trusted computing" undercut preservation efforts by embedding centralized control in proprietary systems. "If Microsoft, or the U.S. government, does not like what you said in a document you wrote," speculates Free Software advocate Richard Stallman, "they could post new instructions telling all computers to refuse to let anyone read that document."[17]

Licensed and centrally controlled digital content not only erodes the ability of libraries to preserve the past, it also undercuts their responsibility. Why should a library worry about the long-term preservation of something it does not own? But then, who will? Publishers have not traditionally assumed preservation responsibility since there is no obvious profit to be made in ensuring that something will be available or readable in a hundred years when it is in the public domain and can't be sold or licensed.[18]

The digital era has not only unsettled questions of ownership and preservation for traditional copyrighted material, it has also introduced a new, vast category of what could be called semi-published works, which lack a clear preservation path.

and Integrity in the Digital Environment: An Exploratory Analysis of the Central Role of Trust," in *Authenticity in a Digital Environment*, www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub92/contents.html. See also M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1993); see also Research Libraries Group, *Attributes of a Trusted Digital Repository: Meeting the Needs of Research Resources; An RLC-OCLC Report* (Mountain View, Calif., 2001), www.rlg.org/longterm/attributes01.pdf.

[16] Brewster Kahle, Rick Prelinger, and Mary E. Jackson, "Public Access to Digital Materials" (white paper delivered at the Association of Research Libraries and Internet Archive Colloquium "Research in the 'Born-Digital' Domain," San Francisco, March 4, 2001), available at www.dlib.org/dlib/october01/kahle/10kahle.html.

[17] Committee on Intellectual Property Rights in the Emerging Information Infrastructure, National Research Council, *et al.*, *The Digital Dilemma: Intellectual Property in the Information Age* (Washington, D.C., 1999), http://books.nap.edu/html/digital_dilemma/; Richard Stallman, "Can You Trust Your Computer?" *Newsforge* (October 21, 2002), http://newsforge.com/newsforge/02/10/21/1449250.shtml?tid=19. The Digital Millennium Copyright Act makes it illegal to circumvent technical protection services. See Peter Lyman, "Archiving the World Wide Web," in CLIR, *Building a National Strategy for Digital Preservation: Issues in Digital Media Archiving* (Washington, D.C., 2002), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub106/web.html.

[18] CLIR, *Evidence in Hand*.

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The free content available on the web is protected by copyright even though it has not been formally registered with the Library of Congress Copyright Office or sold by a publisher. That means that a library that decided to save a collection of web pages—say, those posted by abortion rights organizations—would technically be violating copyright.[19] The absence of this "process" is the most fundamental problem facing digital preservation. Over centuries, a complex (and imperfect) system for preserving the past has emerged. Digitization has unsettled that system of responsibility for preservation, and an alternative system has not yet emerged. In the meantime, cultural and historical objects are being permanently lost.

Four different systems generally preserve cultural and historical documents and objects. Research libraries take responsibility for books, magazines, and other published cultural works, including moving images and recorded sound. Government records fall under the jurisdiction of the National Archives and a network of state and local archives.[20] Systems for maintaining other cultural and historical materials are less formal or centralized. "Records" and "papers" from businesses, voluntary associations, and individuals have found their way into local historical societies, specialized archives, and university special collections. Finally, the semi-published body of material we have called "ephemera" has been most often saved by enthusiastic individuals—for example, postcard and comic book collectors—who might later deposit their hoard in a permanent repository.[21]

While research libraries have tried to save relatively complete sets of published works, other historical sources have generally only been preserved in a highly selective and sometimes capricious fashion—what archivists call "preservation through neglect." Materials that lasted fifty or one hundred years found their way into an archive, library, or museum. Although this inexact system has resulted in many grievous losses to the historical record, it has also given us many rich collections or personal and organizational papers and ephemera.[22]

But this "system" will not work in the digital era because preservation cannot begin twenty-five years after the fact. What might happen, for example, to the records of a writer active in the 1980s who dies in 2003 after a long illness? Her heirs will find a pile of unreadable 5¼" floppy disks with copies of letters and

[19] Committee on Intellectual Property Rights in the Emerging Information Infrastructure, National Research Council, *Digital Dilemma*.

[20] As with our network of research libraries, this system is a modern invention. The first public governmental archive came with the French Revolution; the British Public Record Office opened in 1838, and the National Archives is of startlingly recent vintage: the legislation establishing it did not come until 1934. Donald R. McCoy, "The Struggle to Establish a National Archives in the United States," in *Guardian of Heritage: Essays on the History of the National Archives*, Timothy Walch, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1985), 1–15.

[21] Don Waters, "Wrap Up" (paper delivered at the DAI Institute, "The State of Digital Preservation: An International Perspective," Washington, D.C., April 25, 2002), available at www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub107/contents.html; Dale Flecker, "Preserving Digital Periodicals," in CLIR, *Building a National Strategy for Digital Preservation*.

[22] Michael L. Miller, "Assessing the Need: What Information and Activities Should We Preserve?" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copy in possession of author. To be sure, it has been biased toward the preservation of the records of the rich and powerful, although in more recent years energetic, "activist archivists" have sought out more diverse sets of materials. Ian Johnston, "Whose History Is It Anyway?" *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 22, no. 2 (2001): 213–29.

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poems written in WordStar for the CP/M operating system or one of the more than fifty now-forgotten word-processing programs used in the late 1980s.[23]

Government archives similarly continue to rely on the unwarranted assumption that records can be appraised and accessioned many years after their creation. A recent study, "Current Recordkeeping Practices within the Federal Government," which surveyed more than forty federal agencies, found widespread confusion about "policies and procedures for managing, storing, and disposing of electronic records and systems." "Government employees," it concluded, "do not know how to solve the problem of electronic records—whether the electronic information they create constitutes records and, if so, what to do with the records. Electronic files that qualify as records—particularly in the form of e-mail, and also word processing and spreadsheet documents—are not being kept at all as records in many cases."[24]

This uncertainty and disarray would not be so serious if we could assume that it could be simply sorted out in another thirty years. But if we hope to preserve the present for the future, then the technical problems facing digital preservation as well as the social and political questions about authenticity, ownership, and preservation policy need to be confronted now.

AT LEAST INITIALLY, archivists and librarians tended to assume that a technical change—the rise of digital media—required a technical solution. The simplest technical solution has been to translate digital information into something more familiar and reassuring like paper or microfilm. But, as Rothenberg points out, this is a "rear-guard action" that destroys "unique functionality (such as dynamic interaction, nonlinearity, and integration)" and "core digital attributes (perfect copying, access, distribution, and so forth)" and sacrifices the "original form, which may be of unique historical, contextual, or evidential interest."[25]

Another backward-looking solution is to preserve the original equipment. If you have files created on an Apple II, then why not keep one in case you need it? Well, sooner or later, a disk drive breaks or a chip fails, and unless you have a computer junkyard handy and a talent for computer repair, you are out of luck. "Technological preservation," moreover, requires intervention before it is too late to save not

[23] See Adrian Cunningham, "Waiting for the Ghost Train: Strategies for Managing Electronic Personal Records before It Is Too Late" (paper delivered at the Society of American Archivists Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, August 23–29, 1999), available at www.rbarry.com/cunningham-waiting2.htm. For numbers of commercial word-processing programs, see House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*, 15.

[24] SRA International, *Report on Current Recordkeeping Practices within the Federal Government* (Arlington, Va., 2001), www.archives.gov/records_management/pdf/ report_on_recordkeeping_practices.pdf. This report responded to an earlier GAO report: U.S. Government Accounting Office, *National Archives: Preserving Electronic Records in an Era of Rapidly Changing Technology* (Washington, D.C., 1999). Archival consultant Rick Barry reports that four-fifths of e-mail creators he surveyed "do not have a clue" whether their e-mail was an official record and that most are "largely unaware" of official e-mail policies. Quoted in David A. Wallace, "Recordkeeping and Electronic Mail Policy: The State of Thought and the State of the Practice" (paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Orlando, Florida, September 3, 1998), www.rbarry.com/wallace.html.

[25] Rothenberg, *Avoiding Technological Quicksand*. For the long controversy over NARA and the printing of e-mail, see Bill Miller, "Court Backs Archivist's Rule: U.S. Agencies May Be Allowed to Delete E-Mail," *Washington Post* (August 7, 1999): A02; Wallace, "Recordkeeping and Electronic Mail Policy"; GAO, *Information Management*, 57–65.

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just the files but also the original equipment. The same can be said of what is probably the most widely accepted current method of digital preservation—"data migration," or moving the documents from a medium, format, or computer technology that is becoming obsolete to one that is becoming more common.[26] When the National Archives saved the 1960 U.S Census tapes, they used migration, and large organizations use this strategy all the time—moving from one accounting system to another. Because we have lots of experience migrating data, we also know that it is time consuming and expensive. One estimate is that data migration is equivalent to photocopying all the books in a library every five years.[27]

Some like Rothenberg also worry, for example, about the loss of functionality in migrating digital files. Moreover, the process can't be automated because "migration requires a unique new solution for each new format or paradigm and each type of document that is to be converted into that new form." Rothenberg is also derisive about the practice of translating documents into standardized formats and then re-translating as new formats emerge, which he finds "analogous to translating Homer into modern English by way of every intervening language that has existed during the past 2,500 years."[28]

Rothenberg's favored alternative is "emulation"—developing a system that works on later generations of hardware and software but mimics the original. In principle, a single emulation solution could preserve a vast store of digital documents. In addition, it holds the greatest promise for preserving interactive and multimedia digital creations. But critics of emulation tellingly note that it is only a theoretical solution. Probably the best strategy is to reject the all-or-nothing, magic-bullet approaches implicit in the proposals of the most passionate advocates of any particular strategy—whether creating hard copies, preserving old equipment, migrating formats, or emulating hardware and software. Margaret Hedstrom, one of the leading figures in digital preservation research, argues persuasively that "the search for the Holy Grail of digital archiving is premature, unrealistic, and possibly counter-productive." Instead, we need to develop "solutions that are appropriate, effective, affordable and acceptable to different classes of digital objects that live in different technological and organizational contexts."[29]

[26] See Stewart Granger, "Emulation as a Digital Preservation Strategy," *D-Lib Magazine* 6, no. 10 (October 2000), www.dlib.org/dlib/october00/granger/10granger.html, on this as the "dominant" approach. An even earlier intervention version of "migration" is to move digital objects to "standardized" formats immediately or as quickly as possible, to put them in non-proprietary, open-source, commonly accepted formats (for instance, ASCII for text, .tiff for images, etc.) that are likely to be around for a long time. Of course, popular standards are no guarantee of longevity; in 1990, NARA was arguing that spreadsheets formatted for Lotus 1–2–3 were not a preservation problem since the program was so "widespread." House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*, 12.

[27] Warwick Cathro, Colin Webb, and Julie Whiting, "Archiving the Web: The PANDORA Archive at the National Library of Australia" (paper delivered at "Preserving the Present for the Future Web Archiving," Copenhagen, June 18–19, 2001). See also Diane Vogt-O'Connor, "Is the Record of the 20th Century at Risk?" *CRM: Cultural Resource Management* 22, no. 2 (1999): 21–24.

[28] Rothenberg, *Avoiding Technological Quicksand*.

[29] Margaret Hedstrom, "Digital Preservation: Matching Problems, Requirements and Solutions" (paper delivered at the NSF Workshop on Data Archiving and Information Preservation, March 26–27, 1999), http://cecssrv1.cecs.missouri.edu/NSFWorkshop/hedpp.html (accessed March 2002 but unavailable in May 2003). See also Margaret Hedstrom, "Research Issues in Digital Archiving" (paper delivered at the DAI Institute, "The State of Digital Preservation: An International Perspective, Washington, D.C., April 25, 2002, available at www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub107/contents.html).

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But even the most calibrated mix of technical solutions will not save the past for the future because, as we have seen, the problems are much more than technical and involve difficult social, political, and organizational questions of authenticity, ownership, and responsibility. Multiple experiments and practices are under way—more than can be discussed here. But I want to focus on some widely discussed approaches or experiments as illustrative of some of the possibilities and continuing problems.

ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND MOST INFLUENTIAL approaches to digital preservation (and digital authenticity) was what archivists call the "Pitt Project," a three-year (1993–1996) research effort funded by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) and centered at the University of Pittsburgh School of Information and Library Studies. For historians, what is most interesting (and sometimes puzzling) about the Pitt Project approach is the way that it simultaneously narrows and broadens the role of archives and archivists through its focus on "records as evidence" rather than "information." "Records," David Bearman and Jennifer Trant explain, "are that which was created in the conduct of business" and provide "evidence of transactions." Data or information, by contrast, Bearman "dismisses as non-archival and unworthy of the archivist's attention."[30] From this point of view, the government's record of your Social Security account is vital but not the "information" contained in letters that you and others might have written complaining about the idea of privatizing Social Security.

The Pitt Project produced a pathbreaking set of "functional requirements for evidence in electronic record keeping"—in effect, strategies and tactics to ensure that electronic records produce legally or organizationally acceptable evidence of their transactions. Such a focus responds particularly well to worries about the "authenticity" of electronic records. But for historians (and for some archivists), the focus on records as evidence rather than records as sources of information, history, or memory seems disappointingly narrow. Moreover, as Canadian archivist Terry

Rothenberg himself is currently undertaking research on emulation, and other emulation research is going on at the University of Michigan and Leeds University and at IBM's Almaden Research Center in San Jose, California. Daniel Greenstein and Abby Smith, "Digital Preservation in the United States: Survey of Current Research, Practice, and Common Understandings" (paper delivered at "Preserving History on the Web: Ensuring Long-Term Access to Web-Based Documents," Washington, D.C., April 23, 2002), copy in possession of author. More recently, Rothenberg has apparently tempered his position on emulation versus migration.

[30] David Bearman and Jennifer Trant, "Electronic Records Research Working Meeting, May 28–30, 1997: A Report from the Archives Community," *D-Lib Magazine* 3, nos. 7–8 (July/August 1997), www.dlib.org/dlib/july97/07bearman.html; Terry Cook, "The Impact of David Bearman on Modern Archival Thinking: An Essay of Personal Reflection and Critique," *Archives and Museum Informatics* 11 (1997): 23. See further Margaret Hedstrom, "Building Record-Keeping Systems: Archivists Are Not Alone on the Wild Frontier," *Archivaria* 44 (Fall 1997): 46–48. See also David Bearman and Ken Sochats, "Metadata Requirements for Evidence," in University of Pittsburgh, School of Information Sciences, the Pittsburgh Project, www.archimuse.com/papers/nhprc/. (Many parts of this site have disappeared, but this undated paper is available at www.archimuse.com/papers/nhprc/BACartic.html.) David Bearman, "An Indefensible Bastion: Archives as Repositories in the Electronic Age," in Bearman, ed., *Archival Management of Electronic Records* (Pittsburgh, 1991), 14–24; Margaret Hedstrom, "Archives as Repositories—A Commentary," in *ibid.*

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Cook points out, the emphasis on "redesigning computer systems' functional requirements to preserve the integrity and reliability of records" and assigning "long-term custodial control . . . to the creator of archival records" privileges "the powerful, relatively stable, and continuing creators of records capable of such reengineering" and ignores artists, activists, and "marginalized and weaker members of society" who have neither the resources nor inclination to produce "business acceptable communications."[31]

While the Pitt Project emphasizes archival professionalism, a narrowing of the definition of recordkeeping, a rejection of the custodial tradition in archives, and planning for more careful collecting in the future rather than action in the present, the Internet Archive has taken precisely the opposite approach. It represents a grass-roots, immediate, enthusiast response to the crisis of digital preservation that both expands and further centralizes archival responsibility in ways that were previously unimaginable. Starting in September 1996, Brewster Kahle and a small staff sent "crawlers" out to capture the web by moving link-by-link and completing a full snapshot every two months. Although in part a philanthropic venture funded by Kahle, the Internet Archive also has a commercial side. Kahle's for-profit web navigation service, Alexa Internet (bought by Amazon in 1999 for $300 million), is what actually gathers the web snapshots, which it uses to analyze patterns of web use, and then donates them to the Internet Archive.[32]

[31] Cook, "Impact of David Bearman on Modern Archival Thinking," 15–37. From another perspective, the Pitt Project broadened, rather than narrowed, the concerns of electronic archivists, since previously the focus had been on statistical databases. In one effort to join the emphasis on records as evidence with a broader social cultural focus, Margaret Hedstrom argues that "to benefit fully from the synergy between business needs and preservation requirements, cultural heritage concerns should be linked to equally critical social goals, such as monitoring global environment change, locating nuclear waste sites, and establishing property rights, all of which also depend on long-term access to reliable, electronic evidence." Quoted in Richard J. Cox, "Searching for Authority: Archivists and Electronic Records in the New World at the Fin-de-Siècle," *First Monday* 5, no. 1 (January 3, 2000), http://firstmonday.org/issues/issue5_1/cox/index.html. The Pitt Project has been the subject of enormous discussion and significant debate among archivists; a full and nuanced treatment of the subject is beyond the scope of this article. Whereas Cook offers serious criticism of Bearman, the leader of the project along with Richard Cox, he also celebrates Bearman as "the leading archival thinker of the late twentieth century." Linda Henry offers a sweeping attack on Bearman and other advocates of a "new paradigm" in electronic records management in "Schellenberg in Cyberspace," *American Archivist* 61 (Fall 1998): 309–27. A more recent critique is Mark A. Greene, "The Power of Meaning: The Archival Mission in the Postmodern Age," *American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2002): 42–55. Terry Cook puts the story in historical perspective (but from his particular perspective) in "What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997), available at www.rbarry.com/cookt-pastprologue-ar43fnl.htm. The project "Preservation of the Integrity of Electronic Records" (called the UBC Project because it was carried out at the University of British Columbia) and the InterPARES project (International Research on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems), which built on the UBC Project, have taken a different approach, but they share the Pitt Project's emphasis on the problem of "authenticity" and on "records" rather than the broader array of sources that generally interest historians. Luciana Duranti, *The Long-Term Preservation of Authentic Electronic Records: Findings of the InterPARES Project* (Vancouver, 2002), www.interpares.org/book/index.htm. The December 2002 draft of the *NHPRC Electronic Records Agenda Final Report* suggests that the consensus among archivists is moving toward a broader definition of records. My understanding of these issues has been greatly aided by attending the December 8–9, 2002, meeting convened to discuss that agenda and by conversations with Robert Horton of the Minnesota Historical Society, who is the leader of that effort.

[32] Carolyn Said, "Archiving the Internet: Brewster Kahle Makes Digital Snapshots of Web," *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 7, 1998): B3; Brewster Kahle, "Preserving the Internet," *Scientific American* (March 1997), www.sciamdigital.com; Kendra Mayfield, "Wayback Goes Way Back on Web," *Wired News* (October 29, 2001), www.wired.com/news/print/0,1294,47894,00.html; Mike Burner, "The Inter-

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By February 2002, the Internet Archive (IA) had gathered a monumental collection of more than 100 terabytes of web data—about 10 billion web pages or five times all the books in the Library of Congress—and was gobbling up 12 terabytes more each month. That same fall, it began offering public access to most of the collection through what Kahle called the "Wayback Machine"—a wry reference to the device used by the time-traveling Mr. Peabody in the Rocky and Bullwinkle cartoons of the 1960s. Astonishingly, a single individual with a very small staff has created the world's largest database and library in just five years.[33]

In December 2001, shortly after the Wayback Machine became public, the search engine company Google unveiled "Google Groups," another massive digital archive—this one under purely commercial auspices. Google Groups provides access to more than 650 million messages posted over the past two decades to "Usenet," the online discussion forums that predate even the Internet. Although "ownership" seems like a dubious concept in relation to a public discussion forum, Google purchased the archive from Deja.com, which had brought the groups to the web but then collapsed in the Internet bust. Despite Deja.com's failure, Google sees the Usenet Archive as another attractive feature in its stable of online information resources and tools.[34]

Both IA and Google Groups are libraries organized on principles that are more familiar to computer scientists than to librarians, as Peter Lyman, who knows both worlds as the head of the University of California at Berkeley library and as a member of the IA board, points out. The library community has focused on developing "sophisticated cataloging strategies." But computer scientists, including Kahle, have been more interested in developing sophisticated search engines that operate directly on the data we see (the web pages) rather than on the metadata (the cataloging information). Whereas archival and library projects focus on

net Archive Robot," e-mail to Robots Mailing List, September 5, 1996, www.robotstxt.org/wc/mailing-list/1258.html. On Alexa, see Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Seeing the Sites on a Custom Tour: New Internet Search Tool Takes Selective Approach," *Washington Post* (September 4, 1997): E01; Tim Jackson, "Archive Holds Wealth of Data," *Financial Times* (London) (November 24, 1997): 15; Laurie J. Flynn, "Alexa's Crusade Continues under Amazon.com's Flag," *New York Times* (May 3, 1999): C4. On other early efforts to "save the web," see Spencer Reiss, "Internet in a Box," *Wired* (October 1996), www.wired.com/wired/4.10/scans.html; Bruce Sterling, "The Life and Death of Media" (speech delivered at the Sixth International Symposium on Electronic Art, Montreal, September 19, 1995), available at www.chriswaltrip.com/sterling/dedmed.html; John Markoff, "When Big Brother Is a Librarian," *New York Times* (March 9, 1997): IV: 3; James B. Gardner, comp., "Report on Documenting the Digital Age" (Washington, D.C., 1997); Nathan Myhrvold, "Capturing History Digitally: Why Archive the Internet?" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copies of Gardner and Myhrvold in possession of author.

[33] Hamish Mackintosh, Interview with Brewster Kahle, "Webarian," *Guardian* (February 21, 2002): 4, www.guardian.co.uk/online/story/0,3605,653286,00.html; Molly Wood, "CNET's Web Know-It-All Goes Where You Won't," *CNET* (March 15, 2002), www.cnet.com/software/0-8888-8-9076625-1.html; "Seeing the Future in the Web's Past," *BBC News* (November 12, 2001), http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/in_depth/sci_tech/2000/dot_life/newsid_1651000/1651557.stm. For a good explanation of the technical side of IA, see Richard Koman, "How the Wayback Machine Works," *O'Reilly Network* (January 21, 2002), www.oreillynet.com/pub/a/webservices/2002/01/18/brewster.html.

[34] Google Employee, "Google Groups Archive Information Newsgroups," e-mail, December 21, 2001; Stellin, "Google's Revival of a Usenet Archive Opens Up a Wealth of Possibilities"; Danny Fortson, "Google Gobbles Up Deja.com's Babble," *Daily Deal* (February 12, 2001); Michael Liedtke, "Web Search Engine Google Buys Deja.com's Usenet Discussion Archives," *Associated Press* (February 12, 2001).

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"high-quality collections built around select themes" and make the unit of cataloging the web page, the computer science paradigm "allows for archiving the entire Web as it changes over time, then uses search engines to retrieve the necessary information."[35]

Projects designed by librarians and archivists generally have the advantages of precision and standardization. They favor careful protocols and standards such as the Dublin Core, the OAIS (Open Archival Information System), and the EAD (Encoded Archival Description). But the expense and difficulty of the protocols and procedures mean that less well funded and staffed archives and libraries often ignore them. Responding to presentations by advocates of standards at a conference, computer scientist Jim Miller warned that if archivists push for too much cataloging metadata "they might end up with none."[36]

The Internet Archive, which is the child of the search engines and the computer scientists, is an extraordinarily valuable resource. Most historians will not be interested now, but in twenty-five or fifty years they will delight in searching it. A typical college history assignment in 2050 might be to compare web depictions of Muslim Americans in 1998 and 2008. But any appreciation of the IA must acknowledge its limitations. For example, large numbers of web pages do not exist as "static" HTML pages; rather, they are stored in databases, and the pages are generated "on the fly" by search queries. As a result, the IA's crawlers do not capture much of the so-called "deep web" that is stored in databases. Multimedia files—streaming media and flash—also do not seem to be captured. In addition, the Internet Archive's crawls cannot go on forever; at some point, they stop, since, as one of the computer scientists who manages them acknowledges, "the Web is essentially infinite in size." Anyone who browses the IA regularly encounters such messages as "Not in Archive" and "File Location Error" or even "closed for maintenance."[37]

Some pages are missing for legal and economic as well as technical reasons. Private, gated sites are off-limits to the Internet Archive's crawlers. And many ungated sites also discourage the crawlers. The *New York Times* allows free access to its current contents, but charges for articles more than one week old. If the IA gathered up and preserved the *Times*'s content, there would be no reason for anyone to pay the *Times* for access to its proprietary archive. As a result, the *Times* includes a "robots exclusion" file on its site, which the IA respects. Even those sites

[35] Lyman, "Archiving the World Wide Web."

[36] Miller quoted in Gardner, "Report on Documenting the Digital Age." For an overview of OAIS, see Brian Lavoie, "Meeting the Challenges of Digital Preservation: The OAIS Reference Model," 2000, www.oclc.org/research/publications/newsletter/repubs/lavoie243/; on EAD, see Daniel V. Pitti, "Encoded Archival Description: An Introduction and Overview," *D-Lib Magazine* 5, no. 11 (November 1999), www.dlib.org/dlib/november99/11pitti.html. OAIS comes out of NASA and the space data community, not the librarians. But they have embraced it.

[37] Raymie Stata, "The Internet Archive" (paper delivered at the conference "Preserving Web-Based Documents," Washington, D.C., April 23, 2002). On deep versus surface web, see Lyman, "Archiving the World Wide Web"; Roy Rosenzweig, "The Road to Xanadu: Public and Private Pathways on the History Web," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 2 (September 2001): 548–79, also available at http://chnm.gmu.edu/assets/historyessays/e1/roadtoxanadu1.html. Kahle himself indicates many of the problems and limitations of the Internet Archive in Brewster Kahle, "Archiving the Internet: Bold Efforts to Record the Entire Internet Are Expected to Lead to New Services" (paper presented at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copy in possession of author.

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without the robots exclusion file and without any formal copyright are still covered by copyright law and could challenge the IA's archiving of their content. To avoid trouble, the IA simply purges the pages of anyone who complains. It is as if Julie Nixon could write to the National Archives and tell them to delete her father's tapes or an author could withdraw an early novel from circulation.[38]

Thus the Internet Archive is very far from the complete solution to the problem of digital preservation. It does not deal with the digital records that vex the National Archives and other repositories because they lack the public accessibility and minimal standardization in HTML of web pages. Nor does it include much formally published literature—e-books and journals—which is sold and hence gated from view. And even for what it has gathered, it has not yet hatched a long-term preservation plan, which would have to incorporate a strategy for continuing access to digital data that are in particular (and time-bound) formats. Even more troubling, it has no plan for how it will sustain itself into the future. Will Kahle continue to fund it indefinitely?[39] What if Amazon and Alexa no longer find it worthwhile to gather the data, especially since acquisition costs are doubling every year?

Similar questions could be raised about "Google Groups." What if the company decides that there is no prospect of gaining adequate advertising revenue by making old newsgroup messages available (as, indeed, Deja.com previously determined)? While appreciating Google's entrepreneurial energy in preserving and making available an enormous body of historical documents, we should also look carefully at the way private corporations have suddenly entered into a realm—archives—that was previously part of the public sector—a reflection of the privatization sweeping across the global economy. At least so far, our most important, and most imaginatively constructed, digital collections are in private hands.[40]

GIVEN THAT THE PRESERVATION OF cultural heritage and national history are arguably social goods, why shouldn't the government take the lead in such efforts? One reason is that at least some key aspects of the digital present—the *Bert* story, for example—do not follow national boundaries and, indeed, erode them. If national archives were part of the projects of state-building and nationalism, then why should states support post-national digital archives? The declining significance of state-based national archives may mirror the decline of the contemporary national

[38] On robots exclusion, see www.robotstxt.org/wc/exclusion-admin.html. Apparently, the IA will retroactively block a site without direct request, if it simply posts the robots.txt file. This would seem to mean that if someone took over an expired domain name, they could then block access to the prior content. There is some evidence, however, that the IA does not actually "purge" the content, it simply makes it inaccessible. For an intense discussion of these issues, see the hundreds of online postings in "The Wayback Machine, Friend or Foe?" *Slashdot* (June 19–20, 2002), http://ask.slashdot.org/askslashdot/02/06/19/1744209.shtml. For a pessimistic assessment of the legality of the IA's practices (though not explicitly directed at it), see I. Trotter Hardy, "Internet Archives and Copyright" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copy in possession of author.

[39] Insiders have commented to me that the IA would disappear if Kahle left the project. But there are very recent signs that the IA is broadening its base of financial support.

[40] For a recent, brief overview of these trends, see Naomi Klein, "Don't Fence Us In," *Guardian* (October 5, 2002).

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state. So far, the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress have worked with the Internet Archive only where they needed its help in documenting some particularly national stories—the elections of 1996 and 2000 and the September 11th attacks.

Another reason for the limited government role is that the digital preservation crisis emerged most dramatically during the anti-statist Reagan revolution of the 1980s. In the 1970s, for example, the electronic records program of the National Archives made a modest, promising start. But, as archivist Thomas E. Brown writes, it went into "a near total collapse in the 1980s." The staff dropped to seven people by 1983, and, amazingly, this beleaguered group charged with guarding the nation's electronic records had no access to computer facilities. Things began to improve in the early 1990s, but, after 1993, the electronic records program suffered from further cutbacks in the federal work force. An underfunded and understaffed National Archives was hardly in a position to develop a solution to the daunting and mounting problem of electronic federal records.[41]

The Library of Congress also initially eschewed a leading role in preserving digital materials, as the National Research Council later complained. Here, too, one could detect the weakening influence of the state. The library's high-profile effort in the digital realm was "American Memory," which digitized millions of items from its collections and placed them online. Teachers, students, and researchers love American Memory, but it did nothing to preserve the growing number of "born digital" objects. Not coincidentally, American Memory was a project that could attract large numbers of private and corporate donors, who often saw sponsorship as good advertising and who paid for three-quarters of the project.[42]

Better developed state-centered approaches to digital preservation have, not surprisingly, emerged outside the United States—in Australia and Scandinavia, for example. Norway requires that digital materials be legally deposited with the national library in return for copyright protection.[43] One of the key ways that the Library of Congress could help preserve the future of digital materials would be to aggressively assert its copyright deposit claims, which would finesse some of the legal and ownership issues troubling the Internet Archive.[44]

Nevertheless, the National Archives and the Library of Congress have very recently begun—prodded by outside critics and supported belatedly by Con-

[41] Thomas Brown, "What Is Past Is Analog: The National Archives Electronic Records Program since 1968" (paper delivered at the OAH Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., 2002), copy in possession of author. In 1997, Kenneth Thibodeau estimated that the NARA invested only token amounts (2 percent of its budget) in electronic records. Gardner, "Report on Documenting the Digital Age."

[42] Committee on an Information Technology Strategy for the Library of Congress, *et al.*, *LC21*, http://books.nap.edu/html/lc21/index.html; Rosenzweig, "Road to Xanadu."

[43] "Background Information about PANDORA: The National Collection of Australian Online Publications," *PANDORA*, http://pandora.nla.gov.au/background.html; Cathro, Webb, and Whiting, "Archiving the Web"; Colin Webb, "National Library of Australia" (paper delivered at the DAI Institute, "The State of Digital Preservation: An International Perspective," Washington, D.C., April 25, 2002, available at www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub107/contents.html). For British efforts to cope with digital materials, see Jim McCue, "Can You Archive the Net?" *Times* (London) (April 29, 2002). On Sweden and Norway, see Warwick Cathro, "Archiving the Web," *National Library of Australia Gateways* 52 (August 2001), www.nla.gov.au/ntwkpubs/gw/52/p11a01.html/.

[44] There is anecdotal evidence that this is being seriously considered.

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gress—to take a more aggressive approach on digital preservation. The archives is proposing a "Redesign of Federal Records Management" to respond to the reality that "a large majority of electronic record series of continuing value are not coming into archival custody." It is also working closely with the San Diego Supercomputing Center on developing "persistent object preservation" (POP), which creates a description of a digital object (and groups of digital objects) in simple tags and schemas that will be understandable in the future; the records would be "self-describing" and, hence, independent of specific hardware and software. The computer scientists maintain that records in this format will last for three hundred to four hundred years.[45]

In December 2000, the Library of Congress launched the most important initiative, the National Digital Information Infrastructure Program (NDIIP). Even this massive and important federal initiative bore the marks of the anti-statist, privatization politics of the 1980s. Congress gave the library $5 million for planning and promised another $20 million when it approved the plan. But the final $75 million will only be distributed as a match against an equal amount in private funds.[46]

Although the future of the digital present remains perilous, these recent initiatives suggest some encouraging strategies for preserving the range of digital materials. A combination of technical and organizational approaches promises the greatest chance of success, but privatization poses grave dangers for the future of the past. Advocates of digital preservation need to mobilize state funding and state power (such as the assertion of eminent domain over copyright materials) but infuse it with the experimental and ad hoc spirit of the Internet Archive. And we need to recognize that, for many digital materials (especially the web), the imperfect computer-science paradigm probably has more to recommend it than the more careful and systematic approach of the librarians and archivists. What is often said of military strategy seems to apply to digital preservation: "the greatest enemy of a good plan is the dream of a perfect plan."[47] We have never preserved everything; we need to start preserving something.

[45] National Archives and Records Administration, *Proposal for a Redesign of Federal Records Management* (July 2002), 10, www.archives.gov/records_management/initiatives/rm_redesign.html; Richard W. Walker, "For the Record, NARA Techie Aims to Preserve," *Government Computer News* 20, no. 21 (July 30, 2001), www.gcn.com/vol20_no21/news/4752-1.html/; GAO, *Information Management*, 50. So far, POP remains, as a NARA staff member explained in April 2001, "beyond the state of the art of information technology." Adrienne M. Woods, "Toward Building the Archives of the Future" (paper delivered at the Society of California Archivists' Annual Meeting, April 27, 2001), accessed online May 1, 2002, but not available as of June 20, 2002. See also Kenneth Thibodeau, "Overview of Technological Approaches to Digital Preservation and Challenges in Coming Years" (presentation at the DAI Institute, "The State of Digital Preservation: An International Perspective," Washington, D.C., April 24–25, 2002, available at www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub107/contents.html). In June 2002, the GAO reported that, in general, NARA's electronic records project "faces substantial risks" and "is already behind schedule." GAO, *Information Management*, 3.

[46] Amy Friedlander, "The National Digital Information Infrastructure Preservation Program: Expectations, Realities, Choices and Progress to Date," *D-Lib Magazine* 8, no. 4 (April 2002), www.dlib.org/dlib/april02/friedlander/04friedlander.html.

[47] The quote is often incorrectly attributed to Carl von Clausewitz. It could be that it is simply a reworking of Voltaire's remark that "le mieux est l'enemi du bien" (the best is the enemy of the good) or of George S. Patton's dictum, "A good plan violently executed now is better than a perfect plan executed next week."

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GIVEN THE ENORMOUS BARRIERS to saving digital records and information, it comes as something of a surprise that many continue to insist that a perfect plan—or at least a pretty good plan—will eventually emerge. Techno-optimists such as Brewster Kahle dream most vividly of the perfect plan and its startling consequences. "For the second time in history," Kahle writes with two collaborators, "people are laying plans to collect all information—the first time involved the Greeks which culminated in the Library of Alexandria . . . Now . . . many [are] once again to take steps in building libraries that hold complete collections." Digital technology, they explain, has "gotten to the point where scanning all books, digitizing all audio recordings, downloading all websites, and recording the output of all TV and radio stations is not only feasible but less costly than buying and storing the physical versions."[48] Librarians and archivists remain skeptical of such predictions, pointing out the enormous costs of cataloging and making available what has been preserved, and that we have never saved more than a fraction of our cultural output. But, whatever our degree of skepticism, it is still worth thinking seriously about what a world in which everything was saved might look like.

Most obviously, archives, libraries, and other record repositories would suddenly be freed from the tyranny of shelf space that has always shadowed their work. Digitization also removes other long-term scourges of historical memory such as fire and war. The 1921 fire that destroyed the 1890 census records provided a crucial spark that finally led to the creation of the National Archives. But what if there had been multiple copies of the census? The ease—almost inevitability—of the copying of digital files means that it is considerably less likely today that things exist in only a single copy.[49]

What would a new, virtual, and universal Alexandria library look like? Kahle and his colleagues have forcefully articulated an expansive democratic vision of a past that includes all voices and is open to all. "There are about ten to fifteen million people's voices evident on the Web," he told a reporter. "The Net is a people's medium: the good, the bad and the ugly. The interesting, the picayune and the profane. It's all there." Advocates of the new universal library and archive wax even more eloquently about democratizing access to the historical record. "The opportunity of our time is to offer universal access to all of human knowledge," said Kahle.[50]

[48] Kahle, Prelinger, and Jackson, "Public Access to Digital Materials." See, similarly, Michael Lesk, "How Much Information Is There in the World?" an online paper at www.lesk.com/mlesk/ksg97/ksg.html.

[49] McCoy, "Struggle to Establish a National Archives in the United States," 1, 12. Indeed, one digital preservation program—LOCKSS (Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe)—relies on precisely this principle: http://lockss.stanford.edu/.

[50] Lee Dembart, "Go Wayback," *International Herald Tribune* (March 4, 2002), www.iht.com/cgi-bin/generic.cgi?template=articleprint.tmplh&ArticleId=50002; "Seeing the Future in the Web's Past," *BBC News* (November 12, 2001). See also Joseph Menn, "Net Archive Turns Back 10 Billion Pages of Time," *Los Angeles Times* (October 25, 2001): A1; Heather Green, "A Library as Big as the World," *Business Week Online* (February 28, 2002), www.businessweek.com/technology/content/feb2002/tc20020228_1080.htm. The dream of a universal archive is also the nightmare of privacy advocates. In the paper era, the physical bulk of personnel files and bank, criminal, and medical records made them more likely to wind up in landfills than in archives. Even when preserved, the possibility of retrospective prying (was your neighbor's grandfather a deadbeat or a drunk?) was reduced by the sheer tedium of sorting through thousands of pages of records. But what if sophisticated data-mining tools ("tell me everything about my neighbors") made such searching easy? Even the "public" material on the web

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Kahle's vision of cultural and historical abundance merges the traditional democratic vision of the public library with the resources of the research library and the national archive. Previously, few had the opportunity to come to Washington to watch early Thomas Edison films at the Library of Congress. And the library could not have served them if they had. Democratized access is the real payoff in electronic records and materials. It may be harder to preserve and organize digital materials than it is paper records, but, once that is accomplished, they can be made accessible to vastly greater numbers of people. To open up the archives and libraries in this way democratizes historical work. Already, people who had never had direct access to archives and libraries can now enter. High school students are suddenly doing primary source research; genealogy has exploded in popularity because you no longer have to travel to distant archives.

This vision of democratic access also promises direct and unmediated access to the past. Electronic commerce enthusiasts tout "disintermediation"—which is the elimination of the insurance and real estate broker and other intermediaries—and the emergence of one like eBay made up of only buyers and sellers. In theory, the universal digital library might bring a similar cultural disintermediation in which people interested in history make direct contact with the documents and artifacts of the past without the mediation of cultural brokers like librarians, archivists, and historians. Sociologist Mike Featherstone speculates on the emergence of a "new culture of memory" in which the existing "hierarchical controls" over access would disappear. This "direct access to cultural records and resources from those outside cultural institutions" could "lead to a decline in intellectual and academic power" in which the historian, for example, no longer stands between people and their pasts.[51] The "Wayback Machine" encapsulates this vision of disintermediation by suggesting that everyone, like Mr. Peabody and his boy Sherman, can jump in a time machine and find out what Columbus or Edison was "really" like. Of course, most historians would argue that, while digital collections may put "the novice in the archive,"[52] he or she is not so likely to know what to do there. Still, the balance of

poses ethical challenges for historians. "The woman who is going to be elected president in 2024 is in high school now, and I bet she has a home page," exclaims Kahle. The Internet Archives has "the future president's home page!" Perhaps. But it also has the home pages of many other high school students, at least some of whom are going through serious emotional turmoil that they might later prefer to keep from public view. Kahle himself wrote a prescient 1992 article, the "Ethics of Digital Librarianship," which worries about "types of information that will be accessible" as "the system grows to include entertainment, employment, health and other servers." Menn, "Net Archive Turns Back 10 Billion Pages"; Wood, "CNET's Web Know-It-All"; Kahle quoted in John Markoff, "Bitter Debate on Privacy Divides Two Experts," *New York Times* (December 30, 1999): C1. See also Jean-François Blanchette and Deborah G. Johnson, "Data Retention and the Panoptic Society: The Social Benefits of Forgetfulness," *Information Society* 18 (2002): 33–45; Marc Rotenberg, "Privacy and the Digital Archive: Outlining Key Issues" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copy in possession of author; "Wayback Machine, Friend or Foe?"

[51] Mike Featherstone, "Archiving Cultures," *British Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 1 (January 2000): 178, 166. For examples of enthusiastic prophecy about such changes, see Francis Cairncross, *The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change Our Lives* (Boston, 1997); Kevin Kelly, "New Rules for the New Economy," *Wired* 5, no. 9 (September 1997), www.wired.com/wired/archive/5.09/newrules_pr.html. For a sober and sensible critique, see John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid, *The Social Life of Information* (Boston, 2000), 11–33.

[52] The phrase comes from my colleague Randy Bass; see Bass and Roy Rosenzweig, "Rewiring the

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power may shift. Ask any travel agent how the widespread access to information undercuts professional control.

Most historians have not embraced this vision in which everyone becomes his or her own historian. Nor have they enthusiastically endorsed the vision of a universal library that contains all voices and all records. In my informal polling, most historians recoil at the thought that they would need to write history with even more sources.[53] Historians are not particularly hostile to new technology, but they are not ready to welcome fundamental changes to their cultural position or their modes of work. Having lived our professional careers in a culture of scarcity, historians find that a world of abundance can be unsettling.

Abundance, after all, can be overwhelming. How do we find the forest when there are so many damned trees? Psychologist Aleksandr Luria made this point in his famous study of a Russian journalist, "S" (S. V. Shereshevskii), who had an amazingly photographic memory; he could reproduce complex tables of numbers and long lists of words that had been shown to him years earlier. But this "gift" turned out to be a curse. He could not recognize people because he remembered their faces so precisely; a slightly different expression would register as a different person. Grasping the larger point of a passage or abstract idea "became a tortuous . . . struggle against images that kept rising to the surface in his mind." He lacked, as psychologist Jerome Bruner notes, "the capacity to convert encounters with the particular into instances of the general."[54]

If historians are to set themselves "against forgetting" (in Milan Kundera's resonant phrase), then they may need to figure out new ways to sort their way through the potentially overwhelming digital record of the past. Contemporary historians are already groaning under the weight of their sources. Robert Caro has spent twenty-six years working his way through just the documents on Lyndon B. Johnson's pre-vice-presidential years—including 2,082 boxes of Senate papers. Surely, the injunction of traditional historians to look at "everything" cannot survive in a digital era in which "everything" has survived.[55]

The historical narratives that future historians write may not actually look much different from those that are crafted today, but the methodologies they use may need to change radically. If we have, for example, a complete record of everything

History and Social Studies Classroom: Needs, Frameworks, Dangers, and Proposals," *Journal of Education* (2000), available at http://chnm.gmu.edu/assets/historyessays/e2/rewiring1.html.

[53] See, for example, Geoffrey J. Giles, "Archives and Historians: An Introduction," in *Archives and Historians: The Crucial Partnership* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 5–13, who writes that "there is *too* much archival material for the archivists and for the historian to deal with" and notes feelings of "envy" of "ancient and medieval historians, who have so little material with which to work."

[54] A. R. Luria, *The Mind of a Mnemonist: A Little Book about a Vast Memory*, Lynn Solotaroff, trans. (New York, 1968), Jerome S. Bruner, foreword, viii. See the similar, but fictional, account in Jorge Luis Borges, "Funes the Memorious," in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby, eds. (New York, 1964), 59–66.

[55] Linton Weeks, "Power Biographer," *Washington Post* (April 25, 2002): C01. Carl Bridenbaugh's derisive view of sampling provides a good example of the traditional view that historians should look at everything. "The Great Mutation," *AHR* 68, no. 2 (January 1963): 315–31, also available with other Presidential Addresses at www.theaha.org/info/AHA_History/cbridenbaugh.htm. Nevertheless, historians have always struggled with the problem of how to deal with large numbers of sources. Even medievalists worry about how to make sense of the huge numbers of documents that survive from twelfth-century Italy. Still, the digital era vastly increases the scale of the problem.

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said in 2010, can we offer generalizations about the nature of discourse on a topic simply by "reading around"? Wouldn't we need to engage in some more methodical sampling in the manner of, say, sociology? Would this revive the social-scientific approaches with which historians flirted briefly in the 1970s? Wouldn't historians need to learn to write complex searches and algorithms that would allow them to sort through this overwhelming record in creative, but systematic, ways? The future gurus of historical research methodology may be the computer scientists at Google who have figured out how to search the equivalent of a 100-mile-high pile of paper in half a second. "To be able to find things with high accuracy and high reliability has an incredible impact on the world"—and, one might add, future historians. Future graduate programs will probably have to teach such social-scientific and quantitative methods as well as such other skills as "digital archaeology"(the ability to "read" arcane computer formats), "digital diplomatics" (the modern version of the old science of authenticating documents), and data mining (the ability to find the historical needle in the digital hay).[56] In the coming years, "contemporary historians" may need more specialized research and "language" skills than medievalists do.

HISTORIANS HAVE TIME TO THINK ABOUT changing their methods to meet the challenge of a cornucopia of historical sources. But they need to act more immediately on preserving the digital present or that reconsideration will be moot; they will be struggling with a scarcity, not an overabundance, of sources. Surprisingly, however, historians themselves have been scarce on this issue.[57] Archivists and librarians have intensely debated and discussed digitization and digital presentation for more than a decade. They have written hundreds of articles and reports, undertaken research projects, and organized conferences and workshops. Academic and teaching historians have taken almost no part in these conferences and have contributed almost nothing to this burgeoning literature. Historical journals have published nothing on the topic.[58]

Part of the reason is that preserving the born-digital materials for future

[56] Stellin, "Google's Revival of a Usenet Archive Opens Up a Wealth of Possibilities"; Hedstrom, "How Do We Make Electronic Archives Usable and Accessible?" (paper delivered at "Documenting the Digital Age," San Francisco, February 10–12, 1997), copy in possession of author.

[57] To be sure, a number of key figures in digital archives and library circles (for example, Daniel Greenstein, Margaret Hedstrom, Abby Smith, Kenneth Thibodeau, Bruce Ambacher) have doctoral degrees in history, but they do not currently work as academic historians. Still, it would be logical for academic historians to build alliances with these scholars who have a foot in both camps. Thus far, academic historians have been much more likely to build ties to historians working in museums and historical societies than to those in archives and libraries.

[58] It is difficult to prove a negative, but one searches in vain through the participant lists at key digital archives conferences for the names of practicing historians. One exception was the Committee on the Records of Government, which had a historian, Ernest R. May, as its chair and another, Anna K. Nelson, as its project director. But perhaps significantly, that committee had a mandate that dealt as much with paper as electronic records: Committee on the Records of Government, *Report* (1985). Another partial exception was the February 1997 conference "Documenting the Digital Age" sponsored by NSF, MCI Communications Corporation, Microsoft Corporation, and History Associates Incorporated, which included a few public and museum-based historians but only one university-based historian. Similarly, history journals have provided almost no coverage of these issues. Archivists are not reading historians, either. Richard Cox analyzed the almost 1,200 citations in 61 articles on

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historians seems like a theoretical and technical issue, tomorrow's problem or at least someone else's problem. Another reason for this disinterest is the divorce of archival concerns from the historical profession—a part of the general narrowing of the concerns of professional historians over the past century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians and archivists were closely aligned. Perhaps the most important committee of the American Historical Association in the 1890s was the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which led to the AHA's influential Public Archives Commission. Archival concerns found a regular place in the AHA's Annual Meeting, the *American Historical Review*, and especially the voluminous AHA annual reports. Most important, the AHA led the fight to establish the National Archives. But in 1936 (in the midst of an earlier technological upheaval that came with the emergence of microfilm), the Conference of Archivists left the AHA to create the Society of American Archivists. The professions charged with writing about the past and preserving the records of the past have sharply diverged in the past seven decades. Today, only 82 of the 14,000 members of the AHA identify themselves as archivists.[59]

But historians ignore the future of digital data at their own peril. What, for example, about the long-term preservation of scholarship that is—increasingly—originating in digital form? Not only do historians need to ensure the future of their own scholarship, but linking directly from footnotes to electronic texts—an exciting prospect for scholars—will only be possible if a stable archiving system emerges.[60] For the foreseeable future, librarians and archivists will be making decisions about priorities in digital preservation. Historians should be at the table when those decisions are made. Do they wish to endorse, for example, the Pitt Project's

electronic records management published in the 1990s and found only a handful of references to work by historians. Cox, "Searching for Authority."

[59] Cox, "Messrs. Washington, Jefferson, and Gates." Robert Townsend, Assistant Director of Research and Publications, AHA, kindly supplied membership information. One imperfect but telling indicator of the changing interests of professional historians: Between 1895 and 1999, the *American Historical Review* published thirty-one articles with one of the following words in the title: archive or archives, records, manuscripts, correspondence. Only four of those appeared after World War II, and they were in 1949, 1950, 1952, and 1965. Some representative titles include: Charles H. Haskins, "The Vatican Archives," *AHR* 2, no. 1 (October 1896): 40–58; Waldo Gifford Leland, "The National Archives: A Programme," *AHR* 18, no. 1 (October 1912): 1–28; Edward G. Campbell, "The National Archives Faces the Future," *AHR* 49, no. 3 (April 1944): 441–45. For a good, brief overview of the AHA's active, early archive and manuscript work, see Arthur S. Link, "The American Historical Association, 1884–1984: Retrospect and Prospect," *AHR* 90, no. 1 (February 1985): 1–17. NARA's "Timeline for the National Archives and Records Administration and the Development of the U.S. Archival Profession," www.archives.gov/research_room/alic/reference_desk/nara_timeline.html, highlights the role of the AHA. It should be noted, however, that the AHA has made a notable contribution to archival issues through its central role in the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History (NCC), which was crucial, for example, in winning the independence of the National Archives in 1984. The new National Coalition for History, which has replaced the NCC, has also made archival concerns central to its work. Access to archives and primary sources was, of course, a central preoccupation—indeed, an obsession—of early "scientific" and professional historians. See Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century," *AHR* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1150–76.

[60] Deanna B. Marcum, "Scholars as Partners in Digital Preservation," *CLIR Issues*, no. 20 (March/April 2001), www.clir.org/pubs/issues/issues20.html. "Scholars," warns the CLIR Task Force on the Artifact in Library Collections, "may not see preservation of research collections as their responsibility, but until they do, there is a risk that many valuable research sources will not be preserved." CLIR, *Evidence in Hand*.

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emphasis on preserving records of business transactions rather than "information" more broadly?

One of the most vexing and interesting features of the digital era is the way that it unsettles traditional arrangements and forces us to ask basic questions that have been there all along. Some are about the relationship between historians and archival work. Should the work of collecting, organizing, editing, and preserving of primary sources receive the same kind of recognition and respect that it did in earlier days of the profession? Others are about whose overall responsibility it is to preserve the past. For example, should the National Archives expand its role in preservation beyond official records? For many years, historians have taken a hands-off approach to archival questions. With the unsettling of the status quo, they should move back more actively into this realm. If the web page is the unit of analysis for the digital librarian and the link the unit of analysis for the computer scientists, what is the appropriate unit of analysis for historians? What would a digital archival system designed by historians look like? And how might we alter and enhance our methodologies in a digital realm? For example, in a world where all sources were digitized and universally accessible, arguments could be more rigorously tested. Currently, many arguments lack such scrutiny because so few scholars have access to the original sources—a problem that has arisen especially sharply in the recent controversies over Michael A. Bellesiles' *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (2000). In a new digital world, would historians then be held to the same standard of "reproducible" results as scientists?[61]

Of course, when historians get to the preservation table, they will discover a cultural and professional clash between their own impulses, which are to save everything, and those of librarians and archivists who believe that selection, whether passive or active, is inevitable. The National Archives, for example, only permanently accessions 2 percent of government records.[62] This conflict surfaced in the 1980s and 1990s, when librarians tried to bring in scholars to discuss priorities in preserving books that were deteriorating because of acidic paper. Librarians found the discussion "frustrating." "Many scholars," recalls Deanna Marcum, declared "that everything had to be saved and they could not make choices." Not surprisingly, scholars have responded very differently to Nicholson Baker's sharp attack on the microfilming and disposal of aging books and newspapers in *Double Fold* than have archivists and librarians. Whereas many scholars have shared Baker's outrage that books and newspapers have been destroyed, archivists and librarians have responded in outrage to what they see as his failure to understand the pressures that make it impossible to save everything. Whereas historians with their gaze fixed on the past worry about information scarcity (the missing letter or diary), archivists and librarians recognize that we now live in a world of overwhelming information abundance.[63] If historians are going to join in preservation

[61] I am indebted to Jim Sparrow for a number of the ideas in this paragraph. For detailed coverage of "How the Bellesiles Story Developed," see *History News Network*, http://hnn.us/articles/691.html.

[62] House Committee on Government Operations, *Taking a Byte out of History*, 4. For the assumption of selectivity among archivists, see, for instance, Richard J. Cox, "The Great Newspaper Caper: Backlash in the Digital Age," *First Monday* 5, no. 12 (December 2000), http://firstmonday.org/issues/issue5_12/cox/index.html.

[63] Abby Smith, *The Future of the Past: Preservation in American Research Libraries* (Washington,

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discussions, they will have to make themselves better informed about the simultaneous abundance of historical sources and scarcity of financial resources that lead archivists and librarians to respond with exasperation to scholars' blithe insistence that everything must be saved.

Preservation of the past is, in the end, often a matter of allocating adequate resources. Perhaps the largest problem facing the preservation of electronic government records has nothing to do with technology; it is, as various reports have noted, "the low priority traditionally given to federal records management." In the absence of new resources, the costs of preservation will come from the money that our society, in the aggregate, allocates for history and culture. Richard Cox, for example, has argued that a greater portion of the budget of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) should go to electronic records preservation and management and correspondingly less money should go to the letterpress Documentary Editions that the commission also funds, since "most of the records represented by the documentary editions are not immediately threatened." This stance does not endear him to documentary editors, who are much better represented among professional historians than are archivists.[64]

The alternative to squabbling over inadequate resources that are appropriated for these purposes is joint action to secure further funds. When Shirley Baker, president of the Association of Research Libraries, challenged historian Robert Darnton's favorable review of Baker's book and noted "choices have always had to be made" in the absence of "greater public commitment to the preservation of the historical record," Darnton responded by urging the establishment of "a new kind of national library dedicated to the preservation of cultural artifacts" (including disappearing digital records) and funded by income generated by the sale or rental of bandwidth.[65] Such state-based solutions return us to the kind of alliance between historians and archivists that led to building of the National Archives in the 1930s, an era of growing rather than waning confidence in the nation-state. Historians need to join in lobbying actively for adequate funding for both current historical work and preservation of future resources. They should also argue forcefully for the democratized access to the historical record that digital media make possible. And they must add their voices to those calling for expanding copyright deposit—and opposing copyright extension, for that matter—of digital materials so as to remove

D.C., 1999), www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub82/pub82text.html; Marcum, "Scholars as Partners in Digital Preservation"; Nicholson Baker, *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (New York, 2001). Compare, for example, Cox, "Great Newspaper Caper," and O'Toole, "Do Not Fold, Spindle, or Mutilate," with Robert Darnton, "The Great Book Massacre," *New York Review of Books* (April 26, 2001), www.nybooks.com/articles/14196. In 1996, the Modern Language Association (MLA) issued a statement arguing "that for practical purposes, all historical publications, even those produced by mass-production techniques designed to minimize deviations from a norm, have unique physical qualities that may have value as a carrier of (physical) evidence in a given research project." CLIR, *Evidence in Hand.*

[64] GAO, *Information Management*, 16; Cox, "Messrs. Washington, Jefferson, and Gates." Cox's article responded, in part, to an earlier article by Raymond W. Smock that argues, "historians should not rely on archivists alone to make decisions about what history to save or to publish." Smock, "The Nation's Patrimony Should Not Be Sacrificed to Electronic Records," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 14, 1997): B4–5.

[65] Robert Darnton, Sarah A. Mikel, and Shirley K. Baker, "The Great Book Massacre: An Exchange," *New York Review of Books* (March 14, 2002), www.nybooks.com/articles/15195.

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some of the legal clouds hanging over efforts like the Internet Archive and to halt the ongoing privatization of historical resources. Even in the absence of state action, historians should take steps individually and within their professional organizations to embrace the culture of abundance made possible by digital media and expand the public space of scholarship—for example, making their own work available for free on the web, cross-referencing other digital scholarship, and perhaps depositing their sources online for other scholars to use. A vigorous public domain today is a prerequisite for a healthy historical record.[66]

More than a century ago, Justin Winsor, the third president of the AHA, concluded his Presidential Address—focused on a topic that would be considered odd today, that of preserving manuscript sources for the study of history—with a plea to the AHA "to convince the National Legislature" to support a scheme "before it is too late" to preserve and make known "what there is still left to us of the historical manuscripts of the country." For founders of the historical profession such as Winsor, the need to engage with history broadly defined—not just how it was researched but also how it was taught in the schools or preserved in archives—came naturally; it was part of creating a historical profession.[67] In the early twenty-first century, we are likely to be faced with recreating the historical profession, and we will be well served by such a broad vision of our mission. If the past is to have an abundant future, if the story of *Bert Is Evil* and hundreds of other stories are to be fully told, then historians need to act in the present.

[66] See, for example, Vincent Kiernan, "'Open Archives' Project Promises Alternative to Costly Journals," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (December 3, 1999); Budapest Open Access Initiative, www.soros.org/openaccess. On questions of public domain and privatization, see Lawrence Lessig, *The Future of Ideas: The Fate of the Commons in a Connected World* (New York, 2001).

[67] Justin Winsor, "Manuscript Sources of American History: The Conspicuous Collections Extant," *Papers of the American Historical Association* 3, no. 1 (1888): 9–27, www.theaha.org/info/AHA_History/jwinsor.htm. On the central concern with teaching in schools, see Link, "American Historical Association, 1884–1984," 12–15.

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Review Essay

Disability History: Why We Need Another "Other"

CATHERINE J. KUDLICK

NOT SINCE JOAN WALLACH SCOTT heralded a new age with her "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" have historians faced such an exciting time to rethink what we do.[1] Over the past two decades, our cousins in anthropology and literature have produced essays and monographs dealing with disability as a historical subject.[2] The fields that blazed the trail for studying race, gender, and sexuality while introducing postmodernism and the linguistic turn have provided valuable analytic and theoretical tools for exploring this new Other.[3] Now the work

Many colleagues and students provided references, clarifications, and comments, making this a truly collaborative effort. Since it would take pages to list my intellectual debts, I can only single out the anonymous readers and those who could practically be co-authors because they read this essay in so many incarnations: Paul Longmore, Susan Mann, Mark Sherry, and John Vickrey Van Cleve. Special thanks also to Baki Tezcan for putting the right book in my hand at the right time. Named and unnamed, please accept my deepest thanks. I apologize for any omissions or inaccuracies, which are inevitable in such a task.

[1] Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1999), 28–52; originally published in *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1053–75.

[2] Although the quality of the historical scholarship varies, these works offer important insights and leads. Moshe Barasch, *Blindness: The History of a Mental Image in Western Thought* (New York, 2001); Lennard J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (New York, 1995); Lennard J. Davis, ed., *The Disability Studies Reader* (London, 1997); David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, eds., *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997); Peter W. Graham and Fritz H. Oehlschlaeger, *Articulating the Elephant Man: John Merrick and His Interpreters* (Baltimore, 1992); Nora Groce, *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Diane Price Herndl, *Invalid Women: Figuring Feminine Illness in American Fiction and Culture, 1840–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993); Mary Klages, *Woeful Afflictions: Disability and Sentimentality in Victorian America* (Philadelphia, 1999); Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, ed., *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York, 1996); Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Silent Poetry: Deafness, Sign, and Visual Culture in Modern France* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Allen Thiher, *Revels in Madness: Insanity in Medicine and Literature* (Ann Arbor, 2000).

[3] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York, 1963), is the most widely cited early book to theorize the issue of disability, although an impressive group of earlier works that explored disability as a minority status would be well worth resuscitating, both as primary and secondary sources: Roger G. Barker, "The Social Psychology of Physical Disability," *Journal of Social Issues* 4 (1948): 4; Roger G. Barker, Beatrice A. Wright, and Mollie Gonick, *Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness* (New York, 1946). Georges Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological* (1966; rpt. edn., New York, 1989), provides a perspective on medicine's normalizing tendencies. For more recent discussions of disability and theory, see Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York, 1997); Lennard J. Davis, *Bending over Backwards: Disability, Dismodernism, and Other Difficult Positions* (New York, 2002); David T. Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000); Tobin Siebers, ed., *The Body Aesthetic: From Fine Art to Body Modification* (Ann Arbor, 2000); Rod Michalko, *The Difference That Disability Makes* (Philadelphia,

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of more and more historians—some who have been studying disability for decades, others who have been doing it without consciously describing it this way, still others recently inspired by different disciplines—is beginning to bear fruit in the form of a fresh area of inquiry that could well reshape our scholarly landscape.[4] One need not identify oneself as disabled in order to reap the benefits of this up-and-coming field. Rather, the books introduced below help historians ask and attempt to answer the overarching questions central to our mission as scholars and teachers in a humanistic discipline: what does it mean to be human? How can we respond ethically to difference? What is the value of a human life? Who decides these questions, and what do the answers reveal?

Much of the new work springs from disability studies, an interdisciplinary field dating from the mid-1980s that invites scholars to think about disability not as an isolated, individual medical pathology but instead as a key defining social category on a par with race, class, and gender.[5] "Disability studies takes for its subject matter

2002); Susan Wendell, *The Rejected Body: Feminist Philosophical Reflections on Disability* (London, 1996); Sharon L. Snyder, Brenda Jo Bruggemann, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, eds., *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities* (New York, 2002), esp. Part 1, "Enabling Theory," 15–106.

[4] The field is now established enough to have its own electronic discussion group, H-Disability. For subscription information, go to http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/. Three excellent books from the mid-1990s helped launch the field in its current direction: Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago, 1996); Martin Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915* (Oxford, 1996); James W. Trent, *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). They in turn built on earlier scholarship: Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *FDR's Splendid Deception* (1985; rpt. edn., Arlington, Va., 1999); William O. McCagg and Lewis Siegelbaum, eds., *The Disabled in the Soviet Union: Past and Present, Theory and Practice* (Pittsburgh, 1989); William R. Paulson, *Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Blind in France* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Harlan L. Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (New York, 1984); Robert K. Scotch, *From Good Will to Civil Rights: Transforming Disability Policy* (Philadelphia, 1984, 2001). Paul K. Longmore has just published a collection of his scholarly and activist writings as *Why I Burned My Book and Other Essays* (Philadelphia, 2003); also see his important article with David Goldberger, "The League of the Physically Handicapped and the Great Depression: A Case Study in the New Disability History," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 3 (December 2000): 888–922; and his "Conspicuous Contribution and American Cultural Dilemmas: Telethon Rituals of Cleansing and Renewal," in Mitchell and Snyder, *Body and Physical Difference*, 134–58. A number of scholars have also unwittingly touched on the disability paradigm. See, for example, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, eds., *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998); Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981; rpt. edn., New York, 1996). Books on psychiatry and mental illness proved to be early trailblazers for disability history. See, for example, Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, Richard Howard, trans. (New York, 1965); Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987); Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1981); David Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive-Era America* (Boston, 1980); David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971).

[5] Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity* (New York, 1998), offers an indispensable, cogent overview. The Society for Disability Studies hosts an annual interdisciplinary conference that attracts a wide spectrum of several hundred scholars, activists, and policy makers. Its initials—SDS—were chosen deliberately to mirror the activism of Students for a Democratic Society from the 1960s. For information on the society, go to www.uic.edu/orgs/sds. A chapter called "Scholars" in Andrew Potok's rich and engaging book *A Matter of Dignity: Changing the World of the Disabled* (New York, 2002), 159–89, explores this academic world. Syllabi, bibliographies, and a treasure trove of other information can be found at the DISC (Disability Studies Academic Community) web site: http//mith2.umd.edu8080/disc/index.html, as well as at www.georgetown.edu/crossroads/interests/ds-hum/index.html. A lively virtual community of scholars exploring this issue and others can be found on the

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not simply the variations that exist in human behavior, appearance, functioning, sensory acuity, and cognitive processing, but, more crucially, the meaning we make of those variations," Simi Linton explains in her influential 1998 manifesto *Claiming Disability*. "It is an interdisciplinary field based on a socio-political analysis of disability and informed both by the knowledge base and methodologies used in the traditional liberal arts, and by conceptualizations and approaches developed in areas of the new scholarship."[6] By approaching disability as a social category rather than as an individual characteristic, the field challenges long-held perceptions that relegate it to the unglamorous backwaters primarily of interest to people in rehabilitation, special education, and other applied professional fields.

Seen in this way, disability should sit squarely at the center of historical inquiry, both as a subject worth studying in its own right and as one that will provide scholars with a new analytic tool for exploring power itself. Indeed, the books discussed here represent only the beginning of a greater project that will reveal disability as crucial for understanding how Western cultures determine hierarchies and maintain social order as well as how they define progress. For the United States and Western Europe—the most widely studied areas in this very new field—it might even be argued that hierarchy depends on the threat of disability always lurking as the ultimate living catastrophe. How else might we account for the prevalence of so many metaphors across times and places that derive rhetorical force from disabling conditions? For example, in 1558, John Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" (a pamphlet containing sixteen references to blindness and numerous others to madness, along with the ubiquitous "monstrous") drew on ancient scriptures to inform the English-speaking world that women should not rule.[7] Two and a half centuries later, writers with opinions as diverse as Edmund Burke and Tom Paine would rely on often identical monstrous metaphors to malign those they wished to attack.[8] Even the most basic look at narratives of modern European history conveys notions of degeneracy, defectiveness, and decline steeped in images of idiocy and deformity attributed to crowds, anarchists, mass democracy, Jews, women, homosexuals, corrupt politicians, the French, the English, the Germans, the Italians . . . [9] With a slight twist, Europeans used similar images to

DS-HUM (Disability Studies in the Humanities) electronic discussion group: www.georgetown.edu/crossroads/interests/ds-hum/dshowto.html.

[6] Linton, *Claiming Disability*, 2.

[7] John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," 1558.

[8] Douglas C. Baynton, "Disability and the Justification for Inequality in American History," in Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, eds., *The New Disability History: American Perspectives* (New York, 2001), 34–35. An intellectual historian, Baynton offers the best blend of history and theory to explore disability's place within larger historical contexts, and I owe much of this discussion to what I have learned from him. His book *Forbidden Signs* also explores valuable "cross-over" ground between disability and concepts more familiar to non-disability historians. In addition, I have greatly benefited from the insights of Rosemarie Garland-Thomson in her *Extraordinary Bodies*, esp. 5–51.

[9] Since the number of works is too exhaustive to cite in full, I offer a few examples: J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman, eds., *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York, 1985); Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, 1848–1914* (Cambridge, 1989); Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); William H. Schneider, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1990); Walter L. Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence: From Modernism to Fascism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Carl Ipsen, *Dictating Demography: The*

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allege their superiority over what would become known as "lesser-developed" nations.[10]

Such condemnations were more than mere rhetoric; oppressors used them and their implicit threat of incapacity to wield power, while the oppressed themselves appropriated negative views of disability to fight back. Disability worked as a critique of the social body in large part because classical thinkers such as Aristotle had established a particular understanding of the perfect human body. This father of Western taxonomy and later political thought saw "imperfect bodies"—notably women's but also those of "anyone who does not take after his parents"—as "deformed," "mutilated," "monstrous," "deviant," all synonyms for disability today.[11] The specter of disability also came through in religious writings and eventually would underpin scientific notions of progress and evolution's "survival of the fittest."[12] Moreover, Western nations embraced capitalism, a system predicated on able-bodied ideals of independence, strength, control, self-mastery, and struggle. Douglas Baynton's pathbreaking essay, "Disability and the Justification for Inequality in American History," shows how in the United States opponents of suffragists, abolitionists, and immigration all used disability to discredit undesirable groups' claims to citizenship, while women, African Americans, and immigrants bristled at being associated with disability.[13] The centrality of this concept to power, hierarchy, and social order raises intriguing comparative questions for cultures outside the United States and Europe, especially in light of initial research that suggests that not all cultures have seen the same impairments as disabling.[14]

Viewed in such protean terms, the field offers possibilities for intellectual exploration that will appeal to a variety of scholarly tastes. For political and policy historians, disability is a significant factor in the development of the modern state, by raising questions of who deserves the government's assistance and protection, what constitutes a capable citizen, and who merits the full rights of citizenship. For labor historians, it suggests ways of exploring assumptions about work, strength, productivity, and tensions between solidarity and individuality. Anyone interested in subjects as diverse as war, the body, the senses, aging, medicine, beauty,

Problem of Population in Fascist Italy (Cambridge, 1996); Michael Burleigh, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 1991). See note 82 for additional references.

[10] Consider the case of footbinding, a subject often invoked in Western writings about China. Where the Chinese saw beauty and status, Europeans found yet another place to condemn a civilization that "crippled" its women. This divergence of opinion reached a climax in the nineteenth century with the increasing influence of medicalization in the West. As Patricia Ebrey points out, "empathizing with the weak and unfortunate within a society is implicitly a critique of its power structure." "Gender and Sinology: Shifting Western Interpretations of Foodbinding, 1300–1890," *Late Imperial China* 20, no. 2 (December 1999): 1–34. For a more general overview of how Western cultures depicted outsiders, see Gustav Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture* (London, 1999).

[11] Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 19–20.

[12] On religion, see Nancy L. Eiesland, *The Disabled God: Toward a Liberatory Theology of Disability* (Nashville, Tenn., 1994), 70–75. For a discussion of evolutionary theory and disability, see Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*. Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*, and Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, offer but two of the most striking examples of scientific thought and disability.

[13] Baynton, "Disability and the Justification for Inequality," 33–57.

[14] Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement* (London, 1990), 14–17. The conclusion of this review will take up these questions in more detail.

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aesthetics, or technology will find ways of making the familiar refreshingly unfamiliar again. Just as gender and race have had an impact well beyond women and people of color, disability is so vast in its economic, social, political, cultural, religious, legal, philosophical, artistic, moral, and medical import that it can force historians to reconsider virtually every concept, every event, every "given" we have taken for granted.

The breadth of this new field—indeed, the problem that makes it so rich and interesting—stems from the fact that the term "disability" defies easy definition.[15] No clear consensus has emerged perhaps because human bodies and the societies they live in are by nature unstable. As numerous court battles have shown, even the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), designed to be multivalent, leaves intentional room for interpretation: "The term 'disability' means, with respect to an individual: (A) a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of such individual; (B) a record of such an impairment; or (C) being regarded as having such an impairment."[16] Making an observation that could prove useful to historians, activist Mary Johnson emphasizes the subjectivity inherent in such a definition, explaining that "'disabled' is in the final analysis a political or a moral judgement, based not on anything about the individual in question so much as the viewer's own perception and attitudes about the way society should function."[17] The diverse sampling of books discussed below will thus introduce readers to blind and deaf people, freak show performers, wounded veterans, patients with Tourette's Syndrome and autism, and users of artificial limbs. We also meet teachers, researchers, bureaucrats, journalists, physicians, artists, clerics, anthropologists, advertisers, and activists, each striving to change the lives of the above groups in some way, and therefore inadvertently working to define disability in a collective sense. Here we have an impressive variety of topics and approaches as well as a category that in essence is commonplace, even seen as natural, yet treated as inherently abnormal. Thus its very ambiguity and changing meanings open up uncharted areas of research and modes of analysis, which in turn will bring about a greater understanding of disability and its repercussions.

In light of these sweeping implications, it is curious that disability did not capture historians' attention sooner. Certainly, in terms of raw numbers and lived experience, it occupies a place comparable to gender and race in defining the human condition. According to the University of California San Francisco's Disability Statistics Center, at present nearly one fifth (19.7 percent) of Americans qualify as people with disabilities, while some sources place the number even higher.[18] Ironically, the ranks of disabled people will grow further as medicine

[15] For an excellent discussion of definitions and their implications, see Wendell, *Rejected Body*, 11–33.

[16] U.S. Department of Justice, Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990: www.usdoj.gov/crt/ada/pubs/ada.txt.

[17] Mary Johnson, *Make Them Go Away: Clint Eastwood, Christopher Reeve, and the Case against Disability Rights* (Louisville, Ky., 2003), 46.

[18] Disability Statistics Center, UCSF, http://dsc.ucsf.edu/UCSF/pub.taf?. The data is corroborated by the U.S. Census, which further states that one in eight—33 million—reported they had a severe disability, according to a report released on March 16, 2001. See the Department of Commerce Census Bureau web site at www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/2001/cb01-46.html. A higher figure averaging

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advances, because, as more people will be able to survive longer, they can be expected to acquire impairments that worsen with age. Meanwhile, in the past decade, researchers have been discovering and labeling new conditions with astonishing speed.[19] Even those who do not have a disability know relatives, friends, or colleagues who do. Moreover, we all encounter or think we encounter disability at some point in our lives because we acquire temporary impairments or have experiences described as "disabling." To be sure, such visits only scratch the surface of living with a chronic condition and fail to introduce people to the real problems posed by social and economic environments that compound, often even outweigh, the physical challenges. Still, they alert us to the porous boundaries between disability and apparent health. More significant, disability cuts across all races, classes, genders, nationalities, and generations because it can potentially happen to anyone at any time; an accident, a degenerative disease of the limbs, eyes, ears, or nervous system, can instantly transport someone into a new category of existence, a fact some activists underscore by referring to non-disabled people as "temporarily able bodied" or "TABS."[20]

The field of disability studies faces hurdles—some of them personal, some intellectual, some institutional—that could prompt historians to explore the roots and mechanisms of how societies function in new ways. Unlike racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities, disabled people experience attacks cloaked in pity accompanied by a widely held perception that no one wishes them ill. Yet while people in many other marginal groups have campaigned with some success to change their public image, disability carries a negative social charge still supported by dominant cultural assumptions across the economic, political, and intellectual spectrum.[21] The demeaning ideas and representations are everywhere: from the media's emphasis on normality, youth, and bodily perfection and its feel-good holiday stories about blind people getting guide dogs to everyday expressions such as "a crippled/paralyzed economy," "blind obedience/rage/ambition," "that's so lame/idiotic/dumb," "her suggestion fell on deaf ears," or in admonitions to "stand up for

40 percent can be found in Barbara M. Altman, "Definitions of Disability and Their Operationalization and Measurement in Survey Data: An Update," in Sharon N. Barnartt and Barbara M. Altman, eds., *Research in Social Science and Disability*, Vol. 2: *Exploring Theories and Expanding Methodologies* (New York, 2001), 77–100.

[19] Consider new learning disabilities such as Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), and Asperger's Syndrome. Even if such diagnoses have proved controversial, they reveal much about American society's coming to terms with defining disability and responding to it, a fact that will surely interest future historians.

[20] As Susan Wendell and others have made clear, factors such as race, class, gender, nationality, and age can have a significant impact on the experience of living with an impairment and its disabling consequences. Her book *The Rejected Body* carries on a sensitive, thought-provoking discussion of these congruences throughout.

[21] Trying to explain why even those who champion the causes of most marginal groups have trouble viewing disabled people as an oppressed minority, Mary Johnson boils it down to the false perception that "'no one is against the handicapped.' The phrase says there is no *animus* against disabled people—even though they are segregated and kept from full access to society, even though the special programs society affords them make for a much circumscribed life." Johnson, *Make Them Go Away*, 44. These issues also come up in Linda Hamilton Krieger, ed., *Backlash against the Americans with Disabilities Act: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2002). In light of these observations, we need more scholarship that explores how disability intersects with other identities in the past.

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yourself."[22] My point here is not to call out the language police but rather to underscore the impulse and the significance behind disability being represented in such trivializing, negative ways within so many diverse contexts. Indeed, one of the most challenging aspects of disability is to convince non-disabled people that even when it involves pain and hardship, disability is not always a tragedy, hardship, or lack but in fact often provides much of value.[23] This helps explain why, like the pioneers in gay and lesbian history, many disabled scholars try to "pass," worrying that "coming out" will lead to stigma and isolation as long as our culture consciously or subconsciously equates *dis*-ability with *in*-ability.[24] Compounded by disability's absence from diversity discussions, the resulting invisibility of disabled colleagues reinforces the idea that the topic remains marginal to academic inquiry, being instead a condition to be fixed by installing ramps and special mechanisms on doors. But, in fact, the study of disability offers the conceptual tools for exploring the underlying assumptions beneath modern Western societies' creation of the very environments where historians work—environments built on the assumption that everyone is young, strong, tireless, healthy, of similar size and shape, independent, and with all physical and mental components and in perfect working order.

Hinting at this greater promise, the fourteen books published between 1999 and 2002 discussed below represent a historical subfield with far-reaching implications for research and teaching that is just beginning to blossom.[25] Even given my "slice

[22] On disability and language, see Irving Kenneth Zola, "Self, Identity, and the Naming Question: Reflections on the Language of Disability," *Social Science and Medicine* 36, no. 2 (1993): 167–73; Wendell, *Rejected Body*, 77–81.

[23] As physical and/or mental outsiders, disabled people offer a valuable critique of a world that non-disabled people take for granted. "When people cannot ground their self-worth in their conformity to cultural body ideals or social expectations of performance," Wendell explains, "the exact nature of those ideals and expectations and their pervasive, unquestioning acceptance becomes much clearer." *Rejected Body*, 69. Profiling various people both disabled and not who have worked with disability in some way, Andrew Potok, *A Matter of Dignity: Changing the Lives of the Disabled* (New York, 2002), offers perhaps the most compelling, unsentimental case for finding beauty, wonder, and imagination in the challenges disability brings. As he explains in the introduction, "some say that being different means being less, others that it has within it the possibility of a new synthesis, a new paradigm. And it can provide the joys that attend transformation" (8). Georgina Kleege's unorthodox memoir *Sight Unseen* (New Haven, Conn., 1999) uses her partial blindness to explore visual culture, providing a fine example of how a disability can enhance perspectives. Some credit Dr. Oliver Sacks for doing something similar, albeit from the perspective of a person without a disability, a topic explored by Leonard Cassuto, "Oliver Sacks and the Medical Case Narrative," in Snyder, Bruggemann, and Garland-Thomson, *Enabling the Humanities*, 118–30. An increasingly vocal group of disabled people has begun to celebrate difference in ways comparable to the cultures of ethnic minorities. Deaf culture, the most obvious example, will be taken up in the second-to-last part of this essay. On the topic of a broader disability culture, see Susan Crutchfield and Martha Epstein, *Points of Contact: Disability, Art, and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000), 1–20. For disability and popular culture, see *The Ragged Edge Magazine* (formerly *The Disability Rag*), www.ragged-edge-mag.com; and *The Mouth: Voice of the Disability Nation*, www.mouthmag.com.

[24] Goffman, *Stigma*, 73–91, offers a valuable framework for thinking about issues related to passing and disability. Also see Brenda Jo Bruggemann, "On (Almost) Passing," in her *Lend Me Your Ear: Rhetorical Constructions of Deafness* (Washington, D.C., 1999), 81–99. On "coming out," see Georgina Kleege, "Disabled Students Come Out: Questions without Answers," in Snyder, Bruggemann, and Garland-Thomson, *Enabling the Humanities*, 308–16.

[25] On teaching disability studies, see Snyder, Bruggemann, and Garland-Thomson, *Enabling the Humanities*, Part 4, "Enabling Pedagogy," 283–336. In 2002, a new discussion group, "DS-Teaching," began. For information, see http://faculty.washington.edu/dlang/ds-teaching.html. For information to use in teaching disability history at all grade levels, visit the Disability History Museum at www.disabilitymuseum.org.

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of the current English-language literature" approach, choosing what to include was difficult. I have tried to provide a wide sampling of books and methods that would give a sense of the possibilities, at the same time that I have sought to emphasize ways of linking insights from these studies with issues animating mainstream discussions in our discipline. Since this field is rather new for historians, I have selectively drawn on recent scholarship in other areas to give some idea of imaginative roads that can be taken. Still, space constraints forced me to make some seemingly arbitrary choices, and I had to omit a number of excellent studies currently being completed or that arrived too late to be reviewed.[26] To emphasize the area's breadth and depth, my discussion first covers disability history generally, then focuses on deaf[27] history, the field's most highly developed subgenre. Since the books under review reflect disability history's predominantly Western and modern character, the conclusion will explore some comparative issues that suggest ways of viewing the subject from a more global perspective.

HENRI-JACQUES STIKER's far-ranging and often lyrical *History of Disability* gives a sense of just how ambitious the questions in this new field can be.[28] The 1999 translation of his 1983 classic French work offers a long-term perspective spanning Western culture from biblical times to the present. Readers will find it exciting and frustrating for all the reasons that many still have a love-hate relationship with Michel Foucault. Trained in philosophy and considered a historical anthropologist, Stiker wrote when Foucault was at the height of his popularity in France, and he often uses history both eclectically and strategically to advance a brilliantly provocative agenda with far-reaching implications. But the similarities end there. Not a simple rehashing of Foucault's ideas applied to disability, this passionate, sometimes difficult, always stimulating book covers new theoretical and methodological ground. Readers who persevere will be rewarded, for through disability—the ultimate difference—Stiker provides a way to reconsider issues of poverty, religion, race, gender, sexuality, and cross-cultural encounters over a broad span of time.

At the root of Stiker's analysis lies an intriguing set of concerns: what would it take for a culture to integrate disability naturally, even positively, into its understanding of humanity without trying to control or cure it? Given the trajectory of Western history with its Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman roots, could such a development be possible in our modern world? And what would a society based on these ideas be like? To examine these questions, Stiker turns the tables; he looks

[26] For example, I did not include the two recent biographies about Laura Bridgman: Ernest Freeberg, *The Education of Laura Bridgman: First Deaf and Blind Person to Learn Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); and Elizabeth Gitter, *The Imprisoned Guest: Samuel Howe and Laura Bridgman, the Original Deaf-Blind Girl* (New York, 2001). They have been extensively reviewed together in both the mainstream and academic press. Historians will gain much by reading Douglas C. Baynton's discussion in "Laura Bridgman and the History of Disability," *Reviews in American History* 30, no. 2 (June 2002). The essays contained in the anthologies reviewed below give a good idea of the excellent work under way.

[27] For simplicity, I use small d "deaf" rather than capital D "Deaf" throughout this essay. For a discussion of why, see note 63.

[28] Henri-Jacques Stiker, *A History of Disability*, William Sayers, trans. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999).

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not at ways that Western civilization sought to exclude people with disabilities but rather at how societies worked to include them. For Stiker, who proclaims that "in its essence, every rejection of difference is totalitarian and dictatorial, and gentle ways have often been preferred to brutal ones," integration represents a display of cultural cowardice, a capitulation.[29] Interrogating the individual's own personal drive toward sameness and critiquing modern society's need to erase difference, he explores how everything from government rehabilitation policies to educational plans to ethics itself strives toward an unhealthy goal that might ultimately be Western society's undoing. A fervent critique that might seem to run counter to the progressive, liberal message of inclusion being a panacea, *A History of Disability* provides tools for readers to explore how terms such as "assimilation," "integration," and "inclusion" came to be so problematic in today's contests over identity. At the same time, it urges us to question our ultimate social and political goals, while asking where our ideals originate and what they say about modern civilization.

While anthropology helps Stiker ask the questions, his training as a philosopher helps answer them. Thus texts (mostly in the more narrow, traditional sense of the word) provide the main focus of his analysis: the Bible, Greek myths (with a particularly interesting discussion of Oedipus[30]), Plato, Dominican texts, writings of St. Vincent de Paul, drafts of various French constitutions, mission statements for blind schools, and promotional literature for rehabilitation establishments. Stiker's multifaceted analysis leads him down a number of methodological roads. To cite one example, he seeks to unravel the intertwined relationship between language and culture as it develops over time by tracing the shifting meanings of words such as "disability," "handicap," "cure," and "rehabilitation."[31] By implication, he asks readers to contemplate why so many terms associated with disability are negations (*dis*-ability, impairment, *mal*-formation), yet we still lack a widely used expression such as "racism," "misogyny," or "homophobia" to describe the phenomenon of casting it in a negative light.[32] Beyond language, Stiker's analysis takes such forces as religion and capitalism into account, thereby offering historians not the definitive discussion of disability and history suggested by its grandiose title but a provocation, an invitation to think differently about the principles that organize the world.

The essays in Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky's collection, *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, focus more narrowly than Stiker, but they offer an excellent entrée into the field by demonstrating its promising variety.[33] The

[29] Stiker, *History of Disability*, 13.

[30] Stiker, *History of Disability*, 47–59.

[31] Stiker, *History of Disability*, chap. 6.

[32] While the term "ablism" comes into increasing use, it remains—at least for now—marginal, often tinged with the sarcasm people reserve for politically correct expressions such as "physically challenged" and "differently abled." Joseph Grigely adds that, unlike with other marginal groups, "'disabled' does not immediately engage a human context because it is part of an independent matrix for that which is dysfunctional or otherwise adjudicated by [negative] prefixes." Grigely, "Postcards to Sophie Calle," in Crutchfield and Epstein, *Points of Contact*, 40. British theorists such as Mairian Corker prefer "disablism," another term that has not caught on in the United States. For a detailed discussion of language and disabiblity, see Mairian Corker and Sally French, eds., *Disability Discourse* (Philadelphia, 1999).

[33] Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*. I have contributed an essay to this volume, "The Outlook of *The Problem* and the Problem with the *Outlook*: Two Advocacy Journals Reinvent Blind People in Turn-of-the-Century America," 187–213.

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pieces more than substantiate the volume's prevailing claim that disability is everywhere in history, once you begin to look for it.[34] The volume concentrates roughly on the period 1850–1950, with most of the fourteen essays clustered around the Progressive Era and several pieces bringing issues up to the present. Authors engage with intellectual, social, cultural, and policy history as well as labor, gender, literature, old and new media, covering a full range of motor, sensory, and mental disabilities. Since the editors want to place disability squarely at the center of concerns that animate mainstream scholarly debates, the book's important introduction and subsequent essays raise questions such as: what is the role of the state, and how does it interact with changing ideas of citizenship? What part does language play in modern society, both in terms of communication and representation? What does it mean to be "normal," and how are these values conveyed? Despite its diverse subject matter and approaches, the collection is surprisingly coherent, as much because of common threads in American history as because of the focus on disability.

The New Disability History also derives coherence from the contributors' explicit and implicit critique of what disability studies scholars call "the medical model." Born in the nineteenth century, this view of disability evolved with the modern state in the aftermath of the two world wars and persists to the present day in only slightly altered form. As Longmore and Umansky explain, this approach "personalizes disability, casting it as a deficit located within individuals that requires rehabilitation to correct the physiological defect or to amend the social deficiency."[35] Writing just after World War I, philanthropist-businessman Douglas C. McMurtrie articulated the contrasting "social model" by asserting that "the greatest handicap is not a loss of limb or other disability but the weight of public opinion," which could include encounters with disconcerted non-disabled people, low expectations, limited employment options, housing discrimination, lack of financial or personal assistance, an inaccessible environment, or limited educational opportunities, to name the most obvious.[36] Indeed, nearly all the essays engage at some level with this conflict and how it plays out in institutions, charity crusades, advocacy, policy, and even a person's sense of self. Brad Byrom's article "A Pupil and a Patient: Hospital-Schools in Progressive America," presents perhaps the most explicit contrasts by looking at what he calls "medical rehabilitationists" and "social rehabilitationists."[37] Like many of the contributors, Byrom follows two sides engaged in a battle, yet he shows how they often overlapped and borrowed from one another, invariably creating a complex knot of power relations. Kim Nielsen's essay, "Helen Keller and the Politics of Civic Fitness," shows how America's disabled icon embodied these contradictions as she fought to be taken seriously for her political and economic observations (initially, she defended socialism, pacifism, and wom-

[34] The assertion is Baynton's in "Disability and the Justification of Inequality," 52. He notes: "Disability is everywhere in history once you begin looking for it, but conspicuously absent in the histories we write."

[35] Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 7.

[36] Quoted by Brad Byrom, "A Pupil and a Patient: Hospital-Schools in Progressive America," in Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 138.

[37] Byrom, "Pupil and a Patient," 133–56.

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en's rights) in a culture embracing the medical model with gusto.[38] Thus Keller could lambaste American society for denying her opportunities as a disabled person while simultaneously turning her back on disability rights as a spokesperson for the then-paternalistic American Foundation for the Blind, and even publicly supporting euthanasia for "the unfit."[39]

By critiquing the medical model, Longmore and Umansky's collection offers a different perspective on the history of medicine and insights for the study of history more broadly. The contributors' critical look at mechanisms of oppression, as well as at how disabled people participated and resisted, raises important questions about historical agency and its relationship to the nature and goals of medical history itself. Together, the essays reveal how medicalization created a special role both for the disabled person in society and for disability as a social variable. But they also show how numerous disabled people challenged these classifications, often introducing not just a different interpretation but a different narrative for how they fit into history. Just like women, people of color, Jews, and sexual minorities, many with disabilities have come to equate breaking free of medical definitions as a form of liberation and a way to contest historically contingent ideas of normality. Living up to its name, *The New Disability History* responds to this challenge while helping to document it as historical reality.

Rab Houston and Uta Frith's *Autism in History: The Case of Hugh Blair of Borgue* suggests that, for some scholars, disability remains so firmly rooted in medicine that, even when the evidence shows that physicians and other health professionals played little or no role, we still get a medical history.[40] Written by a historian and a professor of cognitive development, the two-part book offers a case study of Hugh of Borgue, an autistic child born to a wealthy landowning family in rural Scotland during the early eighteenth century. In the first part, we learn of his relationships with family members, neighbors, and the broader community. While the authors claim that this first part places their study within a larger historical context, the background information on social attitudes, treatment, and economic developments reads rather naïvely and awkwardly, lacking nuance. The book's second part offers a "clinical interpretation" of the case from the standpoint of more modern studies of autism, a fact that might help explain the missing historical depth. The authors seek to "expose the unchanging core of autism" at the same time that they want to shed light on the ways different societies understand it.[41] This leads to introductions such as "He was called 'the daft lad of Borgue.' Can we improve on this general evaluation using scientific procedures?"[42] Valid in some fields, such goals run counter to recent trends in historical scholarship that stress relativism over finding cultural commonalities and that see "presentism" as a dirty word. But, more troubling from the perspective of historians, the authors let their argument determine the history they cite rather than vice versa, which gives the treatment of

[38] Kim Nielsen in Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 268–90. See her forthcoming book, *The Radical Lives of Helen Keller* (New York, 2003).
[39] Nielsen, "Helen Keller," 282.
[40] Rab Houston and Uta Frith, *Autism in History: The Case of Hugh Blair of Borgue* (Oxford, 2000).
[41] Houston and Frith, *Autism in History*, 4.
[42] Houston and Frith, *Autism in History*, 132.

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historical evidence a strained quality and a feeling that key details have been left out.

Nonetheless, the book provides a captivating, unusually well-documented early case history of a disability. It comes to us through a rich variety of legal texts generated by the fact that Blair's brother tried to prove him mentally ineligible to inherit the family fortune, particularly after his mother arranged a marriage for her "eccentric" son. As a result, we have a curious civil court case that allows us to see into local life in a rural community during the complex decades of the 1740s and 1750s where religion and legal authority conflicted and overlapped in unexpected ways. Significantly—and this is one of *Autism in History*'s most noteworthy contributions—physicians played almost no role in these deliberations. In the generation before medicine became a respected profession, local community leaders and family members sought expertise in other ways and other places for a condition such as Blair's. Not merely a matter of religious concern, the unconforming aristocrat also invited early speculations about the existence of a "self" and its relationship to the community as a legal and economic entity. As interested researchers unearth more of these cases and the invaluable primary source documentation they generated, scholars will learn more about local community values as well as about the professions and notions of authority at a key period of transition in Western history.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, unusual public behavior had come under the watchful eye of the medical profession, as demonstrated by Howard I. Kushner's book *A Cursing Brain? The Histories of Tourette Syndrome*.[43] Using everything from case histories to professional journals and letters (including material from Ann Landers), Kushner traces the complex history of a still poorly understood condition that causes people to engage in involuntary motor movements such as twitching and rapid eye blinking, growling, barking, and coprolalia (swearing). Unlike previous histories of Tourette's, the book goes beyond the founding myths, such as the case of "the cursing marquise" made famous in the 1820s by the young doctor Georges Gilles de la Tourette as the "maladie des tics." Instead, it looks closely at the elements that went into the case becoming so emblematic for generations of subsequent researchers.[44] In fact, Kushner provides a model for how to offer a close reading of texts to illuminate larger issues of concern to the medical community, even as he demonstrates an appreciation for quirky detail such as the twenty-three-year-old French woman in the 1970s who cursed in Latin.[45]

Kushner masters these details to tell a bigger story of how Tourette's came to be seen as a physical, organic condition as opposed to a psychological or social problem. Since Tourette's could be understood in various ways, cultural factors played an especially important part in determining cures; the French turned to psychoanalysis, while the Anglo-Saxon world saw it as a "syndrome" that could be kept at bay with drugs such as Haldol. To explain the different approaches, Kushner

[43] Howard I. Kushner, *A Cursing Brain? The Histories of Tourette Syndrome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

[44] Since no historians have written about Tourette's, Kushner has taken issue with the histories provided by medical professionals; *Cursing Brain*, 11, n. 6.

[45] Kushner, *Cursing Brain*, 160.

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explores the place of psychoanalysis in the French medical imagination because, he argues in part, it came to dominate all approaches to mental illness after its practitioners became associated with resistance to the Nazi occupation in the 1940s. Meanwhile, in the United States, grass-roots organizations such as the American Tourette's Syndrome Association, founded in the early 1970s, proved to be one of the early groups that clamored for effective and affordable drug treatments a decade before gay men with AIDS would launch similar initiatives.

As the question mark and plural "histories" of the book's title suggest, Kushner has been influenced by recent scholarly trends that question the legitimacy of turning exclusively to physicians for the authoritative story. Yet, even though he brings readers up to the present, where he concludes by stressing the fact that "the afflicted have something to tell us about their affliction," he ultimately sticks rather closely to the debates among the French and American medical communities.[46] Kushner would have gained much by drawing on a disability perspective that takes factors such as discrimination, popular culture, and economic forces (both inside and outside of medicine) into account, since—as his own narrative intimates—they played an important part in shaping medical debates and treatment options for this socially ambiguous condition. Histories such as this one could greatly enhance our understanding of medical practices by exploring the complex interplays of forces such as representations, public policy, gender relations, and economic factors, while giving the people with Tourette's themselves more agency by including their perspective.[47]

Much of the recent revisionist scholarship on disability—even scholarship on the modern period—has examined cultural constructions outside the medical arena. With a subject label on the cover that places it in "American History/Literary Criticism," Rachael Adams's *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* offers a provocative contrast with the previous two books, seeing people with disabilities not as "patients" or "cases" but rather as an important part of the social fabric.[48] An assistant professor of English, Adams has done enough history homework to offer a compelling, if very loosely chronological, narrative tracing how ideas toward the public display of human anamolies evolved from roughly 1850 to the present. Covering similar ground to both Leslie Fiedler's *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (1978) and Robert Bogdan's *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (1988), Adams updates and redefines the story by using ideas from postcolonialism, critical race theory, and queer studies, with a dose of political savvy and sensitivity from disability studies. As medicine, propriety, and ultimately political correctness "evicted" freak shows from popular culture and sent them into financial ruin, Adams argues, their hold on the American cultural imagination spilled into other venues. Twentieth-century connoisseurs of high art, photography, literature, and performance in some senses differed little from past voyeurs. Unlike her predecessors, Adams not only brings the story up to present-day New York City, she steps back to take stock of what it

[46] Kushner, *Cursing Brain*, 220.

[47] The 1993 documentary *Twitch and Shout* offers a valuable non-medical perspective, telling the story of Tourette's from the perspective of a photo-journalist with the condition.

[48] Rachael Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago, 2001).

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means to write a history of this history, in a sense implicating her own readers as the latest generation of gawkers. More than mere rhetorical play, this awareness enables Adams to raise unsettling questions about our role as scholars doing studies of this kind, particularly when it involves exposing people who had been put on stage to be the objects of public display.

Thus it is no accident that Adams presents her own book as a sideshow by dividing it into three "acts," each of which corresponds to changes in the role freaks played in the American cultural imagination. She begins at the turn of the century, when the general public, show organizers, journalists, respected anthropologists, medical doctors, and early Hollywood filmmakers accepted the Otherness of human curiosities as a given. In a climate where physical differences played an important part in defining someone's economic status and sense of self, the boundaries easily blurred between sideshow and academic endeavors such as housing Ishi (billed as the last living "savage" of a native American tribe) at the University of California's Hearst Museum. The book's second part focuses on the mid-twentieth century, when, for post–World War II America, Adams notes a shift from viewing freaks as "Other" to seeing them as part of the rebellious inner self. From the closeted writings of Carson McCullers in the 1950s and early 1960s to the bold proclamations of Jerry Rubin (dubbed at the height of the counter-culture movement as "the P. T. Barnum of the revolution"[49]), writers and artists identified with freaks to the point that the widespread acceptance of psychoanalysis allowed many to embrace the "freak within" and ultimately difference itself. "Act III" brings the story full circle to explore artists who once again depict the freak as inherently different and the gulf between normal and abnormal as somehow unbridgeable. Just when feminist and other discussions declared social constructionism's victory over biological determinism, writers such as Toni Morrison (*Beloved*, 1987) and Katherine Dunn (*Geek Love*, 1989) reasserted claims that the physical body played the essential part in determining both individual and social identity after all. Because it looks critically at social construction and identity without abandoning them altogether, *Sideshow U.S.A.* can help historians think carefully about what role disability plays when introduced into the complex overlaps and conflicts among race, gender, and class, thus giving us new tools for thinking about social order.

In contrast to the previous studies, which describe the non-disabled world's construction of disability, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation*, by Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, stresses the historical agency of disabled people themselves.[50] Focusing on the last third of the twentieth century, when the crusade for disability civil rights first came into public view, this textbook offers an invaluable crash course. A history of political, legal, and social activism, it covers the major events of the movement: the temporary and effective militancy of the League of the Physically Handicapped in the 1930s, the "splendid deception" that masked President Franklin D. Roosevelt's polio until his death in 1945, the rise

[49] Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.*, 143.

[50] Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Conformity* (Philadelphia, 2001).

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of the Independent Living Movement in the 1960s, the nearly month-long sit-in by disability activists at the San Francisco regional office of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the 1970s, the demonstrations of deaf students at Gallaudet University demanding a deaf president in the 1980s, and conflicts among various disability groups in the 1990s. Several chapters discuss the events leading up to the passage of the ADA, showing how the landmark legislation drew on strategies and language from other civil rights crusades in order to make a case for people with disabilities to enjoy nondiscrimination, equal opportunities, and even Affirmative Action. In addition, the book suggests territory ripe with possibilities for future work in the field. Since this area is so little explored, one could almost view each subsection within a chapter as a suggestion for potential research topics for students and scholars alike. For anyone thinking about how American social policy is hammered out, the impact of social activism, and the parallels with other civil rights campaigns, *The Disability Rights Movement* has much to offer.[51] To put the matter in perspective, as disability activists did fighting for accessible buses in the 1980s, "at least Rosa Parks could get on the bus!"[52]

The first people to become disability activists in the Western world, however unwittingly, were ex-soldiers. David A. Gerber's anthology, *Disabled Veterans in History*, explores why, while providing valuable opportunities for understanding both social constructions of "disability" and disabled people's historical agency.[53] Because, as some have wryly pointed out, "war is the most efficient way of creating disabled people," it offers a unique view into how different coexisting ideas of disability came into conflict and how various policies for the civilian population emerged as a result. Soldiers, of course, sustained their injuries in the patriotic and sacrificial act of serving their country, thereby investing their disability with an honorable quality, at least when they first returned home. In contrast, civilians—even those who acquired disabilities on the job—seldom escaped being labeled helpless, pathetic creatures or slackers who drained society of limited resources; while civilians "received welfare," ex-soldiers "earned benefits" and "rewards." Such a sense of entitlement and respect gave veterans the confidence and the clout to speak up on their own behalf. Even though soldiers routinely sought to distance themselves from the "less worthy" disabled civilians, their advocacy often led to the creation of public assistance and rehabilitation programs for all citizens.

Divided into three thematic sections—"representations," "public policy," and "living with a disability"—the volume covers a broad range of issues related to veterans in North America and Europe. Ancient Greece, sixteenth-century England, the Napoleonic Wars, the American Civil War, World Wars I and II, Americans in Vietnam, and Russians in Afghanistan together raise important questions about the body, the relationship between the home and battlefront,

[51] Richard K. Scotch's recently reprinted *From Good Will to Civil Rights* offers an excellent history of "Section 504" of the 1973 federal Vocational and Rehabilitation Act, the most influential antecedent of the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. For an overview of disability policy, see Deborah A. Stone, *The Disabled State* (Philadelphia, 1994); Joseph Shapiro, *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1994). On disability civil rights, see Sharon Barnartt and Richard Scotch, *Disability Protests: Contentious Politics, 1970–1999* (Washington, D.C., 2001).

[52] Fleischer and Zames, *Disability Rights Movement*, 84.

[53] David A. Gerber, ed., *Disabled Veterans in History* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000).

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challenges to masculinity, the development of national identity and collective memory, as well as the relationships among governments, policy, and self-advocacy. Because Gerber chose not to organize the essays chronologically, *Disabled Veterans in History* invites us to draw unlikely comparisons across time and to discover characteristics common to all wars rather than create a positivist narrative of war technology shaping ever-more-modern responses to disability. For example, while Martha Edwards's "Philoctetes in Historical Context" presents an intriguing contrast with our modern ideas about disabled veterans, it also contains many familiar contradictions.[54] The text reveals that ancient Greek culture did not have pensions, memorials, or any other indication that disabled soldiers existed as an official category. Yet the tragedy of Philoctetes turns on some of the same mixed feelings of revulsion and respect that Hollywood directors would use to manipulate spectators fifteen centuries later in movies about World War II and Vietnam.[55]

But more than introducing readers to a little-explored corner of the past, *Disabled Veterans in History* forces readers to think differently about war itself. As Gerber points out in his first-rate introduction, war has long been the stuff of historical analysis, and yet few have stopped to ponder its major consequences. "Disability and disfigurement are not incidental to war's purposes nor marginal to its effects, but rather, alongside the murder of those killed, the point to begin with," he explains. "Only in making victims can war achieve its political ends." Thus, in many ways, this collection reveals more about the greater society than about disability, since as Gerber notes, "disability is the dependent rather than the independent variable—it is the concept that helps to analyze and explain a larger phenomenon rather than the thing to be explained."[56] If reading *Disabled Veterans in History* makes it clear that it would be difficult to write the history of disability without discussing war, it makes an even stronger case that it should be impossible to write the history of war without disability.

Deborah Cohen's book *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* exemplifies Gerber's contention by offering a close look at a single event through a comparative framework.[57] Cohen begins with the intriguing problem of why England and Germany each responded to disabled veterans in ways that run contrary to what we might expect. In Weimar Germany, where the state embarked on a full-fledged, generous program to assist veterans after the war, and where as a result disabled soldiers appeared to be well taken care of, the Germans despised the state. Meanwhile, in Britain, where veterans with visible disabilities were banished from victory parades and struggled constantly for even the smallest benefits, the soldiers remained loyal, even complacent, citizens. To explain these unexpected responses, Cohen makes masterful use of British and German archival sources such as appeals for pensions, internal government reports and correspon-

[54] Martha Edwards, "Philoctetes in Historical Context, " in Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, 55–69.

[55] David A. Gerber, "Heroes and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans of World War II in *The Best Years of Our Lives*," in Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, 70–95; Martin F. Norden, "Bitterness, Rage, and Redemption: Hollywood Constructs the Disabled Vietnam Veteran," in Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, 96–114.

[56] Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, 4.

[57] Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001).

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dence, personal letters, and newspapers in such a way that brings policy and institutional history to life. The key actors turn out to be both large and small: voluntary organizations, housewives, government bureaucrats, and veterans, with each group interacting differently as Britain and Germany created varying ideas of civil society in the years during and after the war. Accordingly, this well-written and engaging history of philanthropy follows the attempts by numerous people—both unknown and famous—to open facilities, collect money from rich and poor, and create "living memorials" to help the war wounded in both countries.

Cohen's smart, difficult-to-summarize argument invites historians to think in more nuanced ways about the role veterans played in Adolf Hitler's rise to power. For Cohen, the outcome in 1918 proved less important than the expectations soldiers in each country had of the state and the public, and how these played out in honoring the implicit contract of war. Thus, having quashed fairly successful private charity efforts in its drive to assert power, the German Weimar state ultimately created expectations it could not fulfill. At the same time, it gave rise to the mistaken impression that the German public had abandoned its disabled veterans, not because of defeat but because of failed rehabilitation. German veterans' organizations emerged as strong advocacy groups that vented their frustration and anger at state and public alike. Meanwhile, across the Channel, the state had long been rather parsimonious and continued to draw on the public's generosity. Government-sponsored relief took a back seat to private philanthropy and volunteerism operating at the local level. This fragmented nature of the British charity system forced veterans to swallow their pride and accept their "victory" as men. But it established a mutually supportive bond between the soldiers and the British public, which in turn shaped the benevolent nature of ex-service organizations. Ironically, Cohen notes, had Weimar allowed private philanthropy to flourish, the numerous organizations might have served as a buffer between the state and the veterans' anger, a fact that might have prevented the soldiers from turning to National Socialism.[58] *The War Come Home* argues against government intervention in favor of returning to traditional systems of private philanthropy at the same time that it respectfully accords disabled veterans a distinct, powerful voice too long denied them.

In modern times, technology has played a significant role in the lives of veterans as well as in the broader population of disabled people. *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics* is a fascinating interdisciplinary collection edited by Katharine Ott, David Serlin, and Steven Mihm that examines the history of everything from synthetic limbs and artificial eyes to breast implants.[59] At the intersection of disability studies and the history of technology, the volume explicitly challenges the vogue among many cultural theorists to use "prosthesis" too loosely to mean virtually any interface between humans and machines, explaining that "the people in the history this volume chronicles were too busy living to be restrained by our post-structuralist worries over the cultural contingencies of what they did or

[58] Cohen describes the appeal National Socialism made to and had for German soldiers; *War Come Home*, 169–70; further, she cites James Diehl, "Victors or Victims? Disabled Veterans in the Third Reich," *Journal of Modern History* 59 (1987): 705–36.

[59] Katherine Ott, David Serlin, and Steven Mihm, eds., *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics* (New York, 2002).

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who they were." Here, the emphasis is on material culture and lived experience that places people more than theory at center stage. As the feisty introduction points out, "the material and social tales of prosthetics provide a more intimate and compelling history of embodied technology than any postmodern cyborg can account for."[60] Most of the articles focus on Europe and North America, exploring the lives of prosthetic developers and users, ranging from ex-soldiers to nightclub workers.

The most intellectually rewarding pieces push the edges of how readers think of disability. For example, Elizabeth Haiken's "Modern Miracles: The Development of Cosmetic Prosthetics" explores America's search for perfection at the crossroads of medical advances and increasing consumerism after World War II. "The category of need, which once seemed self-evident (as well as strictly physical)," she explains, "became more difficult to define as psychological thinking was added to the mix."[61] Thus, as technology advanced, choices increased to such an extent that some disabilities could be "fixed" and a human body could be reconfigured in the process. Not only did this new mastery blur distinctions between need and desire, it also threatened to broaden Americans' definitions of a disability to encompass even the smallest cosmetic imperfection. At the opposite end of the spectrum, we have Raman Srinivasan's "Technology Sits Cross-Legged: Developing the Jaipur Foot Prosthesis," which explores a low-end, practical technology in the developing world. Created in the 1960s by an Indian orthopedic surgeon working with an odd assortment of engineers, artists, craftspeople, rocket scientists, and voluntary organizations, the Jaipur foot belonged to "a class of hand-crafted, multiple-axis prosthetic devices that evoke the human foot exceptionally well in form and function, and yet are cheaper than a pair of Indian shoes."[62] This product of what its inventor called "the colonial mind set free" offered its own critique of Western medicine because it bypassed bureaucracy and materialism to deliver a simple, functional, and flexible solution to people who needed it. Though sentimental in places, the essay—like the actual foot—presents a revealing alternative vision of rehabilitation and Western medicine's role in constructing the individual.

Many readers will welcome the anthology's material-culture approach and the diverse backgrounds of its contributors. True to this emphasis, *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives* contains numerous illustrations accompanied by informative captions more akin to museum displays than to the minimal ones in most history texts, which reflects the fact that one of the editors is a curator at the Smithsonian. Of course, to engage with this history means being explicit about what theorists euphemistically describe with terms such as "the body-technology interface"; thus this volume contains some graphic descriptions of flesh, bones, metal, and wood being twisted, poked, sliced, pierced, or thumped in ways that challenge how most of us imagine a body and its possibilities. While the anthology as a whole makes a strong case for providing such detail, some authors use it more effectively

[60] Ott, Serlin, and Mihm, *Artificial Parts*, 3.

[61] Elizabeth Haiken, "Modern Miracles: The Development of Cosmetic Prosthetics," in Ott, Serlin, and Mihm, *Artificial Parts*, 171–226, quote 172.

[62] Raman Srinivasan, "Technology Sits Cross-Legged: Developing the Jaipur Foot Prosthesis," in Ott, Serlin, and Mihm, *Artificial Parts*, 327–47, quote 327.

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than others. Generally, however, *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives* is rich and informative, full of insight and promise.

HAVING SHOWN THAT disability history can cover a large span of time, place, topics, and approaches, I now turn to deaf history, its most highly developed subgenre.[63] By looking at how a variety of scholars have explored a single, clearly defined group, we can move beyond a discussion seemingly of apples and oranges to concentrate on the many possibilities for apples alone. More important, deaf history will help scholars move from thinking about disability as an individual's pathological characteristic to considering it as a social category. Once American deaf activists of the 1980s began to convince the world that their use of American Sign Language made them a legitimate linguistic minority much like those who speak Czech, Spanish, or Urdu, it became possible to see deaf communities more like ethnic groups.[64] Implicit in this change was a shift to seeing deaf people as active agents in their own fate rather than as passive victims of a medical condition. A product of this new attitude, deaf history far outpaces the literature devoted to other disabilities, particularly that concerning its alter ego, blindness.[65] And unlike the equally prolific subgenre of studies related to mental disabilities, where physicians and other caretakers have held the commanding voice, within deaf history it is assumed that deaf people themselves dominate the discussion.[66] While not every-

[63] Nearly all the studies in deaf history concern people who use sign language either because they were pre-lingually deaf or learned to sign later in life because of affinities with the highly organized, signing capital D deaf community. Despite the powerful influence of culturally deaf people, deafness encompasses a much larger number, most of them "hard of hearing" or "hearing-impaired" adults who experienced hearing loss with age and who never learned to sign. Because it is not always easy to tell whether a given text refers to Deaf or deaf concerns, and since deaf history can pertain to a broad spectrum of people, I have opted for the easy solution of the lowercase "d" throughout this review. An informal sampling of the first pages of recent studies of deaf history and culture reveals no commonly agreed-upon rule.

[64] On the arrival of deaf culture, see Carol Padden and Tom Humphries, *Deaf in America: Voices from a Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); John B. Christiansen and Sharon N. Barnartt, *Deaf President Now! The 1988 Revolution at Gallaudet University* (Washington, D.C., 1995). This deaf culture is nurtured by Gallaudet University, devoted to educating deaf students since the 1860s, and Gallaudet University Press, which publishes numerous works on deaf and—to a lesser extent—disability studies. While such institutions segregate deaf culture from discussions in mainstream scholarly circles, they also foster a climate of intellectual excitement.

[65] The current published monographs in blind history in the United States are almost all institutional: Harry Best, *Blindness and the Blind in the United States* (New York, 1934); Berthold Lowenfeld, *The Changing Status of the Blind: From Separation to Integration* (Springfield, Ill., 1975); or are celebratory histories commissioned by blindness organizations: Frances A. Koestler, *The Unseen Minority: A Social History of Blindness in the United States* (New York, 1975); Floyd Matson, *Walking Alone and Marching Together: A History of the Organized Blind Movement in the United States, 1940–1990* (Baltimore, 1990); Ronald J. Ferguson, *We Know Who We Are: A History of the Blind in Challenging Educational and Socially-Constructed Policies* (San Francisco, 2001). For other countries, the work is primarily in the history of ideas, such as Paulson, *Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Blind*; Barasch, *Blindness*. To my knowledge, the growing scholarship dealing with vision and visual culture ignores blind people or blindness: Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed., *The Visual Culture Reader* (London, 1998); Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002).

[66] Linton offers a cogent discussion of what differentiates disability studies from the "applied fields" (meaning rehabilitation, healthcare, and medicine), a distinction that provides background for how approaches to histories of mental illness tend to differ from approaches to deaf history. *Claiming Disability*, "Disability Studies/Not Disability Studies," 132–56.

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one with a disability can claim a similar linguistic bond, and few would seek to create the separatist world advocated by some deaf activists, many take heart in the fact that seemingly timeless ideas can be changed. Deaf history, then, offers an indication of where disability history might lead as it seeks to find a balance between recovering the raw data of history, celebration, and critical inquiry. Meanwhile, once it has been more widely understood and explored as a category on a par with gender, race, and class, disability can help deaf history develop even stronger and more diverse ties to mainstream historical debates.

But one important problem remains: deafness has a fraught relationship with disability. Like the African Americans and women who have used disability to advance their own status, many deaf people have sought to create a positive identity by claiming not to be disabled.[67] Thus some scholars and the people they write about might be offended to be included in this review, arguing that they represent a unique culture of difference rather than people limited in the dramatic ways suggested by a charged word like "disability." Still, to the extent that they acknowledge limitations, a large number of deaf people would agree with the general disabled population that social attitudes, prejudice, paternalism, an inaccessible environment, and economic hardships often pose greater difficulties than the actual condition. Even when taking into account that disability evades easy definition, the fact remains that, in many legal, social, medical, political, and personal situations, deafness fits.

Two related topics—the establishment of deaf education and the debates over sign language versus speech—together weave in and out of nearly every study of deaf history.[68] Sign, as anyone encountering the deaf world for the first time

[67] Lois Bragg, ed., *Deaf World* (New York, 2001), 319; Padden and Humphries, *Deaf in America*, 43–44. Throughout *Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community* (New York, 1992), Harlan Lane argues passionately for de-coupling deafness and disability. People with other disabilities, even including some activists, walk a fine line between embracing disability and distancing themselves from it, thereby giving a mixed message. In its literature, for example, the largest blindness advocacy organization, the National Federation of the Blind, tries to minimize the stigma of blindness by noting that, with proper training in alternative techniques and attitudes, blindness can be transformed from a tragedy to a mere nuisance (www.blind.net/bonwhati.htm); in private conversations, this often gets translated into saying flat out that blindness is not a disability. The history of the ADA reveals that various groups created a fragile coalition simply to get the legislation passed. See Zames and Fleischer, *Disability Rights Movement*, 88–109.

[68] On deaf history, see John Vickrey Van Cleve, ed., *Deaf History Unveiled: Interpretations from the New Scholarship* (Washington, D.C., 1993), a still-unsurpassed volume that explores the topic primarily from a North American perspective but that also includes essays from Western Europe and Russia. One of the earliest histories is by Edward Miner Gallaudet, *History of the College for the Deaf, 1857–1907* (1905; rpt. edn., Washington, D.C., 1983). John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch, *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* (Washington, D.C., 1989), gives a more recent simple narrative overview. Jonathan Rée, *I See a Voice: Deafness, Language, and the Senses* (New York, 1999), offers an even bigger, provocative, if sometimes glib, picture. Books that elaborate on many of these themes include Susan Burch, *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II* (New York, 2002), which reinterprets the debates over sign language by drawing more heavily on the deaf perspective than have previous studies, while Harlan Lane's *When the Mind Hears*; presents a feisty narrative of deaf history told from the first-person perspective of Laurent Clerc. (The bibliography, 457–518, is an especially valuable part of the book.) Baynton's *Forbidden Signs* provides one of the best examples of how a disability perspective can bring fruitful insights to major developments in mainstream American history. Linking debates over sign language to similar discussions regarding immigration, race, and gender differences, Baynton shows how a particular brand of paternalism infused both sides' justification for defining what it meant to be American in the nineteenth century. Rebecca Edwards reevaluates the standard chronology in her essay " 'Speech Has

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realizes, serves as the focal point of everything having to do with deafness. Not just a language for communication, signing both creates and symbolizes an individual's and the greater community's relationship to identity, politics, and connections to the hearing world. Deaf people have a "creation myth" beginning first with Abbé de l'Epée encountering a community of deaf Parisians and learning the language, followed by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet meeting the deaf student Laurent Clerc, who had been educated in French sign language, and inviting the young man back to the United States, where together they formed the first deaf school in 1817. By the end of the nineteenth century, a schism had grown between two groups who claimed to be representing the best interests of deaf people. On one side, "oralists" campaigned aggressively for forbidding the use of sign, arguing that only if deaf people were forced to speak could they be civilized humans in a democracy where speech was so important. On the other side, "manualists" advocated sign—or some combination of it and speech—as the best way for deaf people to communicate with intelligence and subtlety, since most pre-lingually deaf people never learned to lip-read and speak well enough to be fully functional in spoken English. Thus the most important battles over identity and agency took place in the deaf schools and focused on the issue of language.

In *Damned for Their Difference: The Cultural Construction of Deaf People as Disabled*, Jan Branson and Don Miller provide an excellent, if unusual, point of departure for understanding deaf history in the West.[69] Although the two Australian sociologists draw heavily from recent French theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Georges Canguillhem, and Michel Foucault, and although they advance a critique much like Stiker's of the contradictions inherent in capitalist democracies, their study follows a synthetic more than an eclectic path. To be sure, as the title implies, the book embodies deaf history's uneasy relationship to disability. The first fifty-six pages introduce major trends in European history—changing ideas of cosmology and science, the rise of industrial capitalism, the development of the modern state, the impact of imperialism and war, and the advent of globalization—to offer a clear, sensitive critique of how disability became pathologized and disabled people increasingly undervalued as a result; the remaining two hundred pages measure the deaf community's success in fleeing from disability. Since the French and American cases have determined the parameters for how generations of scholars have approached deaf history, the book's attention to Britain and Australia provides a good opportunity to question some basic assumptions. For example, according to Branson and Miller, the British introduced many of the philosophical ideas about the role of language in educating the deaf nearly a century before the French, but they medicalized deafness (turned it into a disability) later. This created a more complex debate between proponents of sign language and those of speech than has

an Extraordinary Humanizing Power': Horace Mann and the Problem of Nineteenth-Century Deaf Education," in Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 58–82. Nora Groce, *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language*, takes an anthropological approach to the study of what she presents as a very integrated community of deaf and hearing people living on Martha's Vineyard since the 1800s.

[69] Jan Branson and Don Miller, *Damned for Their Difference: The Cultural Construction of Deaf People as Disabled* (Washington, D.C., 2002).

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previously been assumed because British ideas of professionalization and medical authority followed their own path.

Damned for Their Difference also introduces scholars to new ways of thinking about disability and deafness in relation to ideas of the nation and the individual. Throughout their study, Branson and Miller return to "the contradictions between the exploitive mode of production and individualism," showing how capitalist democracy creates tensions between its political promise of individual agency and equality on the one hand and its thirst for economic expansion that fueled the drive to regulate and standardize to ensure a stable work force on the other.[70] Products of this new capitalist state, the medical profession and the educational system rendered deaf people powerless and alone by transforming them from just another example of difference in a local community to "disabled non-hearing people" best relegated to institutions. But lest readers come away with a simplistic idea that deaf people were only innocent victims, *Damned for Their Difference* ends with a spirited critique of recent drives to create national sign language dictionaries—symbols of deaf culture's success in the West—as oppressive to a patchwork of deaf linguistic traditions existing in much of the world. "Even the oppressed themselves can become oppressors if the complexities of linguistic and cultural rights are not explored," Branson and Miller warn.[71]

Perhaps because many have struggled valiantly to free deafness from pathological associations, deaf history contains two countercurrents: one shows deaf people as historical agents, while the other decries their status as victims. Like most sophisticated works in deaf history, Robert M. Buchanan's monograph, *Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in School and Factory, 1850–1950*, embodies both, in this case by looking at labor history.[72] Using records from institutions and workplaces, Buchanan tells the story of deaf leadership and the tensions within the deaf community not just over matters related to language but also regarding the role of the state and what deaf people believed they could legitimately and usefully gain from government assistance. In other words, *Illusions of Equality* shows deaf people wrestling with questions regarding the relationship they wanted to create between their identity, mainstream American society, and disability, indeed, whether they wanted to be considered disabled at all.[73]

Buchanan traces deaf history with a special emphasis on a thriving community of people initially drawn to the tire factories of Akron, Ohio, around 1910. Particularly mindful of class issues as well as the parallels with the experiences of immigrants, the book charts the ups and downs of deaf men and women living through the dramatic changes brought by industrialization and the two world wars. Once people who had been absorbing American values of pride and self-sufficiency in deaf educational institutions confronted the realities of a mainstream society that rejected them, they flocked to places that accepted them. For instance, when a factory such as Goodyear began employing deaf workers by the hundreds in what reporters called the "Silent Colony" of skilled, semi-skilled, and even management

[70] Branson and Miller, *Damned for Their Difference*, 251.
[71] Branson and Miller, *Damned for Their Difference*, 248.
[72] Robert M. Buchanan, *Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in School and Factory* (Washington, D.C., 2002).
[73] Buchanan, *Illusions of Equality*, 96–97.

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jobs at the beginning of World War I, the city's deaf population swelled to the point that people in other American cities noticed an exodus. At its height during World War I, the Akron deaf community, like others across the nation, boasted its own religious and civic organizations, many of which conducted charity drives for the war, social events such as silent movie screenings, and an active football team. The fortunes of Akron's deaf community rose and fell with the American economy, as desperate employers went out of their way to hire deaf people in wartime and—just like Rosie the Riveter—unceremoniously dismissed them in times of peace with the return of the regular labor force. Meanwhile, deaf workers debated hot issues such as whether they should join unions or whether they would stand a better chance of employment by being strikebreakers.

Buchanan's *Illusions of Equality* demonstrates many of the strengths and weaknesses possible in historical approaches to disability. Buchanan is a talented, energetic researcher who has brought a compelling and important chapter of deaf history to life by introducing us to sources and case studies from across the country: student newspapers, organization reports, and labor decrees, as well as a wide array of captivating pictures showing ads for deaf workers, workers on the job, political cartoons, and leaders of the community. He tells a lively story with interesting characters and a good plot while making readers aware of places where future work needs to be done, most notably in issues related to race and gender. But even though Buchanan apologizes for not discussing women and African Americans in any depth, perhaps some race or postcolonial theory or even discussions of masculinity would have helped him understand a deaf community dominated by white male leaders in a more complex way. For example, rather than simply blaming deaf leaders' caution on their having internalized the dominant cultural values of hearing society with regard to race, gender, and class, it would be useful to apply some gender analysis to understanding the role of masculinity in the context of an evolving deaf culture. In what ways did the mainstream society's association between disability and femininity influence male leaders' choices? How were ideas of masculinity and work incorporated into deaf men's expectations of themselves?[74]

Such tools prove useful when interpreting primary sources, especially in the new

[74] Buchanan, *Illusions of Equality*, iv–v. A growing literature explores issues of masculinity and disability. Susan Burch, "Reading between the Signs: Defending Deaf Culture in Early Twentieth-Century America," in Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 214–35, as well as in her book, *Signs of Resistance*, provides perhaps the most relevant advice for Buchanan since she discusses deaf people during the same time period. The issue of masculinity comes up with greatest frequency in studies of veterans. See Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*; and Cohen, *War Come Home*; as well as David A. Gerber, "Blind and Enlightened: The Contested Origins of the Egalitarian Politics of the Blinded Veterans Association," in Longmore and Umansky, *New Disability History*, 313–34; Daniel Wilson, "Crippled Manhood: Infantile Paralysis and the Construction of Masculinity," *Medical Humanities Review* 12 (1998): 9–28; and David Serlin, "Engineering Masculinity: Veterans and Prosthetics after World War II," in Ott, Serlin, and Mihm, *Artificial Parts*, 45–74. Beyond veterans, see Robert Murphy, *The Body Silent* (New York, 1987); Michael Tepper, "Letting Go of Restrictive Notions of Manhood: Male Sexuality, Disability, and Chronic Illness," *Sexuality and Disability* 17 (1999): 37–52; David Gordon, ed., *Men's Health and Illness: Gender, Power, and the Body* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1995). Leonard Kriegel takes up this question in much of his writing: *Falling into Life: Essays* (San Francisco, 1991); and *Flying Solo: Reimagining Manhood, Courage, and Loss* (Boston, 1998). Also see note 94. Tobin Siebers raises the interesting question of whether it is possible to move beyond "wounded manhood" when discussing masculinity and disability (personal correspondence with the author). Regarding postcolonial theory, Lane, *Mask of Benevolence*, likens hearing medical professionals' work with deaf people to the mechanisms of colonial oppression.

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field of disability history, where such documents are only beginning to be discovered and analyzed, let alone put into print. Autobiographies provide a valuable, if complicated, source, at the same time that they offer important ways of giving disabled people a rare form of agency by allowing them to express themselves.[75] Christopher Krentz's book *A Mighty Change: An Anthology of Deaf American Writing, 1816–1864* is the best autobiographical collection currently available for deaf history.[76] Divided into two parts, the book focuses first on individual authors, chosen, Krentz notes, "for quality writing that merits preservation and provokes interest," writers who lost their hearing before the age of eleven and identified with the community of deaf people who used sign language. Although in the introduction he worries that nearly all of his sources come from white males, he includes an unusual, absorbing account by a homeless deaf woman in Michigan writing before the Civil War.[77] Once Krentz makes it clear just how difficult it was even for pre-lingual deaf people of the privileged classes to learn to write in a language they had never heard (and at a time when few believed that deaf people would write at all), our early twenty-first-century expectations of inclusion need to be seen as a product of our own times. Still, as parts of this volume—and my own discovery of an unpublished manuscript written by the blind daughter of French artisans in the 1820s—make clear, many more sources remain hidden away, masked by the fact that disability history has barely begun to be explored.[78] The book's second section, "Events and Issues," presents an engaging set of discussions around important moments in deaf history of this period, including a heated debate in the 1850s over whether deaf people should create their own commonwealth in the form of a utopian community.[79] One only wishes that, in a field that desperately needs people to tell their own stories, more such volumes existed for other times, other places, and other disabilities.

As for many other marginal groups, the Holocaust has produced some of the most poignant accounts in disability history.[80] Yet, even though studies of this event

[75] Only a few representative examples can be listed here: Hector Chevigny, *My Eyes Have a Cold Nose* (New Haven, Conn., 1946); Eugenia M. Cox, *From the Ground Up: The True Story of a Polio Victim* (New York, 1960); Katharine Butler Hathaway, *The Little Locksmith: A Memoir* (1942; rpt. edn., New York, 2000); Leonard Kriegel, *The Long Walk Home* (New York, 1964); Louise Lake, *Each Day a Bonus: Twenty-five Courageous Years in a Wheelchair* (Salt Lake City, 1971). Since for *Stigma*, Goffman relied heavily on autobiographies, his footnotes are full of more examples. For scholarly discussions of disability and autobiography, see Thomas G. Couser, *Recovering Bodies: Illness, Disability, and Life-Writing* (Madison, Wis., 1997); Amy Fairchild, "The Polio Narratives: Dialogues with FDR," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75 (2001): 488–534; and Snyder, Bruggemann, and Garland-Thomson, Part 2, "Autobiographical Subjects," 109–70.

[76] Christopher Krentz, ed., *A Mighty Change: An Anthology of Deaf American Writing, 1816–1864* (Washington, D.C., 2000). Lois Bragg, *Deaf World*, demonstrates how the field of deaf studies is coming of age, particularly since she makes a point of offering a variety of perspectives, including those of women and African Americans. Unfortunately, she can do this largely because most of the selections for *Deaf World* are still too recent to be history; the earliest one dates from 1852, but well over half come from the 1990s alone. Moreover, since Bragg has not managed to create enough distance between herself and the documents, the sections introducing various texts read more like primary sources themselves.

[77] "Adele M. Jewel," in Krentz, *Mighty Change*, 118–28.

[78] *Reflections: The Life and Writings of a Young Blind Woman in Post-Revolutionary France by Thérèse-Adèle Husson*, Catherine J. Kudlick and Zina Weygand, trans. and eds. (New York, 2001).

[79] Krentz, *Mighty Change*, 161–211.

[80] Jacques Lusseyran, *And There Was Light: Autobiography of Jacques Lusseyran, Blind Hero of the French Resistance* (1963; rpt. edn., New York, 1998), offers a particularly fascinating account of how a

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occupy whole sections in bookstores, and even though disabled people were among its first victims as the Nazis tested public opinion for eliminating undesirable citizens, little scholarship has been published on disability in this context.[81] More work addresses the subject by exploring the Holocaust's turn-of-the-century foundations in the rise of eugenics, a respected scientific, state-supported approach to "human betterment."[82] Many Western nations, including the United States and Nazi Germany, passed legislation that prohibited marriages between "defectives," mandated forced sterilization programs, and supported euthanasia for disabled people. Given these inauspicious roots, the lack of scholarly discussion about disability and the Holocaust becomes even more striking since some estimate that as many as a million people were murdered because of their disability.[83] A number of factors might explain this lacuna, among them perhaps a tacit acceptance that the Nazis may have been right to want to eliminate this particular group of "undesirables." Disabled people have never received recognition as victims of genocide, and even now that gay rights activists have added homosexuals to the list along with Romany and Jews, the public knows surprisingly little about disability and the Holocaust.[84] Horst Biesold's *Crying Hands: Eugenics and Deaf People in Nazi Germany* is a welcome, if problematic, early contribution to this little-told story.[85] Culled and translated from a German doctoral dissertation based on interviews with over 1,200 deaf victims of Nazi persecution, this is a very disturbing book. It plunges readers into the muddy waters of science, eugenics, and decisions about the value of human life by focusing on the forced sterilization of deaf people, beginning with

blind man survived Buchenwald. But as with the field in general, deaf history has blazed the trail. In addition to Horst Biesold's *Crying Hands* discussed below, see Donna F. Ryan and John S. Schuchman, eds., *Deaf People in Hitler's Europe* (Washington, D.C., 2002); and Eleanor C. Dunai, *Surviving in Silence: A Deaf Boy in the Holocaust; The Harry I. Dunai Story* (Washington, D.C., 2002).

[81] Most studies that mention disability do so as part of a broader context: Gotz Aly, Peter Chroust, and Christian Pross, *Cleansing the Fatherland: Nazi Medicine and Racial Hygiene* (Baltimore, 1994); Phillipe Aziz, *Doctors of Death* (Geneva, 1976); Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance, "Euthanasia" in Germany, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1994); Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *By Trust Betrayed: Patients, Physicians and the License to Kill in the Third Reich* (New York, 1990); Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (London, 1994); Robert J. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986); Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

[82] Pernick, *Black Stork*, offers the most nuanced study that places disability at the center of eugenics. For an intellectually stimulating disability studies perspective, see David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, "The Eugenic Atlantic: Race, Disability, and the Making of an International Eugenic Science, 1800–1945," *Disability and Society* 18, no. 5 (August 2003). They also have a primary-source document collection forthcoming from SAGE publications in 2004, *Eugenics in America, 1848–1945*. Paul Lombardo offers an extensive annotated bibliography of eugenics at http://hsc.virginia.edu/medicine/inter-dis/bio-ethics/bibliographylombardo.htm.

[83] The Disability Rights Advocates in Oakland, California, have an ongoing "Disability Holocaust Project," www.dralegal.org/projects/disabilityholocaust/, which published a pamphlet (available online) in 1991 (reprint 2001), "Forgotten Crimes: The Holocaust and People with Disabilities," which they promote as a "first step" to understanding the issues. The figure of one million comes from this pamphlet, which judiciously explains the problems with determining an acceptable figure; 1–2. A recent documentary, *Liebe Perla*, explores the story of a girl of short stature who survived Josef Mengele's experiments. For more information on the film, go to http://philosophy.la.psu.edu/ethics/liebe_perla.htm.

[84] Branson and Miller, *Damned for Their Difference*, 33.

[85] Horst Biesold, *Crying Hands: Eugenics and Deaf People in Nazi Germany* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

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the "Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases" passed in 1933. This tragedy came about largely through the energetic help of teachers and principals in deaf institutions, since many repeatedly informed on their students. Meanwhile, physicians and social workers also did their part, meaning that professionals played a far greater role in denouncing their deaf charges than the German public did. Moreover, the leading German deaf organization, the REGEDE, largely sympathized with the Nazis, thereby undermining the deaf community at its core.

Because this book comes to us through so many filters (traumatic memories from childhood, transcriptions of sign language translated into spoken German, German into English, a dissertation into a book, a book itself substantially revised for an American readership), evaluating it for anything but the chilling stories themselves seems almost futile. Before meeting Biesold, these victims' shame about their deafness and their fate kept many from revealing to anyone that they had been forcibly sterilized. The pages upon pages filled with accounts of betrayal both intimate and bureaucratic thus come through with such force that attempting to summarize them or single out examples would never do them justice. And Biesold himself seems not to have found the right tone, since his narrative of the events seems both too distant yet also too close as it weaves awkwardly in and out of his informants' past and present lives. Not quite a study, then, *Crying Hands* is an experience, a riveting account. Here, hundreds and hundreds of deaf people tell their stories—without the aid of literary conventions and without the backing of a wider world that has joined them in their outrage. Even as mediated history, this is raw stuff that forces us to suspend analysis until such a time as more studies of disability in the past can give us a deeper understanding of how humans deal with their relationship to difference.

In many respects, Sophia Rosenfeld's densely argued and impressively researched study, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France*, serves as a model for how deafness might be lifted from heroic or victim status and fruitfully applied to studying mainstream history.[86] An intellectual historian, Rosenfeld provides a sophisticated exploration of how beginning in the 1740s Enlightenment philosophes and French revolutionaries came to understand the role of language as a political tool, and ends her story with some observations about the early decades of the nineteenth century. In their search for a pure, universal language that would speak to all French citizens without ambiguity, a number of thinkers looked to forms of communication that did not rely on the written or spoken word. While experiments in pantomime theater and the obscure rituals of Freemasons receive some attention, the real focus of the book (and presumably contemporaries) was the sign language of the deaf that Abbé de l'Epée tried to make more like written French in the 1760s and 1770s. Each week, Epée invited the Parisian elites to attend demonstrations of how his deaf pupils were being transformed from a "savage" to a "civilized" state through sign language. Inspiring, and appealing for sentimental reasons, these public classes had a significant impact on hearing intellectuals' discussions regarding the creation of a new, revolutionary French language that they hoped might be untainted by

[86] Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 2001).

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manipulation and abuse. As the revolution wore on and ended in disillusionment, the ideas of language as panacea evolved in such a way that signs no longer captured the intellectual imagination. In the end, the drive toward attaching concrete, precise meanings to words took center stage in a nation coming to terms with new forms of political participation and citizenship.[87]

Though clearly not deaf history, *A Revolution in Language* casts deafness in a leading role. In fact, the study of deafness is what allows Rosenfeld to reevaluate the place of language in the political culture of the French Revolution in the first place, and is what gives the book much of its originality and depth. By making deafness central to her discussion and argument, she has brought the subject into the mainstream in a way that a study focused exclusively on deafness never could. Rosenfeld should be commended for showing how central and enlightening such "marginal" perspectives can be in analyzing topics seemingly far outside of deaf and disability history. But her approach also raises questions about the problematic relationship between disability and historical agency. If deafness has a leading role in this study, deaf people do not—just as they rarely did at the time, when even the best-intentioned teachers and intellectuals used them to advance their pet theories and projects. The fact remains that, until recently, disability entered into discussions of the past only when scholars or contemporaries regarded it as having utility for non-disabled people. Like the sidekick who never gets the girl but who causes the romantic lead to discover love, disability is too often the unacknowledged enabler that helps define and construct the social order. Each time communities banished them, charities helped them, socialites pitied them, institutions cured or abused them, schools trained them, governments assisted them, medicine treated them, or sterilization destroyed them, disabled people became unwitting participants in the redemption of the non-disabled who struggled to secure their own status as "natural" or "normal."

Thus, while *A Revolution in Language* does much to show how disability history need not be limited to a history of a particular condition, by excluding deaf people it misses a valuable opportunity to be truly revolutionary in how it approaches ideas of historical agency. Much recent scholarship has not only aimed to give agency to groups previously excluded but has also sought to show how the interplay between the actors and the acted-upon has blurred the boundaries between them and therefore complicated our approaches to historical process.[88] We know from Rosenfeld's impressive fifty-page bibliography, for example, that the famous pupils of the great deaf educators left autobiographies that reveal considerable discord and much insight about the place and meaning of language. What impact did they have on their teachers, and how did this shape the public image of deafness more broadly in the swirling controversies over language? Certainly, deaf people

[87] Serendipitously, Jill Lepore used discussions of deafness to explore similar issues across the Atlantic in *A Is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States* (New York, 2002). Written for a more mainstream readership than Rosenfeld's study, the book devotes chapters to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and Alexander Graham Bell to show how deafness—first through sign language and later in attempts to teach deaf people to speak—entered into the creation of a national language alongside studies of Native American languages and Morse code. See chaps. 4 and 7.

[88] Rachael Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.*, offers an especially good example of this practice applied to the study of disability.

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themselves had different ideas about sign language than the hearing people who used it for their own purposes, thereby creating a fascinating give and take as students and teachers struggled to define not just the meaning of language but its essence for their very survival.[89]

EXPLORING IMAGES OF BLINDNESS and blind people in a medieval Islamic society, Fedwa Malti-Douglas both highlights and challenges many assumptions about disability in the West.[90] For this reason, a careful look at her article "*Mentalités* and Marginality" seems an appropriate way to conclude an essay that, because of the present nature of the field, has focused almost exclusively on Western Europe and the United States since 1700. Not only will this force readers to see themselves as products of their times, it also hints at a scholarly world waiting to be discovered for all historians, regardless of geographic or chronologic focus.

Even with fluid definitions of disability embodied in a document like the ADA, Western ideas seem rigid compared to how a society ruled by former slave soldiers between 1250 and 1517 described blind people. Just as the Inuit have many words for snow, the Mamlûks had no fewer than five common terms for blindness. While this stemmed from the greater prevalence of eye conditions, Malti-Douglas explains, "the visually handicapped formed part of the background of social life" in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria, just as they did in Islamic societies more broadly.[91] To be sure, they faced stigmatization and exclusion, as evidenced by al-Mawardī's influential *Ordinances of Government* dating from the eleventh century, which listed "sound hearing, vision, and speech so that perception could serve as a basis for action" among its seven conditions of eligibility for supreme leadership.[92] Still, stereotypes and expectations differed from Western ones. In this sophisticated medieval society, blind men[93] belonged to a category of people we would now consider disabled—it included "the lame," "idiots," the paralyzed, and sometimes the deaf. But the group also encompassed many who were simply physically different, such as people with bad breath, blue eyes, wall-eyes, flat noses, and large mouths. More often, blind men seemed to fall in a category with beggars and women, thereby making them socially marginal but not necessarily regarded as "disabled." Furthermore, the culturally laden associations between blindness and darkness central to Western thinking (which have little to do with the reality of no vision) did not exist in Islamic tradition, where it was described simply in terms of "a covering." Understood in this way, blindness meant a physical reality (loss of sight) rather than a devalued form of mental or spiritual difference. These contrasts suggest the contingent, contextual nature of disability, and call the relatively recent dominance of apparent "givens" like the medical model into question.

[89] For a perspective on how deaf people thought about language, see Mirzoeff, *Silent Poetry*, 30–89; and Lane, *When the Mind Hears*.

[90] Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality: Blindness and Mamlûk Civilization" [1989], rpt. in Malti-Douglas, *Power, Marginality, and the Body in Medieval Islam* (Aldershot, 2001), 211–37.

[91] Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality," 215.

[92] Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances of Government*, Wafaa H. Wahba, trans. (Reading, 1996), 4.

[93] Malti-Douglas notes that "blind women receive scant attention in the sources"; "*Mentalités* and Marginality," 226.

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Malti-Douglas's study of the non-Western and pre-modern Mamlûk society also invites speculations about where disability should sit in the relationship to other "Others." Regarding gender, a number of different Islamic texts throughout the period linked blind men to sighted women, not just in terms of social categories but also in matters related to physicality and sexuality. Unlike in the West, where blind personages such as Oedipus, the Theban wise man Teiresias, and Homer have "spiritual vision" to compensate them for their blindness, according to Malti-Douglas, Islamic tradition grants the blind man special qualifications in the sexual realm. Various proverbs such as describing someone as "more virile than a blind man" celebrated sexuality in positive terms. This offers a striking contrast with the growing literature on gender and disability in the West that shows how positive sexuality exists only for the non-disabled.[94] For the blind, this prejudice runs particularly deep; prevailing Western attitudes have equated loss of vision with sexual transgression and interpret it as a form of castration.[95] But drawing connections between blind men and eunuchs, Islamic writers saw sexuality and vision as two opposite yet complementary poles in which "what is missing from one is increased in the other."[96] "This should lay to rest the conception that such notions derive in any direct manner from the physical realities of blindness," Malti-Douglas concludes. "It should also call into question the Freudian variant of this position, that such notions are based upon universal psychological laws."[97] With little known about how Islamic society dealt with blind women, it would be difficult to speculate about how multiple oppressions worked, or indeed if the Mamlûks understood hierarchies in terms of overlapping, competing "Others" as in the West. But Malti-Douglas provides enticing clues that suggest different rules. Even if the Mamlûks marginalized blind men by linking them to women, the notion of sexuality being a positive compensation for blindness surely tempered this outsider status. This would make it hard to imagine a society like that of the Mamlûks comprehending, let alone accepting, how their neighbors to the west would establish relational identities among race, gender, sexuality, and disability. And it would be even harder for them to fathom interpretive frameworks like Baynton's "disability as justification for inequality" that see disability as an integral part of marginality, a category that trumps other forms of oppression, or, in the words of literary theorists David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, as "the master trope of human disqualification."[98]

That Islamic societies embraced a different kind of hierarchy does not contra-

[94] On gender and disability, see Michelle Fine and Adrienne Asch, eds., *Women with Disabilities: Essays in Psychology, Culture, and Politics* (Philadelphia, 1988); Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*; Wendell, *Rejected Body*; Barbara Hillyer, *Feminism and Disability* (Norman, Okla., 1993); Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison, eds., *Gendering Disability* (New Brunswick, N.J., forthcoming 2004). Fruitful and imaginative overlaps between homosexuality and disability can be found in Robert McRuer and Abby L. Wilkerson, eds., *Desiring Disability: Queer Theory Meets Disability Studies*, Special Double Issue of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8 (March 2003): 1–2; and Robert McRuer, "Compulsory Able-Bodiedness and the Queer/Disabled Existence," in Snyder, Bruggemann, and Garland-Thomson, *Enabling the Humanities*, 88–99. Also see note 74 above.

[95] Sigmund Freud, "Psychogenic Visual Disturbance according to Psycho-analytical Conceptions" [1910], in *Collected Papers*, Ernest Jones, ed., Joan Riviere, trans., 5 vols. (New York, 1959), 2105–12. Martin Jay shows how a number of different twentieth-century French thinkers processed this association throughout his book *Downcast Eyes*.

[96] Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality," 226.

[97] Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality," 227.

[98] Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*, 3.

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dict or even diminish what scholars have learned about disability in the West. Rather, this peek into one pre-modern, non-Western culture should inspire a more critical evaluation of how all societies approach physical difference. Closer to home, we need more studies that explore intersections between disability and race, both for the many theoretical and analytic insights this could offer and for the important stories that need to be told.[99] Meanwhile, armed with the new awareness brought through disability studies, historians who explore the rest of the globe might take stock of where disability fits in with what they already know, both in terms of what they study and their own Western-formed assumptions. Quite likely, a disability studies paradigm designed in, and applied to, the modern West might not make sense in many situations. Yet the experiences of the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America all have much to teach people studying disability from an American or West European perspective, for the roles of science, religion, family, and government often differ from our Western encounters and expectations.[100] We

[99] On disability and race, see Baynton, "Disability and the Justification of Inequality;" Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*; Leonard Kriegel, "Uncle Tom and Tiny Tim: Some Reflections on the Cripple as Negro," *American Scholar* (1969): 412–30; Mitchell and Snyder, "Eugenic Atlantic." David Bakke, *God Knows His Name: The True Story of John Doe No. 24* (Carbondale, Ill., 2000), follows the remarkable life of a deaf black man who survived in various mental institutions from 1945 until his death in 1993. Because race and disability remain so little explored, historians can find inspiration by looking at race and disease. See, for example, Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago, 1999); James H. Jones, *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment: A Tragedy of Race and Medicine* (New York, 1981); David McBride, *From T.B. to AIDS: Epidemics among Urban Blacks since 1900* (Albany, N.Y., 1991); Nyan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001).

[100] To start engaging with disability in a comparative context, see Benedicte Ingstad and Susan Reynolds Whyte, *Disability and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Richard Jenkins, ed., *Questions of Competence: Culture, Classification and Intellectual Disability* (Cambridge, 1999); James Charlton, *Nothing about Us without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (Berkeley, 2000); Peter Coleridge, *Disability, Liberation and Development* (Oxford, 1996); Emma Stone, ed., *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds, 1999). Very few monographs take up disability history in the non-Western world. For a start, see Eric Silla, *People Are Not the Same: Leprosy and Identity in Twentieth-Century Mali* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1998); Julie Livingston, " 'Long Ago We Were All Still Walking When We Died': Disability, Aging, and the Moral Imagination in Botswana, c. 1890–1990" (PhD dissertation, Emory University, 2001). More articles have covered disability, but they are scattered in a variety of professional and social-science journals. In history journals, we find Cristina Rivera-Garza, "Dangerous Minds Changing Psychiatric Views of the Mentally Ill in Porfirian Mexico, 1870–1911," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 56, no. 1 (January 2001): 36–67; Rivera-Garza, " 'She neither Respected nor Obeyed Anyone': Inmates and Psychiatrists Debate Gender and Class at the General Insane Asylum La Castaneda, Mexico, 1910–1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, nos. 3–4 (2001): 653–88; Waltraud Ernst, "Idioms of Madness and Colonial Boundaries: The Case of the European and 'Native' Mentally Ill in Early Nineteenth-Century British India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 1 (1997). The journal *Disability and Society* has also published a number of articles about historical topics. See M. Miles, "Signing in the Seraglio: Mutes, Dwarfs, and Jestures at the Ottoman Court, 1500–1700," *Disability and Society* 15, no. 1 (January 2000): 115–34; M. Miles, "Studying Responses to Disability in South Asian Histories: Approaches Personal, Prakrital, and Pragmatical," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 1 (January 2001): 143–60; Reiko Hayashi and Masako Okuhira, "The Disability Rights Movement in Japan: Past, Present and Future," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 6 (2001): 855–70. M. Miles has compiled an impressive bibliography, "Disability in the Middle East: A Bibliography Comprising Materials with Technical, Cultural and Historical Relevance to Child and Adult Disabilities, Special Needs, Social and Educational Responses and Rehabilitation," which can be found at http://cirrie.buffalo.edu/bibliography/MEasttoc.html; as well as his "History of Educational and Social Responses to Disability in Anglophone Eastern and Southern Africa: Introduction and Bibliography," at www.socsci.kun.nl/ped/whp/histeduc/mmiles/aesabib.html; and "Historical Bibliography on Educational and Social Responses to Disabilities and Childhood in Some Middle Eastern and South Asian Countries, from Antiquity to the 1950s" (revised version 2001), at www.socsci.kun.nl/ped/whp/histeduc/mmiles/mesabib1.html.

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might make similar claims regarding the pre-modern Western world, where disability was also ubiquitous while scholarship on the subject is not.[101]

Malti-Douglas ends her article by analyzing two seemingly different jokes about blind people.[102] Explaining that "verbal cleverness is one of the leitmotifs of medieval Arabic *adab* literature," she frames the anecdotes within a broader appreciation for oral culture. But, more important, she says, we need to think about them from the point of view of blindness. In one joke, a sighted man asks a blind one: "God has never removed the two eyes of a believer without substituting some good for them. So with what did He compensate you?" The blind man replies: "With not having to see disagreeable people like you." More involved, the second joke turns on a similar confrontation in which a sighted man provokes his blind companion, only to be stunned into silence by the blind man's reply. Like many of the scholars I have reviewed in this essay, Malti-Douglas uses popular culture to explore the borders between marginality and normality, ultimately demonstrating how Mamlûk society probed hierarchies by questioning sighted people's assumed superiority. Not only has Malti-Douglas shown how a role reversal occurred but—much along the lines of "inclusion" that many seek today—she also explains how the jokes "argue for an integrative attitude toward the visually handicapped." More important still, she points out that the lesson comes "not in the mouth of some benevolent sighted authority but in that of the blind individual himself." Despite the differences between East and West, and despite the time that has elapsed since people could laugh at these jokes, they still provoke a curl of the lip and a wink of the eye. Maybe throughout history, everyone knows that disabled people ultimately have the last laugh as they taunt the social order. And surely at some level, they also realize that disability is not just another "Other": it reveals and constructs notions of citizenship, human difference, social values, sexuality, and the complex relationship between the biological and social worlds.

[101] To enter into the subject of disability in the pre-modern Western world, see Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*; Judith Z. Abrams, *Judaism and Disability: Portrayals in Ancient Texts from the Tanach through the Bavli* (Washington, D.C., 1998); Martha Rose, *Disabling Greek Mythologies* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2003). For articles, see Edward Wheatley, "Blindness, Discipline, and Reward: Louis IX and the Foundation of the Hospice des Quinze-Vingts," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 22 (Fall 2002); Robert Hole, "Incest, Consanguinity, and a Monstrous Birth in Rural England, January 1600," *Social History* 25, no. 2 (May 2000): 183–99; A. B. Mulder-Bakker, "Lame Margaret of Magdeburg: The Social Function of a Medieval Recluse," *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 2 (June 1996): 155–69.

[102] Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality," 231–33.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

HANS G. KIPPENBERG. *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age*. Translated by BARBARA HARSHAV. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 264. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Hans G. Kippenberg has accomplished what few religion scholars have yet to do: namely, write an intelligent and accessible case for the study of comparative religion. To be sure, Kippenberg's competition is not stiff. The academic study of religion has never lined up well with either the humanities or social sciences. As such, religion scholars with humanistic sympathies participate meaningfully in such fields as religious history, ethics, and the study of ancient languages and culture. At the other end of the spectrum are those who contend that the discipline is a science that possesses methods and subjects as rigorous as other branches of learning. Kippenberg falls in the latter category. His book is a historical treatment of the rise of comparative religion, also called the history of religions. Such approaches tend toward abstraction and jargon, since they generally look beyond the specifics of actual religions to generalize about religion as a thing in itself. Yet this book avoids such pitfalls, if only because the author examines the leading proponents of comparative religion and locates them in the particular circumstances of an industrializing Western Europe between 1850 and 1930. Ironically, Kippenberg winds up showing how humanistic was the impulse to study world religions scientifically.

The characters in Kippenberg's narrative are the usual suspects in the field of comparative religion. After a brief orientation to Western European encounters with religious diversity from Thomas Hobbes to Arthur Schopenhauer, the book turns to nineteenth-century attempts to explain the beliefs of ancient cultures that the West discovered through colonial expansion into Asia, India, and the Middle East. Here Kippenberg provides illuminating brief sketches of prominent interpreters of religion, from Max Müller, E. B. Tyler, William Robertson Smith, Wilhelm Mannhardt, Friedrich Nietzsche, Jane Ellen Harrison, Wilhelm Bousset, Ernst Troeltsch, Robert Ranulph Marett, Émile Durkheim, and Max Weber to William James and Rudolf Otto. From the work of these scholars have emerged such key concepts as charisma, cult, disenchantment, eschatology, experience, fetishism, magic, *mentalité*, myth, pre-animism, primitive, ritual, salvation history, taboo, and totemism. Nevertheless, comparative religion advanced in an ad hoc manner; instead of forming a tradition of sustained interaction and refinement, the enterprise was usually the result of individuals working in different fields with differing sets of questions. So, for instance, Durkheim's interest in individualism and collectivism, shaped in part by the Dreyfus affair, led him to study religion as a basis for social cohesion in primitive cultures through totemism.

But what unites these different approaches, aside from the later efforts of scholars like Kippenberg to construct them into a methodological whole, is a way of appropriating religion to resist the forces of modernity. The rise of "scientific-industrial civilization," according to the author, appeared to render religion unnecessary. But comparative religion showed not simply the survival of but also modern society's ongoing dependence on religion. Kippenberg writes: "By giving modernization itself a place in the history of religions—as working ethos, intellectualism, individualism, rejection of tradition, and so forth—the scholars of religion restored to religions their right to exist in modem culture independent of their claims to faith" (p. 193). As such, "While spokesmen of the ascendent scientific-industrial society demanded a rejection of all religions, historians focused on what had been superseded by modernization and conceived of it as remaining valid in the present world" (p. 194).

As interesting as Kippenberg's thesis is, the comparative religion side of him still conceives of this field of study as a science. In response to critics such as Jonathan Z. Smith, who claims that "Religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study," Kippenberg contends that religious studies' development from 1850 to 1930 was "the same process of forming hypotheses and disproving them that is typical of other sciences" (p. 187). In point of fact, this book shows that one part of religious studies, and a narrow one at that, is a hodge-podge of attempts by a philosopher here, a sociologist there, and an Old Testament scholar over there to arrive at a general truth about humankind through studying religious rites and writings both

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ancient and contemporary. These efforts, in Kippenberg's competent hands, end up looking far more humanistic than scientific. Furthermore, the book ignores the much more direct way that religion became an academic discipline: namely, through the teaching of Christianity and Judaism performed by ministers, priests, and rabbis. Even so, it is a pleasantly plausible rendering of a subject that has rarely generated interest outside its own circles.

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Peter Nabokov. *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 246. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

This book explores what Peter Nabokov calls American Indian historicity. Of its several meanings, historicity generally denotes historic quality; historic, the nature of history opposed to other genres like myth, legend, or fiction; and the aim of history to deduce and narrativize past events, or what really happened. Following Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, Nabokov defines historicity in a specific way as "culturally patterned way or ways of experiencing and understanding ... [and] constructing and representing history" (p. 20). The main intent of his book is to reveal these culturally patterned ways.

The book consists of an introduction and nine chapters. One chapter is on historicity (in Nabokov's sense) in place, another on historicity in things. There is a chapter on "truths" that are "almost timeless" and another on events "within reach of memory." Historicity is subversive, we read elsewhere. All chapters seem to return to "historicity," to the various ways that North American Indians have imagined and represented the past. Perhaps deliberately, chapters circle around themes and spiral toward historical and culturally contextualized conclusions. The cases mentioned in any given chapter are new, but the ground covered is always familiar.

Nabokov hopes that his book will lead people to "[appreciate] the alternative Native American modes for using and remembering the past" (p. 28). Indeed, the signal contribution of this work is the multiplicity of cases discussed (and referenced). While not exhaustive—curiously, Nabokov omits relevant work clearly considered important by others—it nevertheless is the most comprehensive work extant on what its author calls American Indian historicity.

Yet I wish that Nabokov had explored in depth the connections between American Indian histories and what really happened. This is not an idle complaint that the author did not write another kind of book. Are certain types of events remembered well and transmitted accurately and others not? Oral accounts of significant epitomizing events, climatic or geological events hundreds of years ago, the year without summer, the flood following the collapse of a glacier-dammed lake, or some other natural catastrophe are things ripe for investigation in specific local history. But I wonder about the value of oral history for comprehensive explanation of continental events thousands of years ago, and I am curious about matters of current high interest in which historical interpretation is contentious. Almost any case involving repatriation—Kennewick Man, for example—in which chasms can and do separate American Indian from Western scientific historiography is worth exploring further.

For those interested in oral history's place in discovering what really happened in the past, this book is bound to disappoint. Sometimes, Nabokov informs us, one oral version of the past has been written down and formalized as the official version. But understanding why one and not some other version has been selected for canonization is limited. Is it because it was perceived as the most accurate version, or for some other "historicist" reason? Some larger context would have been helpful here. I cannot imagine historians today who do not appreciate selectivity, happenstance, and duplicity in the archival record, but is the written word ever useful? And is orality also not susceptible to corruption by the written word and the present? Whatever its pitfalls, the documentary record is at least fixed at the moment written. It is immune from today's dialogues and presentisms, which inevitably infect the oral report. Historians of black America or of World War II dealing with oral and written records seem far more willing to discuss the fallibility of memory and the strengths and shortcomings of the oral record than their counterparts working in indigenous America.

Over the last quarter of a century, a significant rapprochement between anthropology and history has occurred and has affected the historiography of indigenous people. Yet of all world regions, North America has contributed least to theory bearing on indigenous historiography. Nabokov lists the reasons why Indian country has been such a backwater: for anthropologists, the perception that in other parts of the world people's traditions are more intact and are more theoretically fertile; for some indigenous people, a desire for secrecy or the sense that spiritual danger awaits those who reveal what they know; and in Indian country, diatribes against anthropology and barely veiled hostility toward scholarship that is not predictably politically correct, leaving many scholars reluctant even to begin research.

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Yaacov Shavit. *History in Black: African-Americans in Search of an Ancient Past*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 2001. Pp. xix, 422. $62.50.

Yaacov Shavit's concern is with the Afrocentric reconstruction of ancient history seen as a reflection of the predicament of African-Americans in the last third of the twentieth century. He rightly connects the rise of historical Afrocentrism to the decline of the civil rights

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movement of the 1960s and black disappointment with the lack of achievement in integration. Shavit briefly describes "separatist Afrocentrists," those who see Africans and their civilizations as essentially and permanently different from, and better than, all others. His stated concern, however, is with nonseparatist Afrocentrism, "which tries to prove that black culture was the source of influence to which Western civilization is indebted" (p. 10). This, indeed, is his overall theme. He cannot, however, resist opportunities to tease Afrocentrists for the inconsistency between the separatist and nonseparatist approaches. Within nonseparatism Shavit weaves together two themes: Africa as a continental homeland to which the world is indebted, and ancient Egypt as the epitome of Africa and source of African and world cultures.

This book has had a long gestation, as indicated by its numerous footnotes and 44 pages of bibliography. Shavit's thoroughness and erudition led him to be pipped at the post by two smaller but still substantial books: *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History*, by W. J. Moses (1998), and *Afrocentrism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes*, by Stephen Howe (1998). The author admits that these books are similar to his own both in their topic and their skeptical attitude toward it. Nevertheless, he distinguishes his work, which convincingly portrays Afrocentrism and even Egyptocentrism as significant phenomena among African Americans, from *Afrotopia*, in which they are seen as marginal to a larger African-American folk historiography with which Moses is sympathetic.

Shavit's differentiation of his work from Howe's *Afrocentrism* is more problematic. He claims that while Howe based his work on "the learned opinions of various scholars whom he regards as experts in their fields . . . I have chosen to return to primary sources" (p. xiv). This is not altogether accurate, as, for instance, Shavit devotes considerable attention to my work (pp. 70–89 and elsewhere). Both authors fundamentally support Mary Lefkowitz's polemics against Afrocentrism, but they think she goes too far. Shavit, for instance, cites Lefkowitz as having written: "Many classical biographers 'sent' their Greek philosophers on imaginary visits to Egypt." He responds, "There is no reason to deny the possibility that Plato visited Egypt; the same is true of other educated Greeks." In the same section he writes: "If Lefkowitz agrees that the Greeks were influenced by Egyptian medecine, mathematics and science one wonders why this cannot be true of a few metaphysical ideas." He then adds: "Nevertheless, the early stirrings of ideas do not constitute entire systems of thought and philosophy!" (pp. 119–20).

Shavit has read widely in Afrocentric literature since 1850, but he is less well versed than Howe on the first half of the nineteenth century. Because of this, he has failed to set the origins of black Egyptocentric ideas where they belong: in abolitionism. Neither he nor Howe mention the idiosyncratic and intrepid explorer of the Blue Nile, James Bruce. It was Bruce who revived the minority ancient view that Upper Egypt had been a colony of black Ethiopians. Bruce's massive *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, published in 1790, was eagerly anticipated and widely read and translated. The ideas that Egypt had either received its civilization from blacks, or that the Egyptians were black themselves, quickly became abolitionist staples: "how can we enslave the people who gave us civilization?" Shavit fails to mention C. Volney, the Abbé Grégoire, and David Walker, major promoters of this vision before 1830. He does not refer to John Stuart Mill's "The Negro Question" (1850), an eloquent articulation of the image of black Egyptians civilizing Greece and hence Europe.

It is not surprising that Shavit is able to point out many inconsistencies in Afrocentric writings. He has covered many different authors over a period of 150 years, and many individuals have been torn between separatist and nonseparatist claims. This book itself, however, contains a conflict. At the beginning of the work, the author wonders whether Afrocentric written history "rest(s) on historical error, on mythical history or on . . . a 'noble lie'" (p. vii). He does not consider the possibility that it could contain some historical truth. In the conclusion, however, Shavit admits that various Afrocentrist hypotheses may have validity: "This reconstruction has raised anew old historical questions, and has also proposed several worthwhile changes in the dominant historical paradigm." As at many other points in the book, however, Shavit goes on to assert his conventionality: "as an alternative counter-history it lacks substance" (p. 254).

The greatest achievement of Afrocentrism has been as a contribution to the removal of European culture from the pedestal of "the universal" and the establishment of the concept of "Eurocentrism." Shavit has not accepted this; for him, there is still an unmarked, objective European universal history and a subjective Afrocentric "counter-history." To my mind, both contain subjectivity, and both require rigorous scrutiny.

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W. D. WRIGHT. *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. 244. $64.95.

In this book, W. D. Wright focuses on the development of scholarship dealing with the black historical experience. The author sets forth what he terms a "Black-centric Perspective" to show that black people in the United States "are distinct and different from all other black people on this planet, and are not to be mistaken for any other black people" (p. 20). Black people, he writes, are no longer Africans but rather of black African descent. Affirming the profound influence of W. E. B. Du Bois on his thought, Wright calls himself a Du Boisian historical sociologist.

Wright rejects "Afrocentrism" as an interpretive paradigm and the phrase "African Diaspora" on the

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grounds that the term, usually set forth to mean the dispersal of Africans to the Western Hemisphere, is too narrow. Black Africans were dispersed to the Middle East and Asia even before the onset of the European slave trade. The notion of diaspora fails to convey a sense of the "vast global presence" of black Africans and their descendants (p. 17). Wright has devised the concept of "African Extensia" as an alternative framework. This concept envisions recognition of black Africans as the first contributors to world history and of the population movements that took people of that group to southern Africa, to the Middle East and Asia, and also to North and South America. A central problem with Afrocentrism is that black people in America can only claim a black African descent and not an African identity.

Wright contends that there have been first-wave and second-wave phases of black historiography, and he now proposes a third-wave approach that would seek to study and write black history, clarify the identity of black people, and show how world realities shaped the distinctiveness of black history. A flaw in Wright's analysis, however, is that he does not consider whether a good deal of contemporary scholarship in African-American history has not already moved in the direction he suggests. The book is flawed in other ways as well. It is contradictory regarding a sense of African identity found among black people in early American history; Wright claims that there was a lack of such identity while mentioning instances of references to Africa in the names of black institutions. He is mistaken in his contention that black women historians have not advanced the analytical capacity prevalent in the field. The argument that these scholars "seem not to know about the White over Black structure and system that has and continues to be the centerpiece of American history" (p. 150) is ill-founded, taking into account the work of such scholars as Deborah Gray White, Darlene Clark Hine, Barbara J. Fields, Angela Y. Davis, Nell Irvin Painter, and Roslyn Terborg-Penn. With regard to the period of slavery, the book equates the resentment and resistance that bondage evoked among slaves with tendencies toward accommodation and submissiveness, failing to consider the hypothesis that resistance, even rebellion, was characteristic of the slave system. Wright cites V. P. Franklin's argument that, through courage and wit, slaves could outmaneuver their masters, overseers, and patrollers. Franklin contends such resistance was pervasive. But then Wright argues that Franklin set forth his views in absolutist terms, caricaturing Franklin as meaning all that blacks displayed such behavior.

Wright seeks to refurbish Booker T. Washington's image in American history. He views Washington as a pioneer of black modernization, echoing the description of Washington given by the cultural nationalist Harold Cruse. Wright goes as far as to accept the notion of the racist Thomas Dixon that Washington was a revolutionary advocate of black modernization. He is critical of Louis R. Harlan's evaluation that Washington put forth narrow and self-defeating goals for African Americans, but his argument is unpersuasive. It may indeed be argued that Washington's strategies and tactics, whatever positive benefits they sought, were incompatible with modernization, which depended on access to citizenship rights and the full technological progress of an industrialized society.

That further advances in the conceptualization of the black experience will be forthcoming is not to be doubted. Those interested in making such advances will need to take Wright's work into account. It remains to be seen, however, if this book will take the field significantly beyond where it currently stands.

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MARY ANN FAY, editor. *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East.* New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 245. $55.00.

The field of Middle Eastern history is a contentious space within which epic debates have taken place; some, involving the future of the Middle East, are still in progress. Orientalists and their heirs have not always developed the broadest or most significant research questions, and the language skills and depth of knowledge necessary to investigate certain topics preclude outsiders. At the same time, we complain about the way features of life in Middle East, particularly the Arab and Islamic worlds, are treated as conditions of "exceptionalism," and that the bizarre continues to attract more attention than the quotidian. These facts complicate my review of editor Mary Ann Fay's collection of essays devoted to biography, autobiography, and other relevant historical materials from the Arab and Ottoman world. In the end, I can only report as a regional specialist, albeit with some consciousness of other readers' concerns.

Distinguished scholars are represented in this collection, but it should not be understood as a Who's Who of key biographers. Nor does it present a particularly consistent or well-argued debate among biographers about the nature of history and historical methodologies in the region. Instead the volume provides an eclectic selection of several approaches to the study of individuals, and the contributors occasionally address the specificity of Arab or Ottoman biography with insight. With the exception of Fay's own chapter, which is a contribution to economic and social history, many of the other chapters focus on intellectual history, including religious scholars and topics.

The editor's task was a difficult one, and I commend Fay for her tenacity even while disagreeing with certain methodological suggestions, choices of inclusion, and her organizational schemata, which is explained in the introduction. She asserts that there is an "Arab understanding of history and historical method as biography" and that this "exposes the Eurocentric nature of postmodern claims that biography is the

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product of Western humanism and the Enlightenment" (p. 2). Since most of the contributors whose intentions are clearly biographical consistently cite Western theorists to explain their ideas of biography, these assertions are a bit of a red herring. (Besides, I think this problem predates postmodernism.)

The key dividing point in this volume appears to be premodern vs. modern approaches to history rather than West vs. East, or individual vs. community. The materials fit into four categories. The first set of essays historicize biography in a rich and useful manner and illustrate a familiar and accessible style. William L. Cleveland provides an excellent portrait of George Antonius, a father of "Arab nationalism" and author of *Arab Awakening* (written between 1933 and 1938). Cleveland emphasizes Antonius's cosmopolitanism, by which Cleveland means his ability to serve as an intermediary across political and cultural divisions, and also documents British ambivalence, and sometimes discrimination, toward him. Dina Rizk Khoury draws our attention to several contradictions in the work and thought of Jamal al-Zahawi, an opinionated and influential Iraqi public intellectual and poet whose ideas at first seemed precipitate and then fell out of fashion. Like Cleveland, Khoury has a keen sense of the different and overlapping worlds, and shifting intellectual trends among the Arab intelligentsia, that affected her subject's career. Garay Menicucci contributes a study of a forgotten Palestinian ethnographer, Kulthum Auda. At first, he attributes her invisibility to the fact that she emigrated from Palestine in 1914 to the Soviet Union, and relatively few scholars have examined the study of the Middle East in Russian sources and archives. He then adds that, compared to that of the better-known anthropologist Hilma Granqvist, Auda's work was explicitly feminist and imbued with the revolutionary goals of Marxist social scientists. Didier Monciaud's contribution assesses the memoirs of Khalid Mohiedinne, one of the "Free Officers" of the Egyptian Revolution of 1952.

A second group of authors in this volume provides approaches or describes methodologies appropriate to earlier historical materials. In a selection on the life of Khayr al-Din al-Ramli, a seventeenth-century jurist from Ramla, Palestine, Judith E. Tucker makes a variety of statements about "Arab biography"—by which I believe she means biographical materials in Arabic. She writes that the authors make "truth claims," ask us to deduce rather than read about character, "focus on the personality" yet provide no "analysis of the self," and "locate the individual within time, blood (lineage), or scholarship" (p. 11). Since her portrait of al-Ramli derives from a single source (al-Muhibbi), it is difficult to see him as a man illustrative of his era. Similarly, assertions that al-Ramli is the last of the great religious scholars, or that this is rich "historical drama" (p. 16), lack supplementary information that could support such claims. I had a similar initial reaction to Osama Abi Mershed's selection on the religious scholars of the Maghrib as studied through a particular biographical dictionary by Muhammad Ibn Maryam. Perhaps Abi Mershed could have spent less time explaining the contents of these sources and provided more information about the *ʿulama* (religious scholars) who are the subject of inquiry.

Steve Tamari studies a *thabat*, an intellectual autobiography by Isma'il al-Ajluni, an eighteenth-century Damascene hadith scholar; al-Muradi's biographical dictionary of the notables (*ayan*) of the same city; and Ibn Kannan's descriptive chronicle of Damascus. Tamari aptly explains the autobiographical aspects of each of these works and what we can learn about the life and world vision of each scholar. Fay's essay concerns a different type of material, *awqaf* (endowment) records and approach to a historical figure, the Mamluk Shawikar Qadin. Rather than biography, it is a very useful demonstration of a particular historical methodology that contains biographical information. Qadin does not come to life in the way that Antonius does at Cleveland's hands.

Marilyn Booth's chapter is difficult to classify; it is a literary analysis rather than a historical treatment. Booth is locating a contemporary phenomenon, Islamist gender ideology, within a genre of literature on famous Muslim women. I was surprised that Booth dates this tradition from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, because it seems to me a later version of an existant genre, built on *tafsir* (exegesis) and hadith literature. Booth discusses the prescriptive yet popular literature of Islamism, which can be dated to the 1930s or the early 1970s, depending on one's wont, and which also contains "famous women" portraits. Booth comments on several writers, including a leader of the women's association or wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, Zaynab al-Ghazali, who wrote a series of articles for the Islamist magazine *al-Da'wa*. Booth's emphasis on discourse rather than the living history of Islamism and its political impact in Egypt is disturbing to me, although I enjoy and appreciate her style and her knowledge of the literary period. I disagree that Islamist discourse singlemindedly reduces women to their "wombs." Other scholars, notably Fedwa Malti-Douglas, have written about the problem of women's sexuality and identification with their bodies in Arabic literature, and the argument has been made repeatedly that the Islamist covering of the female body, or modest dress, merely emphasizes its sexuality. It is true that views of female sexuality are crucial to the social commentary on women's status, but Islamist writings also emphasize women's religiosity and intellectual potential. Booth paints a more cohesive picture of the Islamist emphasis on domesticity and recasting of early Muslim figures than I think is illustrative of the trend as a whole.

The book's third section demonstrates examples of anthropological methodology, which historicizes individuals and in turn provides information about human experience in contemporary history. Nadje al-Ali draws from her book on feminists in Egypt and reflects

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on the life-history method in her work, while Anita Fabos writes about her study of Sudanese migrants in ʿAyn Shams, an area of Cairo, providing historical information that explains the circumstances of her subjects.

The fourth group of essays seems intended to elicit further questions about the methodologies and connections of history and literature. Virginia Aksan considers the premodern historian's dilemma as well as some of the frequent criticisms of new styles and approaches to history. Cynthia Nelson's study of the Egyptian feminist Doria Shafik discusses the special role of the anthropologist who is writing history. Nelson contrasts herself with her subject and muses on the autobiographical intent of Shafik's poetry. Her chapter combines state-of-the-art reflections like those of Aksan, primarily on positionality and on Shafik as a historical figure. Fiction writer Samar Attar's contribution differs from those of the professional historian. The autobiographical novel, frequently imbued with political and symbolic content, is an important feature of modern Arabic literature. Attar emphasizes the centrality of Damascus to her own psyche and writing career and to those of her protagonist, Lina (in *Lina: A Portrait of a Damascene Girl* [1994] and *The House on ʿArnus Square* [1998]).

This volume will not be the last word in historical theorizing; there is also a great deal more to be said about identity or community in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the insights expressed here should be integrated into mainstream or comparative works on historical theory and the process of biography for the benefit of those in and outside our area of geographic specialization.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

Jerry Brotton. *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 243. $30.00.

Only a brave scholar would nowadays assert that his book was the first "to suggest how an understanding of the impact of the east transforms our understanding of the Renaissance" (p. vii) without the support of notes. But Jerry Brotton's synthetic treatment of the eastern Mediterranean origins of many European accomplishments in art, letters, science, and technology during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not likely to satisfy specialists in those various fields. Not much here will surprise specialists in Renaissance art and early modern societies. What will, however, come as a surprise is an odd combination of historical cliché and new insights into the infiltration and reception of Islamic and African cultural expressions in Renaissance Europe that have no references to back them up.

In six chapters, Brotton attempts to demolish the idea of the Renaissance as a political and cultural movement developing in splendid isolation from non-European influence. Since others have been working steadily to undermine this idea of the Renaissance, Brotton's target by now has become something of a straw man. Unlike Deborah Howard's *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (2000) and Rosamund Mack's *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (2001), for example, Brotton's book goes beyond art to literature, science, and technology to make the point that "Renaissance Europe defined and measured itself in relation to the wealth and splendour of the east." But the works of those two other scholars, as well as other recent studies, are far more convincing than this synthesis. The connections that Brotton makes between cultural artifacts in Europe and their prototypes in the Ottoman Empire or in Africa need far more substantiation than he provides to ring true or even have meaning.

To understand better the level of assertion displayed in this work, after describing in detail a sixteenth-century salt cellar believed to have been designed by Portuguese travelers and carved by African artisans, Brotton claims: "Scholars believe that these carvings were designed for export to Europe. They reveal a level of cultural interaction and exchange beyond traditional assumptions about Renaissance Europe's encounters with Africa. They also demonstrate that African design had a signficant impact upon the art and architecture of the European Renaissance" (p. 59). This skeptical reviewer was willing to accompany Brotton through the first two sentences, but I balked at the third. It is not clear a note in this instance would have clinched the point, but it might have helped.

The book's problems lie less in the conclusions he draws (although many are problematic) than in the connections between what Brotton proposes as evidence of Islamic influence and those conclusions. Too often, the connections are tenuous. When the *condottiere* Federico da Montefeltro decided in 1444 to expand the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, he hired a team of international artisans. "A Dalmatian (Luciano Laurana) designed the palace, a Venetian (Ambrogio Barocci) created the sculptures, a Florentine (Botticelli) designed the intarsia decoration for the studiolo, Piero della Francesca from Borgo and Justus from Ghent provided the paintings, and the Low Countries provided tapestries. Inspiration from the east is captured in Federico's attempt to emulate Mehmed the Conqueror's Topkapi Saray, his expensive Ottoman carpets, and Justus of Ghent's remarkably oriental paintings of Plato, Ptolemy, and Aristotle" (p. 152). The questionable assumptions in this observation on a specific instance of intercultural exchange serve to illustrate the kind of argumentation Brotton delivers throughout this work. A much stronger, better-argued case is needed to convince scholars that "the effective origin of the European Renaissance [is] the market-

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place or bazaar of the eastern Mediterranean" (p. 218).

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BENJAMIN SCHMIDT. *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xxix, 450. $64.95.

The first half of this book centers on the Dutch revolt against the Habsburgs from 1566 to the early 1580s. Philip II of Spain attempted to put down efforts by Dutch leaders to reassert the prerogatives they had enjoyed in the wealthy trading cities of Antwerp and Amsterdam. In 1567, he sent the duke of Alba to take control of the Low Countries, and he soon became a lightning rod for Dutch protests. Benjamin Schmidt shows how the pamphlets and books that propagandized for Dutch self-rule consistently referred to the injustices of "Spanish tyranny" against the Indians of America.

Several scholars have shown how the works of Bartolomé de las Casas were used in England and English North American colonies to propagandize against Spain and to raise the cause of English colonization from a risky business venture or imperial conquest to a moral imperative to "save" the Indians from oppression and Catholicism. Herein lay the origin, most agree, of the "Black Legend" or *Leyenda Negra* about the Spanish conquest.

Las Casas's most influential text was the *Brevíssima relación de la destruyción de las Indias*, originally published in 1552 as a petition for the reform of colonial policies. Schmidt shows that the portrayal of Spanish atrocities in the Americas had a specific resonance for the Dutch, who were themselves battling against Spanish imperialism. The first Dutch translation of the *Brevíssima relación* appeared in 1578, and "the Dutch published altogether some thirty-three editions of Las Casas, more than did all other European countries combined" (p. 97). Several editions bore variations on the title "Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the West Indies." Here Schmidt makes fine use of some of the forty-seven illustrations that enhance the book. On facing pages he juxtaposes engravings from one of these editions of Las Casas with plates from a 1620 book entitled *Spaenshe tirannye in Nederlandt*. The parallel images show Spanish soldiers skewering, dismembering, and hanging the naked bodies of their Dutch and Native American victims. In their classicist poses and lurid sensationalism they also resemble engravings in the thirteen-volume *America* series issued by the Frankfurt publisher Theodor de Bry and his sons from 1590 to 1633. One comes away with new insight concerning the political and not merely religious goals of the Protestant de Bry and his lesser-known contemporaries.

The second half of the book turns to the representation in books and pamphlets of the Netherlands' own colonial ventures in the Americas. The capture of the Portugese settlement at Bahía in 1624 by a Dutch West India Company (WIC) expedition, and the seizure of a Spanish silver shipment by Piet Heyn in 1628, touched off a brief euphoria. In one imperial allegory, "a poet envisioned the souls of Motecuçoma, Atahualpa, and other American warriors reincarnated in the bodies of van Waerdenburgh, Heyn, and other Dutch admirals charged to avenge the impieties of Spain in the Indies" (p. 223). The able leadership of Johan Maurits at Bahía inspired two lavish Latin epics published in 1647, Franciscus Plante's *Mauritias*, and Caspar Barlaeus's *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia*. But this imperial optimism quickly faded. The WIC's financial losses led to recriminations that were sometimes colored by the resentment of traders excluded from its monopoly, and sometimes by sectarian squabbles among Dutch Reformed Calvinists. I found it interesting to compare the providential rhetoric of seventeenth-century New England to that of Dutch Calvinists such as Godefridus Udemans, who attacked the moral dangers of chasing after wealth in the colonies and denounced the "tyranny" of New Amsterdam officials over the local Indians.

The chronological structure of the book reserves most of its first chapter for the Dutch reception and translation of major sixteenth-century works about America (Amerigo Vespucci, Peter Martyr, Hernando Cortés, and others), which seems like mere background for Schmidt's primary thesis. The chapter also includes a discussion of Jan Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape*, "the very first painting of America by a European artist" (p. 1) and unsurprisingly an exoticist work with little documentary value. Mostaert's painting finds a bookending comparator in Frans Post's *Brazilian Landscape* of 1665, but Schmidt is less convincing in his analysis of these Dutch overseas landscape paintings than in his treatment of the marvelous engravings, frontispieces, and still lifes he has had reproduced. He also gives agile translations of passages from texts he read in archives in Holland, often rendering verse into charming rhymed English lines. The value of this work will likely be to acquaint specialists in English, Spanish, or French colonial America with the large and important corpus of Dutch material from the period.

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JOHN E. CROWLEY. *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 361. $42.00.

This is a powerful book, full of startling information and valuable insights.

In the 1980s, social historians discovered Norbert Elias's newly translated *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (1978). Starting with sixteenth-

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century conduct books, Elias showed the tradition of refinement in Western culture for what it profoundly was: an intensifying policing of the boundaries of the body, a systematic masking or control of the orifices, and a social denial of the body's emissions. The timing for this revelation was right; the counter-culture of the 1960s and 1970s had included a revolt against the repression of the physical imposed by bourgeois politeness. Since that revelation, a great deal of very valuable work has been done on the many aspects of the civilizing process, including the late seventeenth-century beginning of the proliferation of equipment for advancing refinement that is known as the "consumer revolution." The greatest weakness of all this work, however, is that, being bounded within a process already under way, it shows in detail developments that appear in principle self-explanatory. Where else could this history be taking our civilization but toward the enhancement of refined comfort?

The great strength of this new book by John E. Crowley is that it goes back far enough to show the previous system of body relationships and therefore is able to show how culturally specific, even peculiar, are the trends we too easily take for granted. By going back to the forms prevailing in the Middle Ages, Crowley shows how natural and compelling was an old way of gathering domestic and social life around a central hearth in a one-door, no-window "hall." Indeed, this arrangement was tenaciously adhered to by many persons of substantial means long after the options of chimneys and glazed windows were available.

Crowley starts with a clear account of the old system; this enables him to unfold an informed narrative of slow transformations. We see changing expectations concerning housing, domestic life, and sociability, as chimneys, window glass, and increased partitioning of interior space came into use. All this is presented not as a natural and inevitable process but as a culturally conditioned set of choices. The institutional arrangements that conditioned these choices, and the technological developments that were called forth by the choices, are finely traced with a fascinating degree of detail that nevertheless does not overburden the presentation. The same is true of the second narrative that is used to follow long-term rearrangements of usage and expectation: the history of lighting from the Middle Ages through to the time of Thomas Jefferson's experiments in modern comfort at Monticello. We are brought to a kind of experiential historical knowledge. First we appreciate the long-accepted reality of ways of life where the hearth was the focus of light and sociality, and the dark night was for sleep; and second we follow the slow (and costly) steps whereby aristocratic prodigalities of candle power became more generally available, and so (with the aid of mirrors) nocturnal study or sociability were made possible. We also get to follow a long-drawn-out struggle over the provision of heat in an Anglo-American world, where, as Benjamin Franklin found to his cost, a love of being in the immediate presence of the fire made stoves an unwelcome innovation.

There are two late but crucial further "moments" in this extended story. First, we are shown the moral and philosophical reassessment of consumption, culminating in the work of Adam Smith. And, second, in a final section, we are introduced to an early version of our own world. "The Landscape of Comfort" offers a small set of case studies that reveal how globalization and the established cult of domesticity contributed to the "naturalization" of some modern expectations of comfort. Indeed it is the very taken-for-grantedness of what we call comfort that prompted the heroic efforts of Crowley to recover some understanding of the preceding way of being.

What more can we ask of a history than that it provide a very strong story and enliven it with relevant factual information? That is what this book so admirably does; it should be on the reading list for every social history survey course, not to mention courses in material culture.

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MLADA BUKOVANSKY. *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in International Political Culture*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 255. $39.50.

The writing of a comparative history always presents a challenge, and so, too, does any attempt to incorporate the insights of a more theoretical discipline into an historical account. Mlada Bukovansky is to be commended for trying both at once, and in a relatively short work. Her goal is to use the examples of the American and French revolutions to study the world-historical shift "from dynastically legitimated monarchical sovereignty to popularly legitimated national sovereignty" (p. 1). She does so not as an historian but as an international relations specialist, and it is with the implications for that branch of political science that she is most concerned.

Bukovansky's method is to interweave the political and diplomatic history of the American and French revolutionary period with the history of ideas. In so doing, she proposes a view of cultural systems as at once constitutive of the understanding of political actors, and at the same time manipulable by them in a strategic fashion. She refers to this as a "dualistic" perspective (p. 55), and one that allows the identification of "fault lines" or "contradictions and complementarities" within cultures that facilitate actors' attempts to effect change. This use of dualism as a concept would not be recognized by many in the history of ideas, as it seems to be more about connection than differentiation. Indeed, in its formulation, it has more in common with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, a structure both structured and structuring,

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creating the limits of possibility for social actors but within which they can act strategically toward their own goals, changing the configuration of their *habitus* by actions that nonetheless draw on it for their form and content.

Having established its methodological basis, the book proceeds to three substantial main chapters: on the political culture of the European Old Regime and on the two revolutions in question. Considering the author's disciplinary stance, these are solid and well-argued exercises in historical overview, although in the Old Regime analysis there is a tendency to rely on what are really no more than student-level surveys for some sweeping points, and on a narrow range of "classics," such as Norbert Elias's *The Court Society* (1983), for others. This reviewer is not qualified to judge in detail the historiographical grounding of the chapter on the birth of the United States, but its argument—that republicanism and liberalism shaded into incipient populist nationalism under the pressures of the state system—is well presented.

On the French Revolution—of the two events the one that had by far the greater material impact on international relations—Bukovansky presents a logical and coherent overview, although again it draws on some rather aged texts and on others, such as Simon Schama's *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (1989), which are not exactly high-level contributions to historiography. The picture that emerges, of an increasingly aggressive interpretation of popular national sovereignty challenging and finally all but overthrowing the older conceptions of monarchical legitimacy across the whole continent, would surprise no one who has studied the period.

It is interesting to put this view alongside that of Bailey Stone, who in his *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective* (2002) tells much the same story as Bukovansky, at considerably greater length, with the intent of arguing almost precisely the opposite: that the French Revolution was an event within understood patterns of international relations, not a shattering transformation of their basis. Clearly, there is scope here to have things both ways, but it is worth noting that, to do so, both authors have to discount (or at least play down) the socially transformative nature of revolution.

Bukovansky argues that the French Revolution "lent significant weight to the idea that international politics was a state of nature" in the Hobbesian sense (p. 220), and that in this context the (re)establishment of a stable "Concert of Europe" was little short of miraculous (p. 233). As a historian, I am strongly tempted to counter this view with the contention that the outcome of the Congress of Vienna was a continent-wide system of social and political repression, designed expressly to prevent successful challenges to monarchical legitimacy in the names of democracy, the people, or the oppressed nations of southern and central Europe. International relations, viewed as a self-evident and self-sustaining object of study, seems to have no room for such perspectives.

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Georges Bensoussan. *Une histoire intellectuelle et politique du sionisme, 1860–1940*. Paris: Fayard. 2002. Pp. 1079. € 47.00.

Georges Bensoussan's sweeping and massive volume introduces French readers to the rich and complex history of Zionism in its formative period of development and growth. The author wishes to rescue the subject from the polemics surrounding contemporary discussions of the Middle East, which have stigmatized the term "Zionist" and have limited its understanding to an examination of the Arab-Jewish conflict. In choosing to concentrate on the period between 1860 (a moment that Bensoussan claims witnessed the "criss-crossing" of romanticism, secularization, and nationalism) and 1940 (when, he argues, all of the major issues associated with the settlement of the land of Israel had already been analyzed and discussed), the author also seeks to avoid "teleological" analyses of Zionism that trace its origins to the longing for the biblical Zion and see its inevitable triumph in the creation of the Jewish state.

The major thesis of the work is that Zionism was not simply a response to antisemitism at the end of the nineteenth century but rather a serious effort to radically reshape European Jewish identity in the face of the challenge of secularization. Its primary goal, Bensoussan maintains, was to liberate Jewry from religious Orthodoxy while avoiding the pitfall of assimilationism, through the development of a new collective national identity. Bensoussan develops this theme through an exhaustive examination of the various strains of Zionist thought, from socialist Zionism to Revisionism, and of major challenges to the young Yishuv, including immigration, economic development, the choice of an appropriate language, and the role of religious observance.

In a book that is primarily a survey, there are nevertheless important insights. Bensoussan is especially skillful in demonstrating how fragile the Zionist experiment was and how many of its most fervent supporters often expressed doubts about its future. The author also corrects many of the glib assumptions of classic Zionist historiography, such as the neat divisions of waves of immigration and the centrality of the kibbutz in the life of the Yishuv. Mention should also be made of the work's penetrating analysis of the many contradictions in the early Zionist movement. A product of the Enlightenment, modern Jewish nationalism nevertheless was deeply rooted in antimodernist Romantic ideas. Pledged to egalitarianism, it espoused strong elitist sentiments. While stressing the need for normality, its proponents saw a special role for Jews in their own land. Finally, and most importantly, Bensoussan cogently describes how, despite their commit-

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ment to secular thought and behavior, Zionist activists could not escape the pull of religious tradition.

Bensoussan, who previously has written on the Holocaust and who serves as the editor of the *Revue de l'histoire de la Shoah*, is keenly attuned to his audience's interests and concerns. Despite his claim to eschew post-1948 issues, large sections of the book are devoted to the "Arab question," a subject that fuels much of the debate in French political circles over contemporary Israeli policy. Similarly, Bensoussan's emphasis on such themes as secularization and the Enlightenment is meant in part to highlight the similarities between major currents in nineteenth-century European and Jewish nationalism. More specifically, Bensoussan attempts to connect Zionist thought and behavior to French sources, whether the ideals of French revolutionaries or the distinctive approach of the anarchist and socialist Bernard Lazare.

It is Bensoussan's close attention to his readership that also makes the work less valuable for scholars. For the most part, the author relies on secondary sources in English, which are familiar to historians of Zionism but are generally inaccessible to his audience. (Surprisingly, there is little material drawn from Israeli scholarship.) Similarly, in defining American Jewish identity as "Zionist" rather than ethnic, the author reflects the inability of French academics to describe satisfactorily the distinctive nature of American Jewish life to their readers.

A final word must be said about the length of the volume. A general study of Zionism in its prestate period is a daunting task, and Bensoussan is to be commended for having had the courage and fortitude to take it on. Yet despite its many insights, the work is often repetitive and tedious. Quotations frequently extend over a full page when mere paraphrase would do. In many cases, the author presents an issue in a specific chapter, only to return to it again and again in later chapters. (The "Arab question," for example is discussed in six separate chapters; socialist Zionism is examined no less than five times.) A good editor would have given the volume greater coherence. As it is, the book reads like a collection of separate articles rather than an integrated study.

DAVID WEINBERG
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MARK S. MICALE and PAUL LERNER, editors. *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 316. $59.95.

For a subject whose very vocabulary has entered everyday language, from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) to "trauma units" of hospital emergency rooms, to "traumatized" tales in any number of psychological and psychoanalytic registers, the editors and authors of this book keep a clear focus on the individuals, institutions, and situations that created trauma as a historical subject, roughly from 1870 to 1930. This was a period when the term began to acquire its psychological meanings, a moment of strained modernism reinforced by the legacies of the Great War in Europe and the social and cultural struggles of the interwar period. Here are stories of contests and contentions by journalists, politicians, medical and military professionals, and administrative bureaucrats in search of ways to capture, define, and make effective use of trauma, whether in the service of the welfare state, the clinic, the army, or veterans' interest groups.

The editors begin with a survey of "trauma" and its legacies in contemporary parlance, including PTSD, and a hint at the role that traumatic thinking has played in the historiographies of shattering phenomena such as the Holocaust, international genocide, and the mass warfare of the twentieth century. This is a useful concession to "relevance," although the focus of this volume is not on legacies, but antecedents. This is archaeological work, seeking out the precise moments and contexts in which "trauma" was evoked in railway accidents, in insurance and social welfare debates, in hysteria diagnoses, and how it was adapted and appropriated to explain—and to justify—the stupendous violence of world war.

The collection is divided thematically into "episodes": part one features essays by Ralph Harrington and Eric Caplan on trains, accidents, and the formation of trauma in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century. In part two, discussions by Wolfgang Schaffner and Greg Eghigian ably carry the reader through policy disputes over the reality and application of traumatic disability claims in the context of work, accidents, and the welfare state. Part three is clinically focused; coeditors Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner, and Lisa Cardyn, address the theoretical and diagnostic debates in Jean-Martin Charcot's France, Hermann Oppenheim's Germany, and in a multitude of American specialists at the turn of the nineteenth century. Part four directly addresses the fallout of World War I, with essays by Peter Leese, Bruna Bianchi, Marc Roudebush, and Caroline Cox examining British, Italian, French, and American responses to soldiers incapacitated by "shell shock" and other intractable maladies.

What is most resonant is the coherence of the volume; indeed, unlike many collected works, these essays often overlap directly and reference each other, so that at times one almost has the sense of a collective author. At the very least, the give and take seems intellectually collegial. Harrington illustrates the historical resituation of trauma away from spine and body into the workings of the mind, the famous "nonsomatic" factors (p. 47) of pathology. Caplan highlights the cross-influences of European and American specialists, bridging to the work of Eghigian and Schaffner who underscore how "psychic trauma" (p. 83) developed such that "neurosis and welfare state bureaucracy implicated one another" (p. 110). Many of the later essays readily acknowledge the primary def-

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initions of trauma derived from discussions of "railway spine" in the initial chapters on train travel, and, as noted above, cases move around in a number of national and professional contexts.

Gender analysis plays a significant role. Cardyn's essay is the only one specifically to address female sexual trauma; interestingly this may be an outgrowth of trauma historiography itself, which, closely linked in many instances to analyses of clinical hysteria from the nineteenth century, already has a stronger literature in its "feminine" rather than "masculine" variants. She connects the two with subtle readings on "women's vulnerability to sexual trauma in marriage," an examination both of "men's sexual incompetence" (pp. 193–95) and female self-abuse. Multiple interrogations of gender and masculinity are then strongly recuperated in (especially) the chapters on war, where interpellations of male bodies, cowardice, duty, and fear become part of a (literally) explosive examination of battle trauma. Leese plays this out in a study of electric shock therapy (p. 218), Bianchi ties maladies back to anxieties over labor shortages back home away from battle (p. 242), and Roudebush neatly dissects the constitution of the good wounded soldier vs. the weak-willed, opportunistic *simulateur* (p. 265). Cox displays the political influence of the American Legion in redefining the "psychoneurotic" paralyzed soldier in a sympathetic light by breaking down binaries of heroism and cowardice in discussing the presence of fear among combatants (p. 291).

The context for all of this is neither singularities nor events. Even the war discussions are encased within larger debates over whether trauma is—as so many things named since the late nineteenth century—a function or disorder of "modernity" itself, a nervous, conflicted, machine-driven civilization. This is detailed in the discussions of railroad accidents, a classic totem of the dialectic among speed, progress, and the possibilities of unimaginable violence and random death. It is a thematic strongly underscoring the chapters focused on the German welfare state and the struggles over a new industrial system of work abetted by medico-legal experts desirous to shape policy and practice in professional and nationalistic terms.

Micale's conclusion, following his analysis of Charcot, suggests the need to "embrace other concurrent modernities . . . a change in the consciousness of change" (p. 139). He calls for examining not just the usual mechanical imperatives but "trauma cultures." In this, allusions to non-Euro-American cases might be instructive (p. 26). If indeed trauma is linked to "modernity," should it participate more directly in global history debates about whether it is therefore "Western" in formulation? In the imperial age the volume covers (1870–1930), this would be most illuminating and could aid studies of, for example, colonial psychiatry and bureaucracy. Titles of the collected essays already evoke many variants of this notion, from "technological crises" (Harrington), "probabilistic revolution" (Schaffner), or "a battle of nerves" (Roudebush). These suggest the instabilities of the West, accounts written at the intersection of the corporeal and contested nerve ends of modern history.

MATT K. MATSUDA
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ARIEH J. KOCHAVI. *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, and Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 377. $45.00.

Two especially intractable problems confronted the British government at the end of hostilities in 1945. The first was the resettlement of several million displaced persons, refugees, forced laborers and other homeless casualties of World War II stranded in the Allied zones of military occupation. The second was the future of the British Mandate in Palestine. The two problems intersected because of the several thousand Jews in Germany and Austria who now sought, either of their own volition or urged by Zionist agents, to go to Palestine and take part in the creation of a Zionist state there. Arieh J. Kochavi provides us with a polished study of these issues and of the mutually incompatible remedies proposed by the British and American governments. This is primarily an account of the diplomatic efforts by the British government in its losing battle to contain the waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine, both legal and illegal. Although Kochavi is in sympathy with the Jewish participants, he also outlines clearly British attempts to prevent the situation from getting completely out of hand. He shows that Whitehall's determination to secure British interests in the Middle East largely directed the policy toward the Jewish displaced persons. In this situation, political considerations rather than humanitarian feelings played the decisive role. The eventual triumph of the Zionists was due more to the political and diplomatic support exercised by Washington and Moscow, albeit for entirely different reasons, than to any humane sympathy for the Holocaust's victims.

Even though this story has been told before, Kochavi gives a carefully balanced account of how the events of 1946–1947 developed disastrously from the British point of view. Jews and Arabs failed to compromise over the future of Palestine. The wave of illicit immigration grew to an uncontrollable extent. The costs of feeding the remaining displaced persons in Europe obliged the British public to suffer bread rationing for the first time. Above all, the lack of cooperation from both the Soviet Union and the United States doomed British hopes for an effective settlement. By September 1947, the costs of maintaining the Mandate led the Labour government to decide to evacuate Palestine altogether. But, at the instigation of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, the British still tried to uphold the policy of blocking illegal immigration either by deporting those intercepted to Cyprus or by returning them to their ports of embarkation. At the same time, British officials were vigorously attempting to persuade vari-

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ous European governments to block such departures. Pressure from Arab countries and the desire to preserve British interests outweighed consideration for the huddled masses of Jewish emigrants.

American policy was equally self-interested. In the British view, President Harry S. Truman's advocacy of letting 100,000 Jewish refugees go to Palestine was due to the electoral exigencies of the "Jewish vote" in New York. To be sure, the U.S. State Department stressed the need to heed Arab concerns. But no branch of the American government was ready to alter U.S. immigration policies or to accept responsibility for sending troops to Palestine. Despite their common interest in confronting the growing Soviet threat, Palestine proved to be too contentious an issue for Anglo-American diplomacy to solve. And the open U.S. encouragement of the Zionist aims sent signals around Europe that the British could not combat.

Kochavi relates in detail the British diplomatic efforts to halt the flood of illegal emigrants. But most of the European governments took the view that this movement was spontaneous and uncontrollable. In any case, they had no incentive to assist British policy in the Middle East. The situation only grew worse after the July 1946 pogrom in Kielce, Poland, which led thousands more Jews to seek every possible escape route through the Balkans, Italy, or France. Stopping ships at sea and sending them back to Europe only caused bad publicity. The world's sympathies were increasingly on the side of the Jewish migrants.

This well-researched work is a study in failure, brought about by Zionist determination, American cooperation, French collusion, and Soviet intransigence. British hopes to stop the clock and preserve their imperial positions proved to be unrealistic. Kochavi is right to emphasize the centrality of political considerations, but he could also have added that it was the particular combination and timing of these political factors in 1946–1947 that doomed British policy. Two years later, the situation had radically changed. By that time, the State of Israel was established. But it was a close call.

JOHN S. CONWAY
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MARC JASON GILBERT, editor. *Why the North Won the Vietnam War*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiv, 254. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.95.

This volume, derived from a conference held in 2000 at Gettysburg College, will not resolve the debate over its subject but makes a contribution to it. Marc Jason Gilbert, the editor, has written both a long introduction and a long essay; combined these comprise well over one-third of the volume. There are much shorter essays by seven other authors and, at the end, a brief summary by Lloyd C. Gardner.

Gilbert's introduction begins by discussing what he calls the "orthodox school" in the historiography of the war, which traced the outcome to fundamental strengths of the Communist side and weaknesses of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam. Gilbert is respectful here; indeed it is often difficult to tell when he is summarizing the views of the "orthodox school" and when he is presenting his own. Next comes a much briefer discussion of the "revisionists" who believe the United States could and should have won the war but lost it through gratuitous policy mistakes. Gilbert is scathingly dismissive of those revisionists who place the blame entirely on civilians who "tied the hands" of the military; he is only slightly more respectful of Colonel Harry Summers, who split the blame for bad policies between civilians and military.

Gilbert's essay argues that the United States fought the kind of conventional war the U.S. armed forces understood, and did not pay enough attention to Vietnamese realities to realize that what mattered was the struggle for peasant allegiance in the villages. This is the strongest essay in the volume, partly because it is so much the longest. Gilbert has the space to trace in some detail the stories of people who tried to present a sophisticated analysis of the war to policy makers and were turned away. But he also has analytical bite, confronting the arguments of scholars holding other viewpoints more seriously than he does in his introduction. Several of the other authors, especially Jeffrey Record, make similar criticisms of the massive-firepower approach. Record also deals with other issues in a broader argument that bad decisions of the U.S. military leadership made a significant contribution to the American defeat. But when accusing the generals of "moral cowardice" for not standing up to President Lyndon B. Johnson over policy issues, Record needs to evaluate more clearly the extent to which the generals had recognized at the time the full disastrousness of the policies with which they disagreed.

The argument about the inappropriateness of conventional war tactics has much validity, but it is sometimes pushed a bit far. The essays in this volume do not provide sufficient evidence or clear enough arguments to justify the confidence with which some of them assert that no variant of the conventional war strategy could have produced victory for the United States. The authors only occasionally and briefly note the huge casualties that American firepower did inflict on the Communist forces. This needs to be dealt with more often at greater length, if the authors are going to argue that there was no way the application of massed firepower could have produced an American victory. Gilbert (p. 23) seriously exaggerates the magnitude of U.S. bombing in North Vietnam.

William Duiker's essay on the diplomacy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam spreads itself too widely, going back to before World War II, and ends up giving rather skimpy coverage to North Vietnamese diplomacy during the Vietnam War. George Herring's essay on the American failure to mobilize adequate support from allies is more tightly focused and more useful. Robert Brigham makes an important and valid point, that it was not really "the North" that won the

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Vietnam War. It was the Communists, who were from all parts of Vietnam and not just the north. He focuses on two key leaders who had been born south of the seventeenth parallel: Le Duan, the individual most responsible for the Communist decision to initiate a war, and Nguyen Chi Thanh, who shaped actual battlefield strategy in the south up to his death in 1967. But Brigham's essay is marred by numerous errors, especially in the timing of events.

John Prados's examination of intelligence gives about as much detail about the intelligence organizations on both sides as its length allows. One wishes it had been expanded, and that it had devoted more attention to the *quality* of the intelligence. How many of the thousands of U.S. intelligence personnel who served in Vietnam knew the language, and how handicapped were the majority who did not?

Andrew Rotter's essay on the role of "economic culture" is also handicapped by its brevity, since it attempts to cover so many topics variously related to economics or economically influenced thought patterns. Rotter's statement (p. 208) that the American gross national product was over thirty times the size of Vietnam's, while literally true, is seriously misleading. He should have said it was two hundred times, or at least over one hundred times, the size of Vietnam's.

Marilyn Young argues that the antiwar movement was a significant restraint on government military actions during at least parts of the war, but her analysis is handicapped by her reluctance to analyze the relationship between the antiwar movement and the American public as a whole. In her view, distinguishing the two is "artificial" and implies that one does not consider the protesters part of the public (pp. 220, 224).

The scholarly apparatus is above average for a volume of this sort; endnotes follow each essay, and there is a subject index to the volume as a whole, but the notes are skimpy. Repeatedly this reviewer, wanting to check a statement that seemed dubious, was frustrated by the lack of a source note, or by a note that specified only a book, without a page number.

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SUSAN D. GREENBAUM. *More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa*. (New World Diasporas Series, number 1.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp xiii, 383. $55.00.

In this book on black Cubans in Tampa, anthropologist Susan D. Greenbaum adds substantially to our knowledge of race and ethnicity in twentieth-century Florida. The massive migration of Cubans to Miami, beginning in 1959, has tended to mask a much earlier migration of Cubans to Key West and Tampa that began in the late nineteenth century. As Greenbaum points out, Cuban exiles and immigrants stereotypically have been portrayed as economically successful, politically conservative, and white. By contrast, this book provides a compelling, multigenerational portrait of Cuban immigrants who were working class, politically radical, and black. Their story, Greenbaum writes, represents a "lost chapter in the Cuban American experience" (p. 2).

Civil insurrection in Cuba between 1868 and 1878, ultimately put down by the Spanish colonial government, brought an exile migration of several thousand Cuban cigar makers to Key West, only ninety miles from Havana. Advocates of racial equality, social justice, and labor activism, the migrating cigar makers included a sizable number of black Cubans. After a series of strikes in Key West cigar factories, in 1885 Vincente Martinez Ybor and other owners shifted their operations to Tampa. Black and white cigar workers from Key West and Cuba followed the jobs and built new ethnic communities in Ybor City and West Tampa.

Afro-Cubans in Tampa found themselves in an anomalous position. Blacks had never been accorded full equality in Cuba, and racial distance from white Cubans intensified in Florida. White Floridians treated Afro-Cubans like any other blacks in the segregation era. However, black Cubans sought to maintain a collective cultural identity as Cubans and avoided association with African Americans. The first generation of black cigar makers successfully navigated these narrow racial spaces using several mechanisms. Their cigar-making skills conveyed a certain degree of economic power as well as good wages. Their enthusiastic support for Cuban liberation linked them with white Cubans. Perhaps most important, the creation of a mutual aid society, the Sociedad la Union Martí-Maceo, named for Cuban revolutionary leaders, asserted their belief in racial equality and strengthened their sense of Cuban identity. The society's substantial building in Ybor City became a focal point for Afro-Cuban activities, an indispensable community center, while its mutual benefit funds supported sick and unemployed members.

Much of the book traces changes in Tampa's Afro-Cuban community over the course of the twentieth century. Sustained into the second generation, the cohesive community of Afro-Cuban cigar workers began to dissolve by the 1930s. Several failed strikes, the mechanization of cigar making, rising consumer preference for cigarettes over cigars, and the subsequent closure of most factories led to the dispersal of more than half of Tampa's black Cubans, mostly to New York City's Spanish Harlem. Those who remained became more closely linked to the city's African Americans, especially through intermarriage but also through schooling and civil rights struggles. Decades later, many of those who departed for New York returned to Tampa to spend their retirement years, reinvigorating the declining Afro-Cuban community and the Martí-Maceo Society.

This brief summary cannot do full justice to the intricate arguments and detailed data in this engagingly written book. A theoretical introductory chapter

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locates the Afro-Cuban experience in the anthropological literature on transnationalism, cultural capital, diasporas, race, gender, and agency. The remainder of the book reflects an effective blending of historical and anthropological research. Greenbaum worked on this book over fifteen years, conducted extensive interviews over time with forty Afro-Cubans, and even became involved in the activities of the Martí-Maceo Society. Extensive extracts from her ethnographic research are well integrated in the text. This book makes an important contribution to American immigration and ethnic history. It parallels in subject matter another book on Tampa ethnicity, Gary Ross Mormino and George E. Pozzetta's *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985* (1987), which deals only briefly with Afro-Cubans.

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ASIA

JANE E. ELLIOTT. *Some Did It for Civilisation, Some Did It for Their Country: A Revised View of the Boxer War*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; distributed by University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich. 2002. Pp. xliii, 610. $39.00.

'*Some* revised views" might be better than "*a* revised view," since Jane E. Elliott is less interested here in a new interpretation of the war as a whole than in certain of its aspects that she believes have been wrongly assessed. She begins by looking at foreign press coverage, finding the *Times* of London (whose China stringer, J. O. P. Bland, never bothered to leave Shanghai to observe the fighting) sadly deficient when compared to Harold Harmsworth's *Daily Mail* or Joseph Pulitzer's *World*. Yet the *Times* has conventionally been accepted as an authoritative Western view. Elliott moves on to one of the book's most interesting and original features: examining pictures of the war from both sides. These include Chinese woodblock prints, indebted to folk and literary tradition yet accurately depicting foreign soldiery and military affairs; American photography, valuable for the lessons it learned from the experience of the Civil War; the drawings of bemused artists in papers such as the *Illustrated London News*, often incapable of envisioning the fighting in China; and the work of foreign cartoonists. In the last two chapters, she shifts her focus away from images to questions of China's military modernization and particularly to the performance of the imperial troops as they met both the Boxers and the Allied troops that, after initial setbacks, fought their way to Beijing.

Too often, Elliott maintains, we are unable to see that which contradicts what we think we know. Conventional wisdom, for example, tells us that the Chinese were depicted in 1900 as barbarous and bloodthirsty, facing the civilized world with a Yellow Peril. Not so, however, or at least not once you leave behind the *Times* and its ilk. For many cartoonists, barbarism and bloodthirstiness were far more evident among China's antagonists—"die moderne Hunnen," as *Simplicissimus*, for example, called German officers (p. 303)—than among the Chinese. Conventional wisdom also knows that the late Qing armies were hopelessly old-fashioned, corrupt, short of modern technology, and unwilling to stand and fight. Yet Elliott faults scholars for their failure to read the writings of Western professional military men, whose accounts give a very different picture of the enemy they faced. Looking at the performance of troops under such leaders as Generals Yang Mushi and Nie Shiceng, she finds evidence not only of their bravery and resourcefulness but also of their ability fully to exploit weapons sometimes more advanced than those used by the foreigners. Defeated they were, not because of professional or technological shortcomings but because they were undercut by a court that first sent them into action against the Boxers and then embraced the Boxers as allies.

In short, much here challenges conventional wisdom. Unfortunately, however, the book desperately needs the hand of a firm editor. It is not just that there are proofreading errors (e.g. "disburse" for "disperse," p. 40). The confusing title is never explained, nor is the work's thesis ever clearly set forth. Her starting point, Elliott says, is to see the Boxers as a "rising" rather than a "rebellion" (p. xxxvi), arguing later that it was a real "war" (p. 511), but she never explores the implications of these terms, and it is hard to see how they affect her views. She proposes, too, a "dramatic new way" for seeing the siege of the Legations (p. xxvii), but all this means is that the Beijing moderates of 1900 managed to influence the actions of the besiegers. With more reason, we are told that "the depiction of the events of the Boxer Rising is the central focus of this book" (p. 190)—hence, Elliott's emphasis on images and image making. But by then the reader is somewhat confused about the book's purpose, a confusion exacerbated by writing that can be diffuse, jumping from subject to subject with no connections made, and sometimes apparently contradicting itself.

Finally, nowhere does the book distinguish between the policies of Beijing and the rest of China, particularly the actions of leaders like Zhang Zhidong or Li Hongzhang, who refused to recognize the court's declaration of war on the foreigners. Yet it would be interesting to know how such men and their policies affected the image makers with whom she is concerned. If the fighting in the north tells us something about Chinese patriotism and military professionalism, so, presumably, does the refusal to fight in central and south China.

NICHOLAS CLIFFORD
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JULIA ADENEY THOMAS. *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology*. (Twenti-

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eth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 12.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 239. $37.50.

Julia Adeney Thomas's book is a bold and ambitious attempt to reimagine the course of modern Japanese history. She does this by tracing the changing conceptions of "nature" in Japan from the early 1800s through the 1930s and noting how each shaped subjectivity and political action in a different way. At the same time, she also explores how historians have described "Japan's particular engagement with modernity" and offers an original view *of* Japan's "modernity."

Thomas reimagines modern Japan on three different levels. She begins by identifying the prevailing discourse on "nature" at three historical moments—Tokugawa (1600–1867), Meiji (1868–1912) and Taishō and early Shōwa (1912–1945)—and elegantly characterizes each. The Tokugawa discourse on nature is "spatial"; the Meiji discourse is "temporal"; and that of Taishō and early Shōwa is, in her clever phrase, "ultranational and ultranatural."

Thomas also is interested in how the leading thinkers in Tokugawa, Meiji, and Taishō-early Shōwa used nature to validate their own positions in broader intellectual and political fields. Her accounts of intellectuals articulating or contesting positions within these fields comprise the second level of her analysis. Tokugawa conceptions of nature, she observes, were diverse but similarly spatial and centripetal and combined "stability and dynamism." The Chinese conception of *chūgoku*, or "central kingdom," which is both spatial and centripetal, is one of her examples. Japanese Confucians used this conception to describe Japan as the central kingdom, whereas nativists saw the emperor and Kyoto, the old imperial capital, as the center. Dissenters like Andō Shōeki and Hirata Atsutane subversively located the center in country villages, and late Tokugawa thinkers advanced a conception of nature that was more fluid and centerless. But Thomas says little about the tensive relationship of "stability and dynamism" in Tokugawa discourses on nature, perhaps because she is most interested in their spatial dimension.

The Meiji period, she argues, brought an important redefinition of nature: it was no longer "spatial" but "temporal." She sees the pioneering intellectual Katō Hiroyuki as the architect of a new conception of what she terms an "evolutionary nature." His conception was also quintessentially statist and had political implications that were not lost on his critics Baba Tatsui and Ueki Emori, who promoted the "liberated individual" as a foil to the state. Those familiar with the Meiji material will find Thomas's account of the Meiji redefinition of nature plausible but lacking in complexity and nuance.

Thomas next contends that Katō's evolutionary nature proved to be problematic because it was implicitly hierarchical and left Japan behind, and also because it was "insufficiently nationalistic and only partially controllable." With the help of scholars and intellectuals, the Japanese government solved these problems by sponsoring a new conception of nature that was, by turns, "immanent," particularistic, and nationalistic. This Taishō-early Shōwa version is the third "nature" discourse in Thomas's analysis. She charts the creation of this new conception between 1905 and 1940, highlighting two of its manifestations. The first is the transformation of Shintō into a national and state ideology that generated a political culture in which Japanese citizens had duties to perform, often involving self-sacrifice. Government-produced ethics textbooks, a second manifestation, disseminated this new conception of nature and politics. None was more powerful than *Kokutai no hongi* (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan), which described nature as "eternally harmonious with the people of Japan." The change that Thomas discerns in the ethics textbooks may, however, have occurred more gradually than she suggests, instead coming in the 1930s and 1940s.

The result was that Japan became a "family state" with nature replacing "history" as the "guarantor of authentic culture." This new "ultranationalist and ultranatural state" had the support of the leading intellectuals of the day—Watsuji Tetsurō, Nishida Kitarō, and Miki Kiyoshi—whose exceptionalist vision placed Japan outside Western time and space and whose endorsements discouraged resistance. With the state emerging as the "ultimate modern subject," Thomas writes, "disagreeing became an act of perversion in its root sense: an abomination of nature." Dissenters could do what Minakata Kumagusu and Yanagita Kunio did—invoke "local custom with a naturalness preceding that of the state"—or they could voluntarily retire. This account of the government-sponsored politicization of nature is compelling.

Finally, historian of science Stephen Toulmin's conception of nature as a "cosmopolis" informs Thomas's book and represents the third level of her analysis. She uses his conception to write an alternative account of modern Japanese history, one that "helps to resituate Japanese history outside the gradualist narrative of modernization, the revolutionary tale of Marxism, or the exceptionalist vision of Japanese culture" and within a broader conception of "modernity" that is not linear, Eurocentric, or exceptionalist. Here Thomas offers not only an "alternative perspective on Japan's place in . . . the universal history of modernity" but also a redefinition of "modernity" that consists of "multiple transformations of the cosmopolis rather than a trajectory away from nature," allowing a new, less Eurocentric and absolutist definition of "freedom." This series of conceptual moves reveals Thomas's powerful constructionist impulses, and they suggest the key in which her book should be read.

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KYOKO INOUE. *Individual Dignity in Modern Japanese Thought: The Evolution of the Concept of* Jinkaku *in Moral and Educational Discourse*. (Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, number 35.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 262. $60.00.

One modernist question underlies linguistic historian Kyoko Inoue's second book on the translation of American notions of democratic citizenship: how did an essentially hierarchical Japanese society adapt an egalitarian notion of democratic subjectivity after World War II? Inoue focuses on the genealogy of the word *jinkaku* from its late nineteenth-century beginnings as a literal translation of the Western concept of legal personhood to its later ambiguous use by moralists to express both human dignity and moral character. The inherent tension between the egalitarian and the hierarchical meanings of the term complicated Japan's postwar development as a democratic society.

Inoue parses usage of *jinkaku* and related terms in morals textbooks and the writings of major public thinkers to show that, by the 1910s, *jinkaku* had come into common usage with both egalitarian and hierarchical meanings. Men, women, and children of all classes shared the quality of *jinkaku* that indicated a common humanity, and they had the capacity to raise their *jinkaku* as moral worth through the disciplining of material and emotional desires. Yet *jinkaku* usage reflected contemporary political and social realities, for only a few were expected to develop their characters fully, and those who did were accorded more respect. For example, *jinkaku* was used to exhort middle school boys on the elite track to greater expectations than girls of the same class, and *jinkaku* was not introduced to the more widely read higher elementary textbooks until the 1930s. Political theorist Yoshino Sakuzō argued for universal male suffrage on the principal of autonomous *jinkaku*, and labor leader Suzuki Bunji emphasized worker rights based on the same; yet, if Inoue is correct, both accepted the political and economic hierarchies of the day. Abe Jirō, a well-known neo-Kantian philosopher who authored a book on *jinkaku*, was explicit in stressing mutual respect for respective callings, a kind of equality of humanity if not power in roles such as husband and wife in marriage.

These early twentieth-century developments, treated in the long first chapter, provided the conceptual framework for Japanese to comprehend postwar American occupation dictates to create a peace-loving, democratic society based on respect for the individual. In the succeeding three chapters, Inoue provides a fascinating account of how Japanese legislators and educators interpreted respect for the individual as respect for *jinkaku*, bringing into postwar civics education the relatively unexamined contradictions inherent to the term's prewar usage. By the 1960s, the Ministry of Education called for the development of individuals' natural abilities in terms of *ningensei*, a nonhierarchical term meaning humanity, even as "perfecting *jinkaku*" communicated the idea that individual responsibility must accompany individual freedom. As Japan became more affluent in later decades, *kosei*, or individuality, came to be emphasized as *jinkaku* use gradually faded. Yet Inoue suggests that since individuality was construed to exist within a social nexus, the mandate to exercise one's freedom responsibly led to a citizenry that is disinclined to challenge state authority. Japan's style of democracy is communitarian, then, in contrast to the individualistic style of American democracy.

The evidence Inoue presents is indicative rather than conclusive, although her conclusions are probably correct. For example, Japan's political community is no doubt less individualistic than America's, but such a broad statement can only partially rest on the evidence of textbook passages that encourage collaboration in building a fair and just society for all. Also, there remain important larger questions that are left outside the scope of this methodically written, useful monograph. First, in repeatedly stating that the hierarchical meaning of *jinkaku* overshadowed the egalitarian, the author seems to imply that Japanese discourse lacked an authentic basis for true democracy. The existence of tension between the hierarchical and egalitarian notions of *jinkaku* should not lead one to conclude Japanese understanding of human dignity is somehow dysfunctional. Granting that the author ultimately argues that this tendency led toward the creation of a functional "communitarian"-style democracy, a discussion of the relevant European and American discourse would have provided a useful context. Character building and hierarchical notions of society were an integral part of late nineteenth-century Europe and America, after all, and Itō Hirobumi, who oversaw the writing of the Meiji Constitution, was deeply influenced by European theories of "social freedom." Furthermore, one yearns for a fuller discussion of how *jinkaku* evoked preexisting notions of human dignity and hierarchy, especially the deeply embedded neo-Confucian ideas of perfecting one's goodness and fulfilling one's lot in life.

Despite these shortcomings, Inoue has written a highly suggestive book that successfully introduces a fundamental component of the narrative of Japanese modernization: the evolution of notions of the self.

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HARRY HAROOTUNIAN. *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xxxii, 440. $35.00.

This is a formidable book. In it, Harry Harootunian engages the Japanese response to modernity. Noting that the modern "Japanese sensibility" was characterized by a "consciousness that oscillated furiously between recognizing the peril of being overcome by modernity and the impossible imperative of overcom-

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ing it" (p. x), the author puts his finger on the ideational and ideological reverberations that shook interwar Japan. Although the book's dustjacket displays evocative images of material modernity—an eye-catching, modernist matchbox cover, industrial machinery, staged folk dancing—Harootunian is quick to point out that his book is not "concerned with retrieving the experience of modernity as lived by the Japanese . . . but rather how that experience was thought about and discussed, and how contemporaries recalled what they lived through" (p. xi). Accordingly, he introduces us to the manifestoes, meditations, and musings on modernity of artists, critics, philosophers, poets, and social scientists, among others. Although it is easy to get lost in the effusive rhetoric and forced logic of some of their writing, and sometimes difficult to follow the thread of Harootunian's highly nuanced interpretations, these meanderings also bring readers to some dramatic vistas of the contested conceptual landscape of interwar Japanese modernity. The book is a challenging and sometimes maddening read, but one that rewards us with a terrifically insightful and poignant evocation of Japan's tortured attempt to come to grips with the modern world into which it was thrust and into which it then threw itself.

The book is composed of six corpulent chapters of dense critical exegesis that divides writers on modernity into three main groups: those who "represent[ed] lived experience in social circumstances" as "the ever new in the ever same" (Kobayashi Hideo, Kon Wajirō, Tosaka Jun), as "the auratic endowment of culture-memory" (Watsuji Tetsurō, Kuki Shūzō, Miki Kiyoshi), and as "experience of the communal body" (Yanagita Kunio, Orikuchi Shinobu, Takada Yasuma). That Harootunian also gives voice to writers whose quirkiness set them apart (such as the gadfly Gonda Yasunosuke) or whose ideas underwent significant change (such as the philosopher Miki Kiyoshi) makes the work that much more valuable as an intellectual/cultural history of interwar Japan.

Harootunian has brilliantly choreographed his presentation of these interwar writers on modernity. In a long introduction, he sketches the historical background of his subject: "Japan's entry into the heroic phase of capital expansion" (p. xi), the reductionistic narrativization of this modern process by nationalists and Marxians alike as a sociopolitical story of "structures, institutions, and movements" (p. xv), and the rejection of these narratives by numerous writers who recognized the "aporetic relationship between politics and culture" (p. xv). Here, too, he hammers home his interpretative perspective of the ensuing conceptual crisis: as the Japanese "inflection of a larger global process" he terms "co-existing or co-eval modernity." Unlike the hackneyed notion of "alternative modernities," with its implicit valuation of different modernities, "what co-eval suggests is contemporaneity yet the possibility of difference" both between Japan and other nations within the grips of modernity and within Japan as well (pp. xvi-xvii).

Chapter one, "The Fantasy of Modern Life," introduces us to the material reality of modernization in interwar Japan and the bracing dreams and visions that it inspired. Chapter two closely examines the famous symposium on "Overcoming Modernity" (1942). Harootunian concludes that the symposium did not, and could not, accomplish its overarching objective of helping Japan to restore its lost identity but instead, in the process of analyzing the nation's "capitalist modernization and the vast material and spiritual transformation lived and experienced by Japanese," simply reinforced the impression that it had indeed been "overcome by modernity" (p. 94). Chapters three, four, five, and six immerse us in the diverse and fascinating writings on modernity described above, although the impact of Harootunian's critical exegesis is diminished somewhat by the relative absence of biographical detail. Three further characteristics of these main chapters bear mentioning: first, the wide and engaging theoretical discussions that inform the argument; second, the remarkably broad comparative contextualization of the writings under consideration (mainly to the work of European writers); and, finally, Harootunian's continuing and compelling effort to contextualize his larger, lifelong project of confronting modernity by eliciting the connections between his earlier work and his current thinking (see especially pp. 300–303 on Meiji and modernity).

For all its faults, including editorial oversights and errors in detail, this is a book that demands attention. It compels us to think about modernity, which continues to be a matter of no small importance in the contentious world we live in today.

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JEFFREY E. HANES. *The City as Subject: Seki Hajime and the Reinvention of Modern Osaka*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 348. $45.00.

Seki Hajime (1873–1935) served the city of Osaka as deputy mayor from 1914 until his death in 1935. As a municipal official, he vowed to transform the city from a "Capital of Smoke" to a "Livable City." He presided over the expansion of the city boundaries in 1925 and the completion of the first subway in 1933. In contrast to landowners and bureaucrats who treated urban areas as economic objects, Seki viewed cities as "social subjects" (p. 174), "vital organs" of the people's national economy (p. 175). In the title of the book, then, the word city refers not to the actual Osaka but to Seki's ideal of the city as a living organism. Although Jeffrey E. Hanes privileges the city in his title and relegates Seki to the subtitle, this book is not about either the particular city of Osaka or even the abstract idea of cities. Rather, it is a thoughtful, carefully researched intellectual biography of Seki.

For his sketch of Seki's early years, Hanes makes

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imaginative use of family photographs. By taking into account the conventions of portraiture in Meiji Japan, he teases out an image of a young man forced by his father's early death to take responsibility for his mother and brothers. Surviving photographs provide visual traces of Seki's education at Tokyo Commercial College (from which he graduated in 1893), his career in business education, and his trip abroad under the sponsorship of the Education Ministry. Seki married in 1902, the year after he returned from Europe via America. Through the camera lens we see him as the head of a three-generation family, his mother holding the first of his seven children.

Three of the six substantive chapters analyze Seki's intellectual development from his early discipleship to the German historical school to his ultimate conviction that cities possessed a subjectivity of their own. Hoping that Japan might learn from the European example and thus avoid class warfare, Seki urged the Japanese state to protect industrial workers—that is urban workers—from industrialists. The realization that the labor problem was in fact an urban problem transformed Seki into an urban reformer. Hanes makes clear that Seki's views, far from being peculiarly Japanese, were the product of his participation in "a cosmopolitan fellowship of progressives" (p. 42). The precise relationship between Seki's views and those of international scholars is somewhat obscured, however, by Hanes's reliance on direct quotations from secondary works.

With his assumption of the duties of deputy mayor of Osaka in 1914, Seki became a maker of policy, not simply an academic expert. As a government official, he regarded housing as the most pressing urban issue for the quality of working-class life. If urban planning was to enhance public welfare, then it would have to be synonymous with residential improvement. During his two decades of urban leadership, Seki succeeded in constructing several hundred homes for working-class families, but many of his plans for Osaka failed in the face of capitalist greed and bureaucratic caprice.

This grounded research on the scholarly and urban planning career of one individual is oddly removed from the economic, political, and strategic issues that dominate the conventional understanding of the Japanese Empire in the 1920s and 1930s. After passing mention of an outcast slum that was razed in 1887, Japan's ethnic minorities do not appear again until the closing pages of the book. Seki took an avid interest in the economic potential of the Japanese annexation of Korea, but the "sorry state of Korean immigrant labor" (p. 268) is likewise relegated to the end of the book. Hanes carefully documents Seki's intellectual engagement with Marxism, but the first mention of Communists as a category of individuals subject to legal penalties in Japan comes when Seki's son is arrested in 1933. Tokyo bureaucrats and the Osaka City Council were among the political actors who affected Seki's ability to implement reforms, but nothing in this book even hints that both were linked to the two major political parties.

Precisely because Hanes maintains such detachment from the conventional historical questions about Seki's years as an urban administrator, this book is refreshingly free from the usual binary opposites of international and national, liberal and illiberal, antimilitarist and militarist. Like the photographers who recorded visual images of the Seki family, Hanes presents the intellectual life of early twentieth-century Japan against a different backdrop and from a slightly different angle than we have seen before.

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RICHARD H. MITCHELL. *Justice in Japan: The Notorious Teijin Scandal*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 264. $46.00.

In 1934, as the army plotted mischief beyond the borders and extremists plotted coups within, Japanese police rounded up more than a dozen prominent bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen—decidedly not the usual suspects. For criminal charges, they and prosecutors tagged a stock sale. The aggressive Suzuki trading firm had failed a few years earlier. When it did, as creditor the (Japanese government-affiliated) Bank of Taiwan had taken title to Suzuki's 225,000 shares in the Teijin textile firm. In exchange for a loan from the Bank of Japan, it had then posted the Teijin stock as security and to repay that loan had sold the stock. Argued the prosecutors, the defendants rigged the sale.

The trial scandalized the country, but for the prosecutors it brought only grief. Although several defendants initially admitted to the crime, they soon hired counsel and retracted their confessions. By December 1937, the court had acquitted the defendants. Indeed, it not only acquitted them but forthrightly declared that no crime had occurred. To retell this story, Richard H. Mitchell combs various accounts of the trial record, the press coverage, and defense statements. He tells the story straightforwardly enough; the puzzle is whether he tells it too straightforwardly.

The defendants were innocent, Mitchell writes. The prosecutors attacked them only out of personal spite. Ministry of Finance bureaucrats had "publicly humiliated" (p. 182) the lead prosecutor over a tax case in 1932, and he now retaliated by trying to make the ministry look bad. Unfortunately, trial records can be maddeningly opaque. Through their discretion over trial process, judges often can construct the record they want, and they need not necessarily construct it to detail the past. Sometimes, they construct it to justify their verdict. Even less do newspapers or defense attorney accounts necessarily reflect what happened. Mitchell has not unearthed decisive new evidence nor, apparently, has any other scholar. Instead, on the basis of that material and the secondary literature, he tells us that the prosecutors pursued innocent men.

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Maybe, indeed quite possibly. But maybe not. White-collar crime is hard to prove everywhere. The evidence is often circumstantial, and the defendants are usually smarter and more resourceful than the average thug. The lead prosecutor in this case worked with six or seven men. Three of the prosecutors died, the lead prosecutor himself allegedly "of overwork," and his replacement resigned shortly after the trial of "a nervous breakdown" (p. 155). By contrast, the defendants controlled over fifty of the best lawyers money could buy. Even before the most independent of judges, these prosecutors would have found convictions hard.

So, were the judges independent? Implicitly Mitchell suggests as much (much as he protests otherwise; p. 215 n. 36), even as he explicitly accuses the lead prosecutor of a personal vendetta. Yet if the courts were not independent, that is all the more reason not to take the trial record at face value. That record does indeed purport to show that the defendants were innocent. Given that the judges decided to acquit, however, what other record would one expect to find?

Mitchell sees in the Taijin case an indictment of the criminal justice system. To be sure, whenever someone is acquitted, something necessarily went wrong: either an innocent person was arrested and prosecuted, or a guilty person went free. The former implies faulty police and prosecutorial work, the latter a faulty judicial finding. Mitchell argues the former, but absent any external evidence that the court "got it right," we cannot say.

Several defendants did claim that they had been forced to confess. Given that they had to retract their confessions to contest the case, what else could they do? One complained that he was thrown on the "concrete floor and kicked," handled "roughly," "kept in a very small cell . . . with ten vagrants, who swarmed with lice," and "repeatedly called . . . a corrupt person" (p. 73). Another, however, argued that he confessed because he had heard that his brother-in-law was sick and his intransigence was keeping the man out of the hospital, and because he was so "humiliated and shocked" to learn that the imperial palace had authorized his arrest (p. 151). Reasons Mitchell, "for high-class people like [these defendants], isolation, a dirty jail cell, and persistent questioning were enough to force a confession" (p. 163).

Maybe the defendants were innocent. But maybe not. We do not know, and—much as he tries—Mitchell does not tell us. Something went wrong in this case, but whether prosecutors railroaded innocent men or judges freed crooks we still do not know.

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Andre Schmid. *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919.* (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 372. Cloth $49.50, paper $22.50.

In Benedict Anderson's apt but by-now hackneyed phrase, all ethnic and national groups are "imagined communities." Especially during the last two centuries, the intellectual and political enterprise of defining and seeking nationhood has sprung up everywhere and has been hyperactive in producing both benign and malignant concepts and forms of nationhood and nationalism. Those engaged in this endeavor have selectively harnessed history, memories of heroic accomplishment and suffering (within or without shared territory), myths, religion, secular traditions, and a host of other cultural forces to forge or strengthen claims of nationhood on behalf of their compatriots. Such efforts have inevitably been subject to challenges and revisions in evolving local, regional, and global contexts. In some cases, the issues first raised by these efforts in the late 1800s have, in new mutations, continued to shape scholarly and citizen discourse as well as politics and policy down to the present, in a sense reducing all history to the oxymoron called contemporary history.

This, in a nutshell, is the nature and scope of Andre Schmid's inquiry in its focus on modern Korean history, and, despite the book's title, he makes many connections to later decades of colonial, postliberation, and contemporary Korea. The result is a breathtaking historiography, magisterial in sweep, elegant in structure, lucid in idiom, and insightful and illuminating in interpretation. These qualities, products of the author's astute mind and meticulous and confident command of Korean, Japanese, and Chinese sources, make his study a rare work of synthesis in an age when monographs of microspecialization seem to crowd out bird's-eye-view histories of this kind. The reader of Schmid's work feels as if the writer is taking him along on a carefully planned aerial journey across a stimulating historical landscape, all the while telling intelligent stories about the significant forests, marshes, hollows, croplands, sand dunes, meadows, lakes, shorelines, and other features that makeup the whole.

The book's strengths are likely to make it an unrivaled work of scholarship on modern Korea for a long time to come. The specifics of the narrative line are not necessarily original, but they nevertheless command fresh attention due to the author's conceptual framework. From the late nineteenth century to the early colonial era, nationalist Korean journalists, historians, and reform-minded activists found themselves facing a tough intellectual and political challenge: how to deal with the engulfing currents of what the author calls "capitalist modernity of the global system, " with its ruthless Social Darwinian logic, while transforming Korea into a progressive, prosperous, and "modern" nation-state in the international community. A well-defined, new sense of Korean national identity distinct from the China-centered, transnational Confucian identity favored by the traditional elite had to be the underpinning of a well-planned political, social, cultural, and economic reform platform. This meant developing a candid, even unforgiving critique of Korea's perceived ailments: subservience toward

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China combined with indifference toward Korea's own historical feats; a court-centered rather than people-centered historical consciousness; and absence of national unity marked by endemic factionalism, corruption, and sundry other flaws in the body politic. A resurgent and expansionist Japan, however, was at the same time quite eager to spread the same critique of Korea and combine it with Tokyo's own economic and strategic national objectives in the beguiling guise of a pan-Asian quest for advancement. Those Korean intellectuals who were not drawn toward Japan tried to salvage from their history and geography myths and legends, sage rulers, martial heroes, cultural artifacts, language and script, natural features, and assorted other symbols to give Koreans a sense of autonomous collective identity and pride and energy for nation building. With the fateful events of 1905–1910 that culminated in Korea's annexation by Japan, the task of preserving a Korean collective identity became even more difficult, but the quest remained, and it gradually came to involve many expatriate communities as well as those at home. All such efforts and their implications constitute the main narrative of Schmid's book.

In his epilogue, the author offers an enlightening survey of how the post-liberation regimes in North and South Korea have tried selectively to shun or co-opt parts of the legacy of various preliberation attempts at national self-definition to bolster the marriage between Marxism and Kim Il Sungism in the North and, until the late 1980s, an anticommunist ethos in the South. Affluence and the rapid development of democracy in South Korea since the late 1980s have together created yet new and competing visions of national identity including, in some fringe groups, those that now cast wistful, even irredentist glances at Manchuria as the putative "original homeland" of all Koreans—an idea first popularized by nationalist historian Sin Ch'aeho in the early twentieth century. In "The Parliament of Histories" (*Korean Studies* 25: 2 [2001]), Boudewijn Walraven asks us to carefully consider yet other Korea-centric visions of history and nation. Among those are certain native religious movements that link myths, the remote past, colonialism, national suffering, recovery of independence, division, fratricidal war, and emerging prosperity to the eventual dawn of a millenarian and grandiose global civilization under a Pax Coreana. Walraven thus gives us the populist focus of his own new research. Those Korean Christians who now see their homeland as a Second Jerusalem add their own unique brand of hypernationalism to the repertoire. Schmid's highly nuanced and sophisticated study should help put them and all other forms of Korean nationalism in a stimulating intellectual perspective.

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ARVIND SINHA. *The Politics of Trade: Anglo-French Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1763–1793.* New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 249.

A common assumption in the historiography of European imperialism in Asia is that the years after 1763 saw the eclipse of French commercial power and influence in India. According to this reading of the history of the subcontinent, defeat in the Seven Years' War brought an abrupt halt to the hitherto robust French assault on the initial growth of British supremacy among the monopolistic European East India companies. Thereafter, although the specter of French military and political resurgence always loomed large in the minds of British company officials and decision makers in London (not least when Napoleon threatened invasion of India via Egypt), there was never any realistic prospect of France undermining Britain's dominant commercial position to any great degree. This book challenges such a view by focusing on a postwar French trading revival that lasted from 1763 to 1793, and Arvind Sinha is fully justified in claiming that his work represents the first detailed examination of French trade in the Coromandel, the southeastern coastal region of India where France was obliged to concentrate its activity during the late eighteenth century. The outcome is a careful study firmly rooted in Indian and French archives, which is only very slightly marred by the misspelling of the names of some leading historians. Overall, the data and detail culled from unused or underused sources serves strongly to underscore the important general point that Anglo-French rivalry was rather more complex, and had a greater number of dimensions to it, than has been previously acknowledged by historians.

After a scene-setting survey of the local geopolitical context, three chapters examine the changing organizational framework of Anglo-French commercial rivalry, and then two chapters consider the impact of that rivalry on the region in question. First and foremost, Sinha provides new evidence of the growth of Franco-Indian trade during the late 1760s, the mid-1770s, and the late 1780s. He also points to significant differences in the import/export profiles of the French and the British that reveal much about metropolitan attitudes toward the whole purpose of trade and empire. Unlike the British, the French exported very few commodities to India, relying instead on shipments of bullion; and while the British increasingly favored imports of raw materials to Europe, the French continued to concentrate on textiles. The French failed, however, to sustain anything other than the intermittent growth of their trade, and explanation for this is to be found in domestic political factors. Against an unstable political background, successive reorganizations of trade with India saw short-term shifts between monopoly and free-trade arrangements before exclusive privileges were extinguished once and for all in the wake of the French Revolution. These fundamental changes stand in marked contrast to the

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British experience, which, although characterized by increasing demand for access to Indian markets from free traders and manufacturers, was based on the continuing existence of the East India Company. At the same time, there were powerful constraints on the French in India, and although they were able to reinvigorate their trade with the Coromandel, their ambitions were often thwarted by the British, who were able to exploit advantages stemming from their political power and possession of territory. The East India Company could divert surplus territorial revenues into the procurement of commodities, and control of Bengal facilitated access to a far greater variety of products than was available to the French in the Coromandel.

Sinha emphasises throughout the book that despite all the antagonism that existed between the British and French at official levels, there was often an extraordinary degree of friendly cooperation between individuals on both sides, in Europe as well as India. This serves only to endorse Holden Furber's important point that it is futile to try and understand the development of European imperialism in Asia by considering only contemporary "national" perspectives. Finally, Sinha examines the economic impact of Anglo-French rivalry on the Coromandel region and its people, and he demonstrates that harsh effects were felt by weavers and merchants who could not resist commercial pressure when it was backed by political and military authority. His conclusion is that, in the long run, the English succeeded "primarily because they used political means to further their trade interests, whereas the French were probably interested in trade to achieve their political ambition" (p. 220). The reader might hope for a more emphatic finale, but this should in no way detract from the overall worth and value of a good solid research monograph that does much to reshape our view of the European presence in late eighteenth-century India.

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William Cummings. *Making Blood White: Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 257. $45.00.

In this study of the transition from an oral to a literate culture in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, William Cummings explores the forces underpinning the cultural and social transformations that took place in the early modern period. Although this period marks the beginning of indigenous interaction with European colonial and commercial concerns, the author has chosen to retell his story through indigenous rather than European sources and to focus on history making as practice rather than recounting narrative events. The choice is a significant and important one. Cummings questions the consensus among historians of early modern Southeast Asia that commercial activities were the driving force in the social and political transformations that took place during this period. Instead, he argues for the crucial role of cultural forces and cultural meanings.

In the introductory chapter, Cummings makes a number of historiographical claims that call for a recognition that the cultural, social, religious, and intellectual formations represented by written sources were historical forces in their own right. These forces, embodied in the written records that emerged at this time, were aspects of Makassarese culture that were largely unnoticed by Europeans in the early years of contact, and by most historians of Southeast Asia since. One of the major contributions of this volume is, in fact, the attention it draws to factors beyond the political and economic domains of conventional historiography. Aware of the potentially skeptical reception of a historiography that sees historical texts as more than records of the past, Cummings allows his Makassarese material to speak for itself, before repositioning his work in wider historiographical debates in the conclusion. He systematically constructs a credible vision of Makassarese historical texts as tangible forces capable of affecting the course of social and political developments—difficult though this claim for the power of manuscripts may be for contemporary historians to grasp.

The main body of the book is divided into two parts, each comprising three chapters. In part one, "History-Making," Cummings describes the manuscripts and stories in which the Makassarese began, with the advent of literacy in the sixteenth century, to tell of their past. These historical writings include royal chronicles, genealogies, and compilations of customs and laws that, woven together, create a web of indigenous historical voices. Cummings next discusses the evolution of written scripts at this time and charts the passage from oral to written histories. In this period of transition, written sources became imbued with the sacredness and power formerly vested in sacred sites and objects, a power that made them agents of change.

In part two, "Making History," Cummings turns his attention to the nature and consequences of this shift and demonstrates how writing the past down made it available to be manipulated in new ways. The most important consequence of these changes was the positioning of one kingdom, Gowa, at the center of the Makassarese political and social system. Written genealogies set a legitimizing standard of historical descent that elevated the rulers of Gowa above other local rulers and were vital in the creation of the increasingly hierarchical social order that emerged through the codification of the concept of the white blood of the book's title that served to distinguish noble from commoner. They also provided a new sense of the past as something that could be laid down in textual form and owned. In a process that Cummings terms "centerization," textual models flowed out from Gowa to be adapted in the periphery, and sacred regalia flowed inward to Gowa, allowing the Gowa rulers to amass

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powerful cultural and social capital. The conversion to Islam in the early seventeenth century played a crucial role in this process. Through the codification of Makassarese culture in textual form, defined always in terms of the court at Gowa, Gowa emerged as the exemplary center for the surrounding areas, a position it maintained until its defeat by the Dutch in 1669.

In seeking to "expand the kinds of explanations we might make and the kinds of understandings we might gain from a wider range of historical perspectives," Cummings has provided not just a fascinating and rich study of early modern Makassar but also a wealth of comparative material that will be welcomed by those who work with the difficult sources available for studying the early modern history of Indonesia and Southeast Asia more generally. The audience for this book will include historians and students interested in Indonesian regional history as well as those working in the humanities and social science disciplines both in Indonesia and beyond.

HELEN CREESE
University of Queensland

RUDOLF MRÁZEK. *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 311. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

In Rudolf Mrázek's book, Dutch colonizers in the early twentieth century transport the new technologies and fashions of Europe to their huge Southeast Asian colony, the Dutch East Indies. As a result, their Indonesian subjects also enter modernity. They ride in trains and cars and take to newly asphalted roadways on motorcycles. They become chauffeurs (*sopir* in Malay) and office clerks, stenographers, laboratory assistants, and radio repairmen. They watch movies and pose for photograph after photograph. They lard their conversations with Dutch words and create new Malay/Dutch hybrids like *maloeloos* (shameless) and *kesopiran* (driverness). And they wear shirts and trousers and smart Dutch frocks. They also strike against the state railways, keep a wary eye for the colonial police, and dream of independence.

Mrázek's rich portrait of this fast-changing colonial world is built from an extraordinarily wide and eclectic range of primary sources, such as *Ons Huis in Indië*, a handbook for Dutch colonial housewives, and *Sopir*, a niche magazine for chauffeurs. As no other book has done, this one conveys the feel and flavor of modernity as it took root in early twentieth-century Indonesia.

But Mrázek has a larger project in mind. He seeks to connect the modernity of the early twentieth-century Indies to the crisis of late twentieth-century Indonesia and, indeed, the modern world in general. To do so, he says, he will "loosen time" (p. xvi) and, by invoking Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer (along with Marcel Proust, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger, Immanuel Kant, Søren Kierkegaard, Franz Kafka, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault) will "make explicit . . . the insistent sense of late-colonial culture overgrowing into the post-colonial period and the present" (p. xvi).

House of Glass is the title of one of Pramoedya's final volumes of fiction written as a political prisoner on the island of Buru. Mrázek borrows this metaphor to evoke the cumulative impact of Dutch-engineered modernity in the Indies and ends his book with an entire chapter on Pramoedya's ten years in the Buru labor camp, also a "house of glass." Here, Mrázek tells us, the acclaimed writer becomes "the last in the long line of modern Indies and Indonesia engineers" (p. 218). When Pramoedya memorializes fallen comrades with slabs of concrete, writes Mrázek, he is invoking "a powerful symbol of modern Indies and modern Indonesia" (p. 215). Mrázek then connects the early twentieth-century Dutch engineers who introduced concrete to the Indies to President Sukarno, a Dutch-trained engineer whose made-of-concrete national monuments celebrated Indonesian independence, to engineer Pramoedya and his concrete grave markers on Buru. It is through associations such as these—of images, symbols, and metaphors—that Mrázek links the past to the present.

Foreshadowing the global crisis of modernity, in the Indies there was "a pervasive sense of anchorlessness, of floating" (p. 41). The new roads, railways, hotels, model villages: all are floating. Even the new Dutch-inflected Malay language (soon to be Indonesian) is "suspended in the air" (p. 33). Moreover, everything modern in the Indies is in some way trivial or phony. Colonial homes are full of kitsch. The radio is a "plaything and a fake" (p. 179). And Dutch-speaking Indonesian youths in Western clothing, Mrázek says, are mere "dandies."

The Dutch feared native pollution of all sorts—feces, blood, semen—and countered the colony's dangerous fluidity with standardization. They engineered the Indies "in line and by line" (p. 67) and created clean, orderly model villages for natives that, as Mrázek remarks pointedly, required few alterations to become prison camps under the Japanese. Invoking Foucault, he says "The colony was being miniaturized, inventoried, and surveyed" (p. 130) and, of course, watched. The Indies was a glass house in more ways than one. It was "mounted under glass," all the better for colonial watching and gazing. But for the Dutch, it was also "a hall of mirrors, a maze of flat reflections of themselves" (p. 121).

Mrázek focuses on a narrow swath of Indies society, namely the Dutch themselves (who seem to know the end is near) and the tiny number of Indonesians with opportunity to acculturate to Dutch ways or enter the still small ranks of those with modern skills. And he is drawn to certain voices. Among Indonesians, his favorites are Raden Ajeng Kartini, Mas Marco Kartodikromo, Sutan Sjahrir, and Pramoedya. This is a highly secular selection. Islam has no voice at all and is seldom mentioned. Yet, without doubt, Islam is the

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prism through which the majority of Indonesians have addressed modernity, then and now.

There is beauty in Mrázek's portrait of Pramoedya on Buru as he leads us to understand how Pramoedya's house of glass is at once the Indies and modern Indonesia and "our world too" (p. 226). We understand that this is at heart a poetic insight, born more of reflection than of research. Mrázek's suggestive metaphors and images speak from the high intellectual ether where Mas Marco, Kierkegaard, Pramoedya, and Foucault all meet and mingle. They are well above the floor of fact and the logic of causation—floating, you might say.

James R. Rush
Arizona State University

Frances B. Cogan. *Captured: The Japanese Internment of American Civilians in the Philippines, 1941–1945.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 357. $39.95.

During World War II, four U.S. territories were overtaken and occupied by Japanese invasion forces: the islands of Wake and Guam in the central and western Pacific, Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians, and the Philippines, then a U.S. Commonwealth. The Philippines, at the time of the American surrender, was a thriving group of over 7,000 islands with a population of over 30 million, including many American military and civilian personnel who had made their homes there permanently. There were many professional people, teachers, government workers, and business people. The Japanese rounded up all of these people and interned them in various camps around the country.

Frances B. Cogan has given us a marvelous book about this massive civilian internment. It is a comprehensive account of a part of American history that has been largely forgotten. "Few have any idea that over 5,000 American civilians in the Philippines were interned ... and held for over three years in what steadily devolved into starvation conditions," she argues (p. 1). But Cogan believes that this story and these realizations "should be a part of our common consciousness and heritage [and] could serve certainly as a model in the future of how a civilized people behave when placed in a horrific situation for a long period of time" (p. 3).

For most American civilians, hiding out in the jungles or joining the American guerillas were not options to be considered. They were dangerous and "too filled with privation for children or elderly parents ... most ... had families, usually children, and had to take what they saw as a sensible course of action" (p. 55).

Once the civilians were placed in the various camps, life in captivity set in. Generally at first the civilians had it better than the military POWs, but this changed as the war went on. Food supplies became increasingly scarce, and toward the end of the confinement many died of starvation and disease. When the Americans landed in Manila, some camps were liberated by paratroopers. The internees and POWs were taken back to the United States and given medical treatment. Their horrible captivity was over, and, "despite some lingering physical effects and early psychological adjustment problems, most internees eventually blended back into American society" (p. 317).

Cogan has given us a truly remarkable and important book. Her work is a labor of love and is significant not only for students and scholars of World War II, but also for those interested in the wider American historical experience.

Dirk Anthony Ballendorf
University of Guam

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. x, 310. $21.95.

There is a long tradition of writing histories of the Hawaiian Islands. They are invariably the story of a "traditional" people who, from the late eighteenth century, faced a succession of Westerners: explorers, traders, missionaries, businessmen, administrators. The Hawaiian people responded in a range of ways, such as participating in the new trading economies, becoming literate and Christian, and organizing a monarchy that lasted through most of the nineteenth century, before the islands were finally annexed by the United States in 1898.

Interpretations of this narrative have ranged widely. At one end of the spectrum, older imperial views emphasize and applaud Western initiative and economic and political developments that transformed a "primitive" place and its peoples into a modern, prosperous country. In more recent, postcolonial times, it has been fashionable to emphasize the dark side of colonization, highlighting the disastrous consequences for the Hawaiian people of Western intrusion. It is a tale of "fatal impact" whereby disease, massive depopulation, and racism cause biological, social, economic, political, and spiritual ruination. Such views have now become the new historical orthodoxy and help to provide an underpinning for the modern indigenous Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio's account of the Hawaiian nation to 1887 is probably one of the most powerful historical statements about past and present Hawaiian identity. Its power comes not from the more usually heard and sometimes overblown rhetoric of "fatal impact," although he firmly supports that interpretation. Nor does it derive just from the fact that the author is a "Native" historian with cultural insights denied to haole. Rather its impact comes from Osorio's incisive examination of political events in Hawai'i over time, notably his analysis of the

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relentless and dislocating transformations of relationships among the Hawaiian monarchy, the nobles, the commoners, and resident Westerners. It is a "story of how colonialism worked in Hawai'i not through the naked seizure of lands and governments but through a slow insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions" (p. 3). The really significant transformations in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, he argues—in rulership, land tenure, immigration, and especially "in the meaning of identity and belonging"—all came about as "legal changes." Osorio's thesis is that language is a "creator and a destroyer, and the law is nothing if not language." Submission to "the language of law and especially to its ubiquity and its fickleness" is, he says, what has altered the Hawaiians' sense of themselves and of their "inherent sovereignty" (p. 251).

This proposition is tracked through a sequence of constitutional changes from the first Hawaiian Constitution in 1840 when, under missionary influence, the power of the monarch was first subject to (minimal) constraints of vestigial legal process and representative government. Then came major land divisions and concepts of private ownership and, under the 1852 Constitution, the arrival of Westerners into the House of Representatives. All the while, foreigners were increasingly replacing chiefs as "principal authorities in . . . government" (p. 29), and Hawaiians in government and in the community generally were divided among themselves and compromised in terms of their identities, values, and organizing structures as they necessarily participated in the practices of Western constitutionality and economic modernity.

The climax of this story is the Bayonet Constitution of 1887, whereby King Kalakaua was forced to abandon any executive control to a Western-manipulated government structure, one that now thoroughly involved and divided Hawaiians. The law, says Osorio, was "bigger than the king and bigger than all his [Hawaiian] supporters and opponents . . . the law enabled their talents, courage, and loyalties to work against them as a people, helping to frame them as political parties while eroding their historic kinship with one another. They were marginalized, thrust to the edges of political discourse, while the constitution, this foreign idea, took hold of the center of the controversies that it had created" (p. 254). The story ends with Bayonet and not with the subsequent downfall of the monarchy and annexation by the United States some years later. For Osorio, the Bayonet Constitution was the end, a "demonstration of haole control" (p. 195).

A final, eloquent chapter illustrates critical links between these now more than 100-year-old events and current complex and still divisive issues swirling through the discourses of Hawaiian nationhood and identity. While Osorio does not specifically make the point, his analysis has implications that go well beyond the case of Hawai'i. He has raised big questions about the consequences for traditional societies when they engage with Western liberal constitutional values and institutions. Overall, Osorio's scholarship is both deeply moving and profoundly disturbing.

K. R. Howe
Massey University

Pat Jalland. *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History 1840–1918*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 378. $55.00.

In 1878, Samuel Pratt Winter, a prominent if eccentric pastoralist in the colony of Victoria, died. Winter, an agnostic, left instructions that a simple stone cairn be erected to mark his grave, in the manner of the local Aborigines. His rejection of a traditional British burial in favor of "being buried in the stones where the blacks are buried" (p. 116) shook the colonial elite. Winter was condemned for insulting his race and his class by denying them the right to honor his death appropriately. This controversy serves as an apt reminder that although death and bereavement are inevitable and universal, the social practices with which they are marked are historically and culturally specific. And, as is demonstrated comprehensively by Pat Jalland's important new history, they are shaped by the circumstances and conditioning of class and gender differences.

With the exception of a growing body of scholarship on the commemoration of the military casualties of the world wars, the study of death has attracted little interest from historians of Australia. Indeed, one of the elements attributed to the Australian character—and especially to the legendary figures of the bushman or Anzac soldier—has been the reticence to address death, and certainly to avoid "excessive" outpourings of grief. Jalland's work is timely, providing knowledge about the past to current debates about palliative care, euthanasia, and medical biotechnology. It also contributes to a rising interest in the cultural history of emotion, with its focus on the feelings of individual Australians about the death of family members, especially spouses and children.

Death is a vast and intricate topic, and no one model dominated the Australian settler experience. Jalland has concentrated on what is distinctive to the Australian colonies/states. Drawing extensively upon letters, diaries, and other manuscript and published sources, the book's core arguments are bound together by and substantiated through detailed narratives of family loss and commemoration. Many of these stories are those of the colonial middle class, but Jalland is attune to the array of economic, regional, and denominational distinctions. Aboard the immigrant ships, for instance, official attitudes toward those dispatched to "a watery grave" depended on whether the deceased was steerage or cabin class, child or adult, Catholic or Protestant.

Sea burials were part of the transition between the old and new worlds and the displacement of established rituals of death. While the urban middle class in Australia strove to recreate, albeit with some relax-

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ation, funeral and mourning practices brought from Britain, outside the cities an independent tradition of bush burials evolved. Australian frontiers were isolated and violent, and accidental death was common. Jalland's section on death in the bush, including that of women and children, is particularly strong in illustrating how the harshness of the settler experience meant that changes to everyday practices and systems of belief occurred through necessity.

Jalland's investigation stretches from the 1840s, as the rise in mass immigration led to the development of a complex colonial society, to the rupture or "denial" of death caused by the slaughter of 60,000 young men abroad during World War I. Underpinning this period are major demographic shifts. Settler mortality rates among infants and young children steadily declined, even in the remote outback. This was due to reductions in infectious and intestinal disease as well as of average family size; fewer children equaled more effective nurturing. By the end of the nineteenth century, life expectancy at birth was considerably extended, with old age replacing infancy as the most probable cause of death.

At the same time, Australian society became increasingly secular. Jalland devotes several chapters to exploring how the understandings of a "good Christian death" were transplanted by British and Irish immigrants and were enacted through individual and communal rituals of mourning. But, she argues, the traditional Christian observance of death declined more quickly in the Australian colonies than in Britain or Ireland. Clergy were relatively rare, and in any case a substantial proportion of working-class immigrants had already abandoned church attendance. The predominantly masculine population, particularly in the bush, also accounted for a more individualized approach to death. Jalland's exploration of gendered behaviors as central to emotional and cultural responses toward the dying and the deceased is crucial to the book's contention that there were unique *Australian* ways of death. Her book deserves to be read widely, and I hope it will stimulate further studies that probe as astutely the particular cultural meanings of death and mourning within colonial societies.

KATE DARIAN-SMITH
University of Melbourne

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

WILLIAM H. KATERBERG. *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950.* (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion.) Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 306. $49.95.

The dustjacket of William H. Katerberg's provocative book captures the essence of its central argument. The steeple of a Gothic-style church is reflected in the glass windows of a skyscraper. In the reflection, the church appears to be as tall as the modern tower. It is a powerful and imposing presence. Katerberg's thesis is that the Anglican Church in North America still resonates in modern society. He argues that the Anglican Church experienced a myriad of changes in response to the challenges of modernity between 1880 and 1950 but remained a vibrant religious institution with a compelling Christian message. Since the 1960s, the Anglican Church has experienced much more serious pressure, but these recent difficulties, according to the author, should not be projected back into the history of the Anglican Church in North America.

In Katerberg's estimation, challenges brought by Darwinian thought, the rise of critical inquiry, industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of consumerism and leisure in modern society splintered the Anglican community into a number of differing traditions or religious outlooks. This fragmentation and uncertainty about what the Anglican faith entailed did not represent decline. Modernity did not necessarily undermine faith or unleash a process of secularization.

Katerberg is alive to the important differences between the Anglican experience in Canada and the Episcopal Church in the United States. He demonstrates that debates were sharper in the United States, resulting in deeper conflict and fragmentation. In analyzing these differences, Katerberg follows the work of scholars like David Bebbington and the late George Rawlyk in suggesting that the greater influence of British Anglicanism in Canada as well as Britain's social values and political culture led to a more "irenic" Canadian religious culture. Since Canada was a less crowded society with more open spaces, greater opportunity for new parishes to emerge existed. As a result, Katerberg asserts, the debates and conflict within the Canadian Anglican church were less intense. What made the Canadian and American experience of Anglicanism different were not ritual or theology but rather social context and colonial heritage.

In outlining his argument, which is copiously documented and clearly presented, Katerberg focuses on the lives of five prominent Anglican divines. This book is a series of five intellectual biographies interspersed with very rich contextual chapters on the history of Anglicanism in North America. For Canada, the author focuses on Henry Griffin Thomas, a Toronto-based conservative evangelical who became a fundamentalist; Henry Cody, another Toronto-based liberal evangelical; and Dyson Hague, a Toronto-based conservative evangelical. All three men had a relationship with the deeply evangelical Wycliffe College in Toronto. From the United States, there are portraits of the liberal Carl Grammer, who edited the *Protestant Episcopal Review*, based in Philadelphia, and Henry T. Manning, an evangelical of "resolutely high church" sympathies. This narrow focus is not sufficiently representative to carry Katerberg's criticism of the secularization thesis or to present an accurate picture of Anglicanism. A broader canvas is required including examples of divines with somewhat different religious

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temperaments or experiences. Given the Canadian focus on Toronto, one wonders why Katerberg did not pick someone who was involved in Trinity College, the high church college located just across the street from the evangelical Wycliffe.

Although Katerberg demonstrates that certain Anglican divines were able to sustain their faith in the face of modernity, this does not indicate anything about the people sitting in the pews. Secularization, as Owen Chadwick insisted in his classic study, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (1975), is both a social and an intellectual phenomenon. This study is rigorously intellectual in its approach, and as a result, a great deal is overlooked or dismissed. Indeed, the divines studied sometimes suggest precisely the opposite of what Katerberg asserts. For example, Manning's militant antimodernist insistence that individual faith must remain rooted in Anglican tradition and particularly the apostolic episcopal succession was a defense against his looming sense of the decline of religious faith. More compelling is the career of Canon Cody. In discussing Cody, Katerberg suggests that he was an agent, albeit an unwitting one, of the secularization of important institutions in Canadian society. For example, as president of the University of Toronto, he was instrumental in its transformation from a place where there were powerful ties among education, religion, and moral concern to a modern research-oriented institution. Cody and his generation oversaw the weakening of the cultural prominence of evangelical Christianity. This may not have led to a decline in religious belief or individual piety, but it did represent the secularization of society or the splintering of religion from important intellectual, cultural, and political aspects of Canadian life.

This book's sustained critique of the secularization thesis is based on a caricature of what the proponents of secularization have argued. Katerberg indulges in some serious misconceptions of what the secularization thesis entails, such as a relentless or inevitable decline of religious belief and practice. He attempts to drive the final nail in the coffin of the secularization thesis, which has been part of a decade-long debate in Canadian religious historiography. But the caricature of secularization and the rigidly intellectual approach to the issue render this book unconvincing in its dismissal of the secularization thesis. It may be that the critics of the secularization thesis, like Katerberg, are guilty of projecting too much of the current revival of interest in religion into their historical interpretation. Nevertheless, this is a very thoughtful book, which should inspire important debate and discussion. The exploration of the diverse Anglican experience of the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century is a welcome addition to the historiography, for little is known of this church as compared to the Methodists and Presbyterians or, in the United States certainly, the Baptists.

DAVID B. MARSHALL
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LAUREL SEFTON MACDOWELL. *Renegade Lawyer: The Life of J. L. Cohen*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, for The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, Toronto. 2001. Pp. xvi, 385. $60.00.

"He championed all the wrong people in all the right things." With these words, a Toronto newspaper concluded its eulogy of J. L. Cohen, a prominent labor lawyer who died suddenly—probably by his own hand—in 1950. It was, as Laurel Sefton MacDowell makes clear in this facinating biography, a most fitting epitaph.

Cohen was the most influential and creative labor lawyer of his generation. For almost the entire interwar period, and for the first few years of the Cold War, Cohen was involved in almost every major industrial dispute and free speech issue in Canada. He represented unions, Communists, Jehovah's Witnesses, wartime internees, the unemployed, and other marginal groups in Canadian society. And his impact was profound. According to the author, Cohen was the real father of Canada's innovative collective-bargaining system. He helped define its jurisprudence, was the architect of the labor relations boards and the industrial standards tribunals that are the foundations of the modern industrial-relations system, and did more than anyone else in Canada in those years to protect and advance workers' rights.

At the same time, Cohen's private life was out of control. He was an alcoholic, a womanizer, a drug addict, and a neurotic. He destroyed his career by allegedly assaulting his mistress in a Northern Ontario hotel room. Even though he was convicted, sentenced to six months in jail, and disbarred, MacDowell seems to imply that Cohen was set up by employers determined to destroy him and a judicial system willing to comply. Given the dubious evidence used against him, it is hard to disagree with her.

While Cohen may be the subject of this book, the author's real interest appears to be Canada's unique industrial relations system, about which she knows a great deal. Her purpose in writing this study, she admits, was to remind her readers not only of Cohen's work but also of the historical origins of the Canadian labor-relations system, which seem to have been either forgotten or misunderstood. This system, MacDowell argues, remains a crucial part of political democracy. And the fact that the Canadian trade union movement is today more successful than its American counterpart is, according to MacDowell, in no small measure a legacy of Cohen's trail-blazing efforts some sixty years ago.

MacDowell's real target in this book are those academics who have imposed an artificial theory, "the post-war settlement," on this period. By doing so, she claims, they diminish the achievements of Cohen and others who sought to improve workers' rights through legislation and collective bargaining. These scholars argue that what was needed was a mass mobilization of the workers to accomplish their real goal of control of

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the workplace; union leaders, in their view, were merely "agents of social control." What Cohen and his colleagues did through their backroom dealings was to undermine militancy, deradicalize unions, and contain legitimate conflict, all against the best interests of the labor movement.

With a passion not revealed elsewhere in this otherwise fair-minded, dispassionate study, MacDowell vigorously dismisses these charges and points out, correctly in my mind, that such an interpretation does not reflect the attitudes of workers during the period. Further, she argues, also rightly, that the theory lacks historical evidence and shows no understanding of labor conditions at the time. Workers knew how powerless they were in confronting their employers, and they took great pride and solace from the victories won for them by Cohen and others at the bargaining table. Union recognition and workers' protection achieved under a new collective bargaining system were remarkable gains for men and women just emerging from an economic depression and a period when unions fought desperately simply for the right to exist.

This is a richly detailed study not only of a man but of a period. Through the troubled, highly complex life of a radical labor lawyer, readers get a birdseye view of the parlous status of workers and minorities in Canada in the years between the two world wars. This is a book not only to be read but to be savored.

IRVING ABELLA
York University

JOHN HAGAN. *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 269. $27.95.

John Hagan's book is a pioneering study of the more than 50,000 American war resisters and their companions who went to Canada—in this case, specifically Toronto—during the Vietnam War. This compelling volume works on many levels. It is also a book about U.S.-Canadian relations, a lively history of a so-called "American ghetto" in Toronto, and an account of a particular segment of the anti-Vietnam War movement unjustly neglected by the antiwar histories.

Prior to Hagan's book, no exhaustive study of American war resisters in Canada could be found. Various authors explored the topic during the war, but their studies were tentative and either journalistic or participant-memoir accounts. Lawrence Baskir and William Strauss's *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation* (1978) was one of the first books to shed some light on the wartime American exodus to the north, but its treatment of the subject fell far short of the attention warranted. Since then, the topic has sporadically surfaced, mentioned here and there in various books. James Dickerson's *North to Canada: Men and Women against the Vietnam War* (1999) was a noble attempt to recount the story but proved too personal and narrowly focused.

Hagan has mined an array of sources and reinforced his research with more than a hundred interviews. The result is an emotional account of the tens of thousands of draft-age Americans who relocated to Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s, bringing with them a rich spirit of resistance. On the whole, the author found, they were more politicized and likely to embrace activism than previously assumed. In Toronto, they created robust communities, the main one clustered around Baldwin Street near the University of Toronto, which included "housing cooperatives, community newspapers, voluntary organizations (including war resistance organizations), and small businesses" (p. 71).

Contrary to popular assumptions at the time, coming to Canada was not an easy decision for young Americans. The immigrants not only faced the trauma of leaving their homeland (some against the wishes of loved ones), but they also had to adjust to a society at once outwardly similar to and strikingly different from the United States. Many influential government officials and a large segment of the public initially welcomed the resisters in 1967. But by 1970, the reception had cooled considerably, due mainly to a shift in focus toward internal turmoil stemming from separatist terrorism in Quebec. Some politicians, including the mayors of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, felt the new Americans contributed to the state of disorder with their radical antiwar politics. But the distrust proved short lived, and the warm reception had more or less returned by 1972 with the easing of tensions inside Canada.

The author, well versed in social movement theory, borrows from the methods of Doug McAdam, whose landmark *Freedom Summer* (1988) relied heavily on interviews with participants in the 1964 Mississippi voter registration drives. Using similar techniques, Hagan discovered that most of his subjects did not go to Canada out of self-interest, but instead "their decision to leave was a form of activism, an act of resistance" (p. 99). He also documents the resisters' role in the amnesty movement, culminating with President Jimmy Carter's pardon of draft resisters and nonregistrants in 1977.

Hagan estimates that more than half of the men and women who came to Canada remained after President Carter's amnesty offer. Because he conducted his survey interviews in 1997 and 1998 in Toronto, we are introduced mainly to the resisters who stayed in Canada, which highlights the central shortcoming of the book. The stories of Americans who chose to remain in Canada are fascinating, particularly their efforts to grapple with their own sense of national identity. But Hagan romanticizes Canada far too much, so that it emerges as a utopia situated north of a misguided superpower. The reader never learns of the complicity of the Canadian government and businesses in the war, nor of the sizable number of Canadians who moved in the opposite direction to fight in Southeast Asia. Instead, Hagan's Canada emerges as a bastion of peace and humanitarian impulses. The book also lacks

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the perspective of those resisters who opted to return to the United States and rebuild their old lives, instead celebrating those who stayed put, which disqualifies it to an extent as a thoroughly exhaustive account of its subject matter.

A few other minor deficiencies are sure to frustrate the reader. The absence of a bibliography and the author's puzzling decision not to footnote personal interviews mar an otherwise finely crafted work. That said, this book is certain to become a classic study of American draft resisters in Canada.

ANDREW HUNT
University of Waterloo

ETAN DIAMOND. *And I Will Dwell in Their Midst: Orthodox Jews in Suburbia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 215. Cloth $39.95, paper $18.95.

The nomination of Senator Joseph I. Lieberman as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 2000 introduced many Americans, including some assimilated American Jews, to the phenomenon of the modern Orthodox Jew. To be sure, Lieberman would be found on the liberal end of the spectrum of modern Orthodoxy. But he is by all accounts an observant Jew, strictly adhering to the laws regarding the Sabbath and keeping kosher. Jews like Lieberman can be found in the suburbs of many North American cities. In this book, which is both informative and very readable, Etan Diamond explores the surprising growth of suburban Orthodox Jewish communities, using Toronto as a case study. He focuses on the postwar growth of Orthodox communities in the suburbs of North York and further north in Thornhill.

This growth is surprising because scholars of modern Jewish life, beginning with the sociologist Louis Wirth in the 1920s, had consistently predicted that Orthodoxy was doomed in North America. They were wrong. This failure was part of the broader inability of scholars of religion to anticipate the persistence, revival, or growth of more traditional forms of Christianity and Islam as well. In fact, the beginning of this postwar Orthodox Jewish vibrancy in the 1950s and 1960s took place beneath the social scientific radar.

This book should appeal to a wide audience, and to the interested lay reader as well as to the academic specialist. Scholars in the disciplines and topic areas of modern history, sociology, anthropology, urban geography, religion, ethnicity, and Jewish Studies will be comfortable with its methods and rewarded by its insights and information. Diamond traces the growth of the suburban communities over the past half century, and in doing so he manages to capture much of this fascinating accommodation between tradition and modernization. We are not dealing here with Amish, or ultra-Orthodox Satmar Hasidim, for whom Yale University (Lieberman's alma mater) or the University of Toronto would hold no appeal whatsoever.

Diamond shows how Orthodox Jews in Toronto developed and modified a variety of institutions to recreate community in the suburbs. Many synagogues were built, and Orthodox Jews bought homes within walking distance. New kosher bakeries and butcher shops sprang up. Perhaps most important, the socialization of Jewish children was facilitated by the growth of Jewish day schools, as well as by the spread of Orthodox Jewish youth movements and summer camps. Jewish day schools, and notably high schools, presented themselves as modern institutions equally able to transmit traditional Judaica and prepare graduates successfully for university studies.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that dealing with the growth of religious consumerism. As Orthodox Jews have become more affluent, they have developed an array of upscale options to accommodate their new lifestyle. The heretofore somewhat onerous obligation of keeping kosher was transformed by an explosion of diverse kosher products, posh kosher restaurants, and even kosher hotels and resorts. Kosher affairs now feature mock shrimp. On Passover, forsaking bread used to mean eating matzo that was of one generic type, albeit with more or less salt and eggs. The taste was, to be kind, acquired. Today at Passover, kosher aisles in grocery stores groan with a cornucopia of matzo of many flavors, to say nothing of bread-like rolls and a variety of elaborate cakes, all made with matzo meal. All this seems a far cry from "the bread of affliction."

This study is written by a sympathetic and knowledgable insider, but one well trained in the methods of objective social research. Diamond does not shrink from pointing out foibles and contradictions in the lives of his subjects. But his case study suggests that religious community can play a role in rendering suburban life less sterile and more meaningful. A comparison of his findings with similar studies of suburban Christianity and Islam in North America would be of obvious value.

MORTON WEINFELD
McGill University

TED STEINBERG. *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 347. $30.00.

Ted Steinberg's book is a delight. Though I have read a great deal of American environmental history, he shows how nature and natural events were influential in ways too often overlooked: for example, the role of climate in shaping the events and outcomes of the Civil War. Bringing nature in as an actor at least as powerful as human beings (and often more so) adds a dimension to the understanding of events that should now be integrated fully into any historical analysis. Steinberg shows the dynamic interactions between human activities, such as logging, and natural systems, and the often dramatic outcomes, such as long-term soil erosion, flooding, and eventual economic collapse.

Clearly such a book is an ambitious undertaking and

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should in the end become the project of a new encyclopedia. Steinberg has integrated much of the recent literature on the destruction of the bison, for example, and on the role of African slaves in bringing rice cultivation to the South. His discussion of the role of urban manure is excellent, giving rise to questions about how we manage human sewage today, especially with regard to long-term urban sustainability and ideas about closing systems, or "waste equals food" in the lexicon of industrial ecology.

The breadth of the book means that certain factors are missed; for example, Steinberg does not mention the backdrop of extreme land concentration in California that was such a formative part of the state's evolution. However, his discussion of the effects of fruit and vegetable marketing orders is a wonderful addition to the now relatively well-known story of meat packing. He also shows an even hand in his discussion of the destruction of the American environment, pointing out contradictions among preservationists, conservationists, and environmentalists. He points to the sometimes perverse outcomes of best intentions, offering subtle lessons for us today.

While including a more extensive discussion of the structure of government and regulation would have made the book impossibly long, there are points at which the reader might like a bit better understanding of the effects of federalism and states' rights, land use regulations, property rights, and so forth. But this can be left for others to do; Steinberg's book contributes a coherent and a well written overview of an extremely complex subject. It will provide students and interested lay persons a serious point of view and a synthetic understanding of the evolution of the environment in the United States. His book will also contribute to understanding the interactions of humans and nature over time (one affecting the other, creating interdependence) and the role of the environment in the nation's economic and political development.

Perhaps my only real criticism is that nature is left more or less unproblematized. It is not really sufficient to treat nature as a self-evident category. A few paragraphs discussing Steinberg's assumptions would have set the theoretical context for the rest of his lovely book. I highly recommend it for classes and for anyone interested in the subject. The impressive bibliography provides the reader ample references for pursuing further information. This book will certainly shake up many conventionally held views.

STEPHANIE PINCETL
University of Southern California

DAVID PAUL NORD. *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers.* (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 293. $29.95.

David Paul Nord's recent book is more than a collection of scholarly essays spanning the career of a well-regarded historian of American journalism and mass communication. It is a volume that brings together some of the most insightful and cogent statements about the meaning and significance of news, and the institutions that produce the news, to American history. The twelve essays in this volume all have been published previously, most of them appearing in journals in the fields of journalism and communication, American history, and American studies. Appearing together, however, the essays form something greater than the sum of the several parts. As Nord points out in his introduction, the essays explore facets of the concept of "public communities" in America history. In them Nord examines the role journalism played in shaping American community life and community consciousness. Historians have noted how Americans seem to "seek community in the public sphere" (p. 2). Nord has identified American journalism, particularly the daily and weekly newspaper, as a key public sphere where community "happens."

The essays range across American history from colonial times ("Teleology and the News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630–1730") to late twentieth-century news industry issues ("Readers Love to Argue About the News—But Not in Newspapers"). The book is divided into two parts, with each part looking at the history of journalism from different, yet related, angles. Part one focuses on the producers of journalism (writers, editors, and printers), the content of journalism, and news as an institution. Essays included cover Puritan New England, revolutionary America, abolitionist Boston, and booming Chicago, with a cast of characters including idealists, reformers, radicals, rebels, and entrepreneurs. Nord explores how the concept of *news* emerged and evolved from its roots in the idea of the "new," the "strange," and the "providential" into a commodity that could be measured, bought, and sold in the marketplace.

The essays comprising part two of the book focus on the consumers of news. Nord probes the past to examine how readers responded to news. Did they see news as a community conversation? Did they take part in the conversation or stand back and observe only? Did readers understand the news process, and how the values of the individual journalists, as well as the institutional values of the publications, affected what the news was like? The essays in this part of the book, which were published between 1988 and 1997, display the depth and maturity of thought that marks a scholar's emergence in the first rank of his or her contemporaries. Among the topics covered in part two are magazines as republican literature in late eighteenth-century New York, readership as an act of citizenship in late eighteenth-century Philadelphia, working-class readers in late nineteenth-century urban America, and the politics of reading in World War I-era Chicago.

This book should be read by established and young scholars alike. Even for those already familiar the

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history of journalism and with Nord's scholarship, the book will stimulate news ways of seeing and thinking about the history of American journalism.

JOSEPH P. MCKERNS
Ohio State University

DANIEL J. TICHENOR. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America.* (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 378. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

Despite its central place in the nation's mythology, Americans' attitudes toward immigration have often been ambivalent. Reflecting this ambivalence, immigration policy has changed remarkably over the past two centuries. Allowing fairly open immigration before the 1880s, the United States shifted to an increasingly restrictive regime beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and culminating in the National Origins Act of 1924, which established quotas on the basis of "racial" desirability and drastically reduced immigration. From 1965 on, a series of measures brought back a relatively open immigration policy, although calls for restriction have persisted down to the present. Restrictive measures passed despite considerable opposition from ethnic organizations, the Catholic Church, and business. The more open legislation of the 1960s and later years overcame concerns with illegal immigration and the loss of jobs. Assuming the perspective of the "new institutionalists," political scientist Daniel J. Tichenor seeks to explain these dramatic shifts. Considering a wide range of factors, he emphasizes four interrelated elements in particular: the fragmentation of power and resulting institutional dynamism of the federal government, shifting coalitions that cut across partisan lines, the role of professional experts in developing and sustaining policy, and the force of international crises.

What is new here? Earlier treatments have tended to stress social, economic, and cultural forces. For John Higham, for example, particular ideologies and social movements produced restrictive laws. Tichenor draws our attention to the process of policy formation itself and to the cast of characters involved. Quite apart from its systematic overview of immigration policy from the late eighteenth century to the present, his book is particularly useful for its analyses of the institutional settings in which such policy evolved. Tichenor probes the legislative history of each major immigration law, but he also carefully considers forces well beyond the walls of Congress: the interpretation and disposition of these laws in court, interest-group politics and shifting coalitions, the reproduction and effects of racial and ethnic biases, and the ongoing influence of federal bureaucracies like the Department of State, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the executive branch. From the racist eugenics of the early twentieth century, which seemed to dictate the exclusion of more recent immigrants, to Cold War anticommunist liberalism, reigning ideologies shaped and reshaped policy. Increasingly, from the Progressive era on, restrictionists and expansionists alike marshaled and presented expert opinion to congressional and presidential commissions. An 1876 congressional committee embodied and amplified rising fears of Chinese immigration and ushered in Chinese exclusion. The Dillingham Commission's enormous, racially charged reports set the stage for the national origins legislation of the 1920s. The intellectual contexts and the composition of such bodies shaped their reports and the legislation that came in their wakes. The Select Committee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, working in the context of considerable restrictionist and even nativist sentiment in the late 1970s, set the tone for the immigration debate over the following decade, resulting in a dramatic rise and recomposition of the immigrant population.

Tichenor seems to underestimate (although he certainly considers) economic interests and conditions. Business organizations rarely departed from the pursuit of open immigration that would expand the labor market and depress wages. As labor's tenuous political influence receded from the late 1960s on, the legislative scene was dominated more by business than Tichenor seems to suggest. Yet he is able to show considerable shifting in these positions over time, with labor tacking back and forth between strategies of integrating and protecting immigrant workers and strategies of exclusion. During the Red Scare, many businessmen seemed prepared to live with restricted immigration if that would stop the spread of labor unions and radicalism.

Tichenor concludes with an acknowledgment of the strong traditions of intolerance that underly frequent calls for restriction, but he also challenges scholars who have tended to emphasize such intolerance in telling the story of immigration. More open and tolerant ideologies, as well as economic self-interest, have also been at work. For Tichenor, the dramatic fluctuations in immigration policy over the past two hundred years are best explained by close attention to the mechanisms and personnel of government.

JAMES R. BARRETT
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

ALAN GALLAY. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 444. $45.00.

Do not be misled by the title of Alan Gallay's new book. This is not just, or even primarily, a study of the remarkably little-known enslavement of thousands of Native Americans in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, readers hoping for details on that ugly commerce must wait until the penultimate chapter. Instead, the book attempts a grand

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reinterpretation of the origins of the colonial Southeast, with a system of Indian-European relations based on slave raiding at the center of the story.

The basic outlines of Gallay's argument have been familiar to specialists—and inexplicably unfamiliar to nonspecialists—since the publication of Gary B. Nash's *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (1974), which in turn drew on Verner W. Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (1928). The early economy of colonial South Carolina rested on a chaotic, exploitative trade with Native Americans, and, from the 1670s to the 1710s, the most valuable commodity in that trade was not deerskins but human beings. One Indian group after another raided weaker Native neighbors in search of slaves to be exchanged at Charles Town for trade goods, producing an ever-escalating spiral of violence that spread as far as the Choctaw towns near the Mississippi River, the Arkansas valley, and the hill country of the Cherokees. The colony's proprietors and English imperial officials were powerless to stop the bloody work, and even when elite colonists themselves began to recognize the dangers of perennial warfare, factionalism and pursuit of the main chance stymied reform. The chaos culminated in the conflict known as the Yamasee War of 1715–1717, which nearly destroyed both the colony and most of its remaining Native neighbors. Surviving Carolinians and Indians alike concluded that an economy based on slave raiding was suicidal and that close government supervision of their trade was essential.

Gallay adds to this basic picture an extraordinary wealth of detail on Carolina factional politics, personalities, and events: so much detail, in fact, that the casual reader may feel as confused as Carolinians contemplating the linguistic diversity of the Native peoples they lumped together as "Creeks," or as Tuscaroras puzzling who, if anyone, was actually in charge at Charles Town. In the opening and closing sections of the book—but not often enough during the detailed narrative in between—Gallay refreshingly situates these developments in broader regional and transatlantic contexts. In a constantly shifting southeastern regional geopolitics, the diverse communities that disease, warfare, and slave raiding were remolding into the entities known as Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks often wielded more power than Spanish Florida, French Louisiana, or English Carolina. But slaving could not have flourished unless conditions in the English Atlantic world were favorable. Carolina's Restoration origins placed it in a moment in English history when brute force and corruption rather than rule of law tended to prevail. It was no accident, then, that traders ignored the dictates of the proprietors and fought ruthlessly with each other to control the traffic in human flesh, and it was also no accident that Carolina's post-Yamasee War appreciation for the rule of law coincided with Whig grandees' similar discovery of its virtues in Britain. Equally non-accidental was the fact that Charles Town's exports apparently concentrated on corners of the West Indian and North American markets where enslaved Africans were particularly expensive or difficult to procure. Little hard statistical evidence on the Indian slave trade exists; in an era when the new system of Navigation Acts was levying taxes on all sorts of valuable commodities, Carolinians and their customers in other English ports kept their activities below the imperial radar.

Standing apart from this complicated story, and perhaps Gallay's greatest contribution, is his brief chapter on "Contours of the Indian Slave Trade." Painstakingly sorting the fragmentary evidence, he calculates that between 24,000 and 51,000 Native people of the Southeast were sold into slavery through Charles Town from 1670 and 1715, totals that appear to exceed the number of enslaved Africans imported through the city during the same period. No one will again be able to deny the significance of Indian slavery in the story of early America or its devastating impact on Native American people.

DANIEL K. RICHTER
University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS MURPHY. *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717–1838.* (Studies in African American History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xxv, 258. $75.00.

A definitive treatment of its subject, Thomas Murphy's book is a fine example of history writ small. Given that Maryland members of the Society of Jesus owned fewer than three hundred slaves, one might expect this book to interest only a small circle of experts. In fact, the very uniqueness of the Jesuit tobacco plantations helps to highlight, by way of contrast, the more typical practices of other slave-based operations. For almost two centuries, Jesuits nourished an "exceptional institution," unusual even by southern standards. Murphy argues that Jesuits held slaves, both in colonial and postcolonial times, to serve their own purposes, but not mainly in order to amass wealth. Slave ownership allowed Society members a means of protection in an often anti-Catholic environment. Jesuits embraced plantation life to achieve economic security and social respectability and to secure places safe for Catholic worship. Jesuit slaveholding even survived the church's official suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.

Deeply influenced by the views of such Catholic luminaries as Robert Bellarmine, Maryland Jesuits viewed slavery as an acceptable social institution and abolitionism as an heretical outgrowth of Protestantism. They argued for the necessity of social hierarchy and maintained that masters and slaves possessed mutually binding obligations. As businessmen, they failed dismally, with their plantations constantly in debt, often avoiding bankruptcy only because of charitable donations. Until the 1830s, Jesuit masters generally put such concerns as keeping slave families intact and providing opportunities for religious worship before profit. Discipline for slaves was sometimes

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harsh and their material standard of living low, even compared with that of other slave plantations. In 1838 the Jesuits, after heated debate, sold their 272 slaves to Catholic masters in Louisiana and focused on ministering to the Catholic immigrants pouring into American cities. This mass sale ended badly for all concerned. Despite promises to the contrary, the new owners split slave families, denied some slaves access to Catholic worship, and then defaulted on their debts. Even the Jesuit leader who pushed the sale was strongly disciplined for misapplying the proceeds.

The best aspect of Murphy's book is its discussion of the interaction of Catholic tradition with the realities of plantation life in Protestant North America. Catholic precepts affected their slaveholding practices, but Jesuit masters also shared key attitudes with non-Catholics, and, along with their Protestant neighbors, they became more racist and profit oriented in the nineteenth century. Murphy's contention that the Jesuits jettisoned slave ownership when they saw it as a handicap to urban missions appears indisputable, and he shows that for most Maryland Jesuits slavery had been a means to achieve security, not an overarching goal or a divine calling. Even in 1838, when they decided that slaveholding was not expedient for their order, the Jesuits did not condemn slavery as such.

The book's main fault is its too frequent reference to a tired fifty-year litany of historiography on American slavery (Stanley Elkins, Kenneth Stampp, Eugene Genovese, et cetera). Meanwhile, the author's grasp of the scholarly literature on American religion appears limited, and he implies at times that abolitionism was the main American Protestant response to slavery. The book also cries out for more thorough comparison of Jesuit slaveholding with that of pious Protestant planters, perhaps including a ministerial master such as Charles Colcock Jones, in order to discern how much the Jesuits' emphasis on Christian responsibility in slaveholding was peculiar to them. Murphy sometimes seems overly concerned with expiating his order's previous "sin" of slaveholding. He condemns (p. xvii) scholars who hold individuals in the past accountable to moral standards of the present but then makes the same error himself, arguing, for example, that his subjects should have discerned (p. 222) Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* to be prohibitive of slavery. Despite these criticisms, Murphy has written a readable and well-researched book that anyone interested in the intersection of American religion and slavery should read.

CHRISTOPHER H. OWEN
Northeastern State University

MARJOLEINE KARS. *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 286. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Marjoleine Kars casts the North Carolina Regulators as families "seeking a haven for independent farming" in a colony controlled by men seeking "to create a society dominated by large plantations and enslaved laborers" (p. 7). If she roots the conflict in different economic ways of life, however, she does not stop her analysis there. She provides a subtle neo-progressive reading that moves from the economics of land use, to the religious beliefs through which small farmers interpreted life in the piedmont, and on to the politics of land and law in the years immediately preceding the climactic Battle of Alamance in May 1771. The North Carolina Regulation was "an instance of resistance to the slow and massive shift in social conscience that accompanied the transition to market economics" (p. 6), but her Regulators are not stock figures in a preconceived social conflict. Instead she provides a sharp analytical framework within which to understand the conflicts that wracked North Carolina during the decade prior to the American Revolution while presenting the contradictions and complications of the participants in those conflicts.

Kars portrays the Regulators as reluctant rebels. They had been drawn to North Carolina by the promise of abundant land and, equally important, the absence of a well-entrenched Anglican hierarchy. Kars sees the families who moved to the piedmont as having been more interested in securing family sufficiency than in maximizing profits and as having grounded their economic beliefs in dissenting theologies that reached back to the leveling sects of the English Civil War. They desired nothing more than to be left alone to cultivate their own fields, but almost immediately upon arriving in the colony they were confronted by an eastern effort to strengthen the Anglican establishment and by a social and a political elite wholly dismissive of legal and normative reins upon their greed. Crooked elites used North Carolina's complicated system of land tenure, in which the huge Granville grant created overlapping responsibilities for registering land purchases, to create opportunities to challenge small farmers' claims to their land. Kars presents this serpentine and potentially confusing story clearly and reveals how yeomen who wanted nothing more than to be left alone were driven into increasingly open resistance.

Farmers began with legal protest, petitioning the governor and legislature for redress of their grievances and using the court system to seek justice. Unfortunately they learned through these processes that those cheating them on the local level were closely connected to and protected by Governor William Tryon and other members of the provincial elite. When legal protests proved ineffective, dissenting farmers used a traditional repertoire of extralegal responses to oppressive government, including controlled mob action. Finally, when Tryon and his followers remained intransigent, making only token efforts to respond to the farmers' complaints while ejecting their elected representatives from the General Assembly and throwing them into jail, the Regulators formed themselves into a military force and sought to command eastern elites'

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respect. The Regulators lost that struggle when militia from the east defeated them at Alamance. About twenty Regulators and nine militiamen were killed. Six more Regulators were hanged in June 1771. Governor Tryon then left North Carolina to assume the same post in New York, and the struggles of the Regulation were swallowed up by the disputes surrounding independence.

Kars makes a strong case for understanding the Regulation within a chain of agrarian protest running to Daniel Shays and the Whiskey Rebels (who included Herman Husband, the intellectual leader of the Regulators) to the late nineteenth-century Populists. Her Regulators "envisioned a world ... in which morality and economics would not be separate," a world in which "the pursuit of wealth" would not absolve "one of moral responsibility toward the community" (p. 215). They were not, as Kars thinks historians have suggested, "simple people caught between traditional attitudes and a commercial culture they did not fully understand" (p. 55). Some may counter that she pushes too hard to make this case, that historians have long portrayed agrarian rebels as progressives, and that the North Carolina Regulation had as much to do with a ruling class too stupid to settle for the handsome returns that would legally have been theirs as with small farmers' commitment to moral economy. One tribute to Kars's book is that she makes such a strong case for a neo-progressive reading of the Regulation while presenting evidence for other interpretations.

JAMES SIDBURY
University of Texas, Austin

RICHARD GODBEER. *Sexual Revolution in Early America*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 430. $34.95.

In this ambitious work of synthesis and original research, Richard Godbeer argues that early Americans underwent a transformation of sexual behavior and attitudes during the final quarter of the eighteenth century that constituted nothing less than a "revolution." Youthful rebellion against parental authority, the application of revolutionary slogans to sexual matters, and the rise of distinct urban sexual cultures all contributed to this sea change in mores. In response, ministers and parents—traditional guardians of youth—as well as the authors of printed ephemera and novels warned young people of the dangers of sexual liberty and constructed for women a world of sexual danger that could best be resisted with chaste virtue. Concern for their sons and daughters overlapped with concern for the new nation, whose successful bid for independence owed so much, in the minds of many, to the moral character of its people. The book ends with this reinvigorated communitarian agenda for sexual morality ascendent but still plagued by dissent from those who defined sexual mores differently as well as from libertines, who rejected any moral constraint on sexual expression.

Godbeer is careful to investigate "sexual lives and attitudes" (p. 12) rather than "sexuality," with its anachronistic implication of a fixed and discreet realm of sexual identity. His search takes him to print culture sources as well as to court records, diaries and letters. We meet old friends—Michael Wigglesworth and William Byrd—as well as a few strangers, including the anonymous Philadelphia sawyer whose diary entries for the 1790s describe him "topp[ing]" and "fuddling" (p. 304) women in a manner reminiscent of Byrd's accounts earlier in the century. Godbeer's holistic approach to early American sexual attitudes makes this study fresh. His knowledge of Puritan sexual mores informs his lovely reading of the sensuality of Puritan spirituality and illuminates Puritan sexual subjectivity. A broad range of sources enables Godbeer to make new and more effective connections among the emergence of bundling in eighteenth-century rural New England, the rise of seduction tales in print after 1750, and the growing difficulties of young women, particularly those poor and alone in cities, who often lacked the parental or communal resources to compel their lovers to make reparations for the damages resulting from pregnancy. This book is also filled with poignant vignettes of saucy servants, jilted lovers, prostitutes with bodies wracked by venereal disease, and dead infants. These lives are difficult for the historian to reconstruct, yet they are an important balance to Godbeer's accounts of rakes, ministers, and elite culture makers like Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Franklin.

There is much to admire in Godbeer's book, and it will likely become mandatory reading for early Americanists, gender historians, and historians of sexuality. But like all ambitious works, it has weaknesses. Two of these merit discussion: the exaggerated insularity of the colonial sexual cultures from metropolitan influences, and the uneven treatment of race and region. Godbeer provides little perspective on how early American sexual cultures fit into larger Atlantic patterns. Focusing on British North America without the broader perspective of European America, he perhaps overemphasizes seventeenth-century English promotional reasons for depictions of indigenous women as "copper coloured beauties" (chapter five) and underemphasizes the generic components of writing on America that had for centuries been laden with the erotic appeal of Native American women. He also neglects the anomalous nature of Puritan settlement in the frame of European Atlantic migration, as well as the unprecedented tight fit between Puritan moral prescription and heterosexual practice during the seventeenth century. Even if one considers only the English-speaking world, the seventeenth-century demographic regime of low premarital pregnancy was unusual. Its evolution to higher bridal pregnancy rates signified convergence with the rest of that world as

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much as it did declension from earlier Puritan ideals. This would be a bigger problem for Godbeer if his tight focus on the Puritans did not serve him so well; it enables him to recover the contestation of official mores and to avoid narrow inferences of sexual behavior from pregnancy rates, although this comes at the expense of a broader perspective on behavior. Narrow focus is more of an issue for Godbeer's analysis of eighteenth-century print sources, many of which owed cultural debts to a larger Atlantic English-speaking community. Godbeer alludes to this larger context but he does not access it, leaving the reader to wonder if Philadelphia's postrevolutionary sexual license was a distinctively American cultural phenomenon or simply another chapter of Anglicization in which Philadelphia finally caught up with London. The similarity between Byrd's record of rampant sexual desire in 1720s London and the anonymous Philadelphia sawyer's feeble efforts to control himself during the 1790s are striking in this regard.

A second problem concerns Godbeer's uneven treatment of race and region. After receiving sustained discussion in a single chapter each, white southerners, Native Americans, and Africans figure only incidentally in the course he charts from Puritan communitarianism to mid-Atlantic individualism. Godbeer is interested in them primarily for their role in advancing white sexual conservatism. When he picks up his narrative thread, in part three, with the transformation of white people's sexual practices in eighteenth-century New England and the mid-Atlantic region, white southerners, Native Americans, and African Americans seem to have left no lasting impression on the sexually libertarian culture emerging, although their historical experiences help to explain why conservative sexual mores found such a wide following among white people in the rural south.

Godbeer's notion of a sexual revolution leaves the reader with the dilemma of explaining the reversion to low premarital pregnancy rates early in the nineteenth century. If this revolution took place in cities other than Philadelphia, how lasting were its effects on mainstream heterosexual practices? Does it signify a permanent rift in the sexual cultures of the city and those of the country? This book may not contain all the answers, but it does provide us with an important new framework for investigating the history of sexual practices in early America.

KATHLEEN BROWN
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ELISE LEMIRE. *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 204. $35.00.

The chief interest of this book by Elise Lemire is in the evidence it cites for white prejudice against blacks in the late eighteenth century and in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century. Much of this evidence consists of political rhetoric of the lowest kind. Comments made against Thomas Jefferson were designed to detroy him politically. The major charge against him—that he had a black slave mistress who had borne him children he was unwilling to acknowledge—may have been true. Later similar rhetoric was directed against nineteenth-century white abolitionists. The chief and sometimes only charge against them was that they were "amalgamationists." They were said to advocate intermarriage between black and white people or, failing that, to favor uninhibited sexual relations between them. An example of the vulgarity of this kind of "evidence" can be seen in a cartoon depicting a black man with gross lips and a low forehead seated on a divan. With one arm he is holding an entirely willing white woman. With his other arm he holds a guitar on his knee (which, as Lemire rightly points out, is probably meant to serve as a symbol for his phallus; p. 95).

Lemire also portrays relationships between black and white characters in fiction. She discusses James Fenimore Cooper's novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Edgar Allan Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1844), Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1856), and Louisa May Alcott's "L. M." (1864). Lemire seems more at home in dealing with actual historical personages than she is with fictional characters. She says of Cooper's Hawkeye, for example, that he was "a simple woodsman who had lived among the Indians" (p. 37). He is far more than that: he is a lone spirit conditioned by years of living alone in impenetrable forests, one who communes with nature and represents, for the period, an authoritative voice on moral issues.

Lemire examines the racial issues of the period from the standpoint of the twenty-first century. There is almost no attempt to view them in the context of the times nor even to point out that some "racist" ideas were less objectionable than others. William Lloyd Garrison is faulted for his attitude toward racial intermarriage. He was willing to accept such intermarriages but not positively to endorse them (p. 82). Wendell Phillips and Moncure Conway, by contrast, advocated intermarriage between black and white. They thought that whites might bring superior intelligence to such a union and blacks would bring a higher ethical nature. Lemire finds their attitude "patronizing." It certainly would be considered so today, but at the time it was a relatively advanced opinion (p. 115). Alcott's short story, "L. M.," describes a thoroughly happy marriage between a black man and a white woman. Lemire's criticism is that the white woman did not know from the beginning that her husband-to-be was black; he is described as "bronze" in color but could pass as a white man. Lemire finds the story defective because Alcott did not fully confront the racial issue.

There is much of interest in this book, but it is badly written. Lemire is no stylist. Her way of telling us that Alcott does not make clear from the beginning of her short story that the suitor is indeed partly black is to

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say that she "almost completely evacuates Paul Frere's body from the text" (p. 149). There is nothing else in the book that is this bad, but a good many sentences need to be rewritten.

Lemire gives the wrong date for the sex scandal of Henry Ward Beecher. If it had taken place in 1860, as she says, his lectures probably would have not convinced many people in Great Britain of the justice of the Union cause. The correct date for the scandal was 1874 (p. 120).

This book treats an important subject. It includes material not easily found elsewhere, and it has some useful insights, but Lemire needed a good editor.

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R. KENT NEWMYER. *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court.* (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 511. $39.95.

This book is must reading for constitutional and social historians; political scientists of quite different approaches to the Supreme Court, constitutional law, and American political and legal development; and a wide range of law school teachers and scholars. It will stimulate them to question their methods of inquiry and more thoughtfully consider the relationship of law, politics, and history. R. Kent Newmyer clearly appreciates, but his evidence sometimes questions, the place of law and principle in the development of constitutional law, the United States, and, most importantly, John Marshall's place in that development. This book is superb because it provides a deep and nuanced understanding of how Marshall's life influenced his jurisprudence and how his political acumen in supporting the rule of law and principled adjudication helped establish the Supreme Court as a constitutional venue "for all seasons." It is less clear, however, that his jurisprudence, if understood as part of his historical era as Newmyer emphasizes, establishes Marshall as a judge "for all seasons."

Newmyer has two primary objectives in writing this masterful and important biography. The first is to explain Marshall's jurisprudence as a product of his life and times. His goal, he writes, "is not merely to sum up the legal and institutional accomplishments of Marshall but to capture something of the nuanced texture of his reasoning, the complexity of his mature jurisprudence, and the affinities and tensions between his system of law and the transformative age in which he lived" (p. xvi).

With regard to his second objective, Newmyer writes, "For reasons I hope to show, John Marshall remains America's representative jurist: a judge for all seasons" (p. xvi). Newmyer is more successful in meeting the first objective than the second.

With regard to the first objective, Newmyer examines, in stunning detail, Marshall's separate opinions as part of an unfolding exposition of working principles of law. The author emphasizes the impact of England's common law tradition on Marshall, on the development of American constitutional law, and on our vision of judging. Newmyer provides a coherent decade-by-decade account of Marshall, from the American Revolution through Marshall as Chief Justice in the 1820s and 1830s. Marshall sought to protect the Constitution as a beacon of national constitutionalism from the resurgent forces of democratic nationalism and states' rights theory and to establish the Supreme Court as the final interpreter of that document.

At the core of Newmyer's analysis is the relationship between Marshall's decisions and his past as a backwoods Virginia lawyer, sometimes legislator, who worked his way into the social and professional elite, litigated property and contract disputes among them, and drew on English common law principles and the federal courts for their settlement. It is in light of this background that Newmyer explains Marshall's faith in a nationalizing Supreme Court and federal court system that could apply the rule of law under a written Constitution whose primary objective was to limit the negative effects of emerging party politics, localism, and states' rights on the development of a national (really international) economic system and government. Marshall felt this was needed to protect the nation's interests at home and abroad and the republican (not democratic) principles at the core of the Constitution.

With regard to demonstrating that Chief Justice Marshall was a judge for all seasons, the author is far less successful. Newmyer is quite persuasive when he emphasizes the following: Marshall established baseline polity principles in the Constitution that were not original to him, including the notion that the Constitution was the "supreme law of the land" that comes from the people in convention, and not from the states as sovereign entities; he established the Supreme Court as primary interpreter of the Constitution and the concepts of implied (or inherent) congressional powers under the commerce and the necessary and proper clauses and presidential powers as commander in chief and foreign policy leader. In contrast to how states' rightists interpreted Marshall's landmark cases, Marshall saw the states as having important powers under a complex vision of federalism. Marshall also established the model of a strong chief justice and demonstrated that such a position requires both legal acumen and political skills, especially when the Supreme Court and its constitutional principles are under attack. Finally, Marshall envisioned the American Constitution and system of governance as republican, not democratic, and the Supreme Court and federal courts as venues to support the rule of law against partisan politics.

Newmyer is less persuasive in arguing that Marshall is a judge for all seasons when he demonstrates that the framers' and Marshall's view of constitutional nationalism was a minority view in the nation because

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of its predominantly localist, states' rights political culture. Marshall was not able to create principles that would sustain his concept of constitutional nationalism; he could restrain states' rights and democratic partisanship only for several decades. Furthermore, Marshall's view of constitutional interpretation, which consisted of justices finding the intent of the framers by using common law methods and by concentrating on property and contract rights, could not be sustained throughout the nation's history. Newmyer demonstrates that such methods were built on conservative property and contract rights principles and common law methods of legal inquiry rather than natural rights and equity principles which also were alive during the Founding period and which allowed judges to consider wider social, political, and economic factors when making constitutional choices.

Moreover, while historical institutionalists, like myself, support Marshall's view of judging and constitutional development as incremental, with justices following precedent, institutional norms, and the rule of law through a process of analogy, this vision of doctrinal change is questioned by many scholars. Many historians view doctrinal change as a product of constitutional revolutions while behavioralist political scientists see it as a result of justices' policy preferences, or those of the presidents who appointed them and changing majority coalitions.

Newmyer demonstrates that the conflicts between law and politics and policy values may be submerged within Marshall's approach to judicial decision-making, and Marshall's "legal" method and jurisprudence could not save the nation from suffering the effects of the framers' failure to settle legal, social, and economic questions raised by slavery and the power of states in the federal system. Moreover, Newmyer emphasizes that Marshall is a judge for all seasons because the generality and brilliance of his great constitutional opinions allowed jurists and scholars of different constitutional ages and political views to draw on them in their opinions, commentary, and constitutional theory. However, use of Marshall's opinions by later jurists and scholars to make quite different arguments than Marshall intended may have been more a product of their rhetorical skills, their instrumental use of them, and most importantly, their taking his opinions out of context and misreading them. Much of the analysis in this superb book really is about how Marshall's jurisprudence has been distorted, and the assertion that Marshall is a judge for all seasons is partly based on such twentieth-century distortions.

I also question whether Marshall is a judge for all seasons because of his reliance on polity principles such as separation of powers and federalism, common law principles and methods of analysis, and conceptions of rights of property and contract. Newmyer demonstrates that Marshall eschewed important conceptions of natural rights and rules of equity as methods of inquiry, which were important legal principles held by the framers. By emphasizing common law principles, the framers' intent, and property and contract rights, and by disregarding natural rights and equity considerations, Marshall limited the degree to which social, economic, and political factors in the world outside the Court could influence his jurisprudence. Marshall cannot be viewed as a judge for all seasons because his vision of constitutional interpretation and individual rights retarded the ability of the nation and its courts to deal with the social, economic, and political costs of capitalism. What has changed since Marshall's day is the realization that constitutional doctrine cannot meet the needs of the republic unless individual rights are expanded beyond Marshall's faith in property and contract rights, polity principles are changed from his vision of limited national government power and open-ended view of state power under federalism, and the Supreme Court can bring social, political, and economic factors into its jurisprudence to a greater degree than is possible under Marshall's approach to constitutional interpretation.

RONALD KAHN
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MARTIN BRUEGEL. *Farm, Shop, Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson Valley, 1780–1860.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 305. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

"Ten years ago we had *nothing*," the *Catskill Recorder* declared in 1828, "now we have *everything*" (p. 159). Building on this observation, Martin Bruegel argues that the 1820s were the crucial period in the rise of a market-based society in the middle Hudson Valley. In the early nineteenth century, only a minority of the farmers in Greene and Columbia counties, which face each other across the Hudson River, shipped goods to market, and they lived in "an uncertain universe," inventing "strategies to reduce the insecurities that nature thrust upon them" (p. 39). By the 1830s, however, most farmers in the two counties were actively engaged in the market, producing hay or oats or cheese or wool, and local manufacturers were sending leather, shoes, textiles, and bricks into the stream of commerce. No longer did people's diaries and ledgers reveal anxiety about the material standard of living. Moreover, traditional values—such as those stressing reliance on community and family in times of crisis—were giving way to the emergent ideology of liberal individualism. As the *Recorder* editorialized, rather than rely on a "public subscription" and "the liberality of their fellow citizens" to replace property destroyed by a fire, "every man . . . [who] has not the ability to sustain the losses . . . should be at all times insured" (p. 92).

Bruegel is French by birth and brings a European sensibility to this study. Bruegel understands the material limits of preindustrial agriculture and the corporate character of its families and communities. And,

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like Alexis de Tocqueville before him, he marvels at the capacity of mid-nineteenth-century Americans to transcend, within a single generation, the limitations of the traditional world. His work is at once a celebration of their achievement and a commentary on its human and environmental costs.

In a pivotal chapter on "Natural Resources and Economic Development," Bruegel reveals the intimate links between material progress and environmental degradation. Traveling near Kinderhook in Columbia County in 1828, the physician-farmer Alexander Coventry noted that "about 1800 this land was sold for $1 an acre" but now "brings $75 or $80" (p. 95). However, the Scottish immigrant continued, the "pitch pine woods which 40 years ago shaded the road" had been completely destroyed, cleared to be used as meadows for thousands of wool-producing sheep and to provide hemlock bark for the dozens of tanneries that each year gobbled up 1,500 acres of forest. The "luxuriant woodlands and picturesque streams" described by Washington Irving had given way, the *Catskill Messenger* noted in 1848, to hills "stripped of their timber so as to present their huge, rocky projections" (p. 10). Likewise, the homemade shoes bartered for other goods by farmers in the 1790s had given way by the 1830s to a booming shoe industry. With leather provided by the tanneries, scores of journeymen turned out thousands of shoes for market sale. In 1839, some of those workers, members of the United Society of Journeymen Cordwainers in the town of Hudson in Columbia County, found themselves prosecuted for combining to raise their wages. Better than any other work, Bruegel's book shows how the first industrial revolution, which processed farm commodities using new technology and rigorous system of work discipline, changed the character of the rural environment and rural society. By 1855, nearly ten percent of the residents of Greene and Columbia counties were foreign-born men and women who worked for wages on farms and in factories.

An outstanding environmental history, this book also addresses the vexed and controversial topic of the timing and character of the American "transition to capitalism." Although Bruegel's presentation is complex and multifaceted, in general it offers greater support for the positions advanced by "social" or "moral" historians such as Christopher Clark (*The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* [1990]), who underline cultural constraints on economic activities, as opposed to "market"-oriented scholars such as Winifred Rothenberg (*From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850* [1992]), who propose the early triumph of capitalist values. More important, Bruegel advances this debate not only by adding an environmental perspective but also though his sensitive reading of contemporary texts, a reflection of the growing influence of literary studies on historical studies. Seizing on verbal fragments from diaries, newspapers, and other contemporary sources, Bruegel evokes the ways in which ordinary men—and women—understood and made sense of the world in which they worked and lived. The vividness of this "experiential" history adds an additional dimension to this deeply researched, tightly argued, and nicely written study. The book is both an important scholarly monograph and a fine paperback addition to reading lists for advanced undergraduate and graduate-level history courses.

JAMES A. HENRETTA
University of Maryland

ANDREW R. L. CAYTON. *Ohio: The History of a People*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 472. $35.00.

Andrew R. L. Cayton has written this history of Ohio in honor of the state's 2003 bicentennial. To classify the book as purely commemorative, however, would be a great injustice; it has at least two other aims. First, as a traditional monograph, the book advances a thesis about the character of the state or, more specifically, of its people. In addition, like any good work of local history, it uses the history of a place as a lens for viewing two centuries of American history.

Cayton's first task—somehow to sum up what is specifically "Ohio"—is the more difficult of the two. He proposes a thesis that will allow him to cover 200 years of a large and diverse state. As its theme, the book focuses on the desires of early Ohioans to do good and to make a difference, as well as the shift over time to a more "conservative desire to live well" (p. vii). Cayton places this shift in Ohio life at around 1920, suggesting that by that decade the state's population had given up on the idea of change and begun to settle for something tremendously "average." By the final chapter, with its sections on Kent State University and the political crises of Ohio in the 1960s and 1970s, he seems to bemoan Ohio's unfulfilled promise. He concludes with a discussion of Pete Rose, using him not only as a famous Ohioan but also as an emblem of modern life in Ohio with all its faults and foibles.

Special attention is paid throughout the book to issues of race and ethnicity. Although some of this material is handled in a quirky chapter entitled "Alternative Ohios," which seems to include those groups not strictly Protestant, including "German Ohioans," "Jewish Ohioans," and "New Immigrants," the larger theme of race relations reoccurs throughout the book. This suggests, perhaps, that race stands out as one of the issues that can be investigated in all areas of the state. Cayton's attention to these issues is a strong point of the book, bu it also underlines a larger difficulty he faces: the challenge of studying a region defined primarily by geographic boundaries. Unless one is writing about state politics or the great men and outstanding contributions of a particular state—and Cayton is not—using a state's boundaries to delimit a study often seems artificial. Fortunately, Cayton avoids the common pitfalls of over-celebratory local history;

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instead, he had written something more searching, more touching, and of much broader interest.

As a local history, this book is even more successful. Its thorough bibliography suggests a historiographic context for the book that is well grounded in the more general literature of nineteenth and twentieth-century America. It also incorporates existing, state-focused secondary sources and utilizes a wide variety of printed primary sources. While there is little evidence here of new archival findings, the use of primary sources does allow Cayton to bring in the actual voices of Ohioans. For readers with an interest in Ohio, larger trends in history are illustrated in ways that are closer to home than those found in more general textbooks.For example, in examining the state's roots in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Cayton provides readers with an image of a state that was very much a product of the thinking of the time. While in some ways the state's constitution was progressive, it generally denied political recognition to women and African Americans.

Organized both chronologically and thematically, this book considers the major events that would be included in any American history textbook: antislavery and the Civil War, immigration, industrialization, prosperity and suburbanization. Beyond major events, however, Cayton also suggests the book is "a narrative driven by the stories people have told about life" in Ohio (p. vi). The book also includes an illustration at the beginning of each chapter ranging from the famous—a Standard Oil Company refinery, the wedding portrait of Rutherford and Lucy Webb Hayes, and a scene from Kent State University in 1970, for example, to the ordinary, including a *ca.* 1890s courting photograph of a Toledo schoolteacher and her soon-to-be husband and a club photograph from a 1920s African-American social club. This is not simply a chronicle of great men from a state that has produced many, including eight presidents of the United States; it is also an interesting and well-conceived local history.

LAURA TUENNERMAN-KAPLAN
California University of Pennsylvania

TIMOTHY R. MAHONEY. *Provincial Lives: Middle-Class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 334. $54.95.

The early nineteenth-century settlement of the American Middle West overlapped, in many instances, with the firm establishment of the middle class as the most important group in a burgeoning and increasingly industrial market economy. Timothy R. Mahoney's book seeks to use this coincidence to account for the emergence of a middle-class culture in the region and, by extension, throughout the entire nation. Expanding the study of the upper Middle West that he began with *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820–1870* (1990), Mahoney's current work concentrates on the creation of a shared set of urban social values. He goes to great lengths to show that, while his regional study may illuminate the lives of specific subjects in particular towns and a particular region, his larger purpose is to illustrate the development of a broader national layer of culture as it moved from the East, through the Middle West, and onto the western part of the nation.

The book's concern with layers also involves the creation of a middle class within individual towns along the upper Mississippi River valley during the years between 1800 and 1850. Each contained a core of native inhabitants and pioneers who settled in each town and considered themselves members of a "good society" that laid the foundations for further development. This group was joined by later settlers who helped to improve the infrastructure and to boost the town's reputation. Finally, a third group of settlers arrived late in the game to provide a regional interpretation of local culture that defined class lines. Over time, Mahoney argues, subsequent layers of settlers helped to build a community in which the moral imperatives of evangelical Christianity, individual self-interest, and gentility provided a social style and a code of behavior that clarified middle-class identity. Within larger regional and national contexts, each of the towns established its own standards for middle-class behavior and identity; uniqueness depended on the specific time frame of settlement and on the distinct environmental, economic, and social circumstances of development. As soon as the middle-class elites had established their own rules, however, regional and national forces often intervened to undermine their social and economic power. The arrival of railroads, in particular, reshaped the regional economy and forced local leaders to rethink their strategies. The new technology caused intensive centralization of manufacturing and services and led, eventually, to the development of monolithic regional economies centered in Chicago and St. Louis. Local responses to these changes often led members of the middle class to reject regional and national values for parochial or provincial ones. Successful leaders finally accepted the fact that, while they might still dominate local social structures, they were also members of a modern culture encompassing multiple layers (local, regional, and national) of identity.

Mahoney's methodology, although intricate and colorful, may be somewhat confusing to readers who are used to less theoretical historical narratives. Jumping from place to place and dealing with different families, he concentrates on individual subjects only in order to illustrate the historical variables (migration, male subcultures, boosterism, gentility, professionalism, and railroads) that prove his larger themes. But the more compelling aspects of the book is its appeal to social scientists outside the historical profession. It illustrates that complex social developments can be accounted for through the utilization of historical analysis. It also proves that the unique life stories of individuals and the various social situations of local communities are both influenced by a complex combination of personal and external forces. This book's systematic approach

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to analyzing and understanding the effects of those forces presents a model for comparing stories of all sorts, whether historical or contemporary.

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MARK M. SMITH. *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. x, 372. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Historians habitually invoke the sights and sounds of particular eras but until recently have left the latter largely unstudied. Mark M. Smith not only adds to an emergent historical phenomenology of sound (and silence) but significantly advances the field by synthesizing and clarifying its conceptual and methodological lexicon. This he deftly employs to reconstruct the sonic dimensions of North/South sectional politics in antebellum, wartime, and reconstruction America. Smith is not out to displace existing accounts of the coming of the Civil War; rather he seeks to demonstrate how aural representations of sectional otherness heightened confrontational tensions between the elites of North and South and increased the ultimate ferocity of the divide.

Smith's book recreates the increasingly polarized sectional soundscapes and their simultaneous representation as both idealized and invidious. What southern elites registered fondly as the harmonious quietude of the plantation was, to northern ears, the silent tyranny of servitude intolerably disfigured by the hellish disquiet of the slave market, the screams of the beaten, the clank of their chains. What northerners celebrated as the robust and welcome sounds of modern productivity and free labor—the hum of industry and the eager voices of democracy—southerners deplored as the invasive tumult of the city, the factory, and the mob. The metaphors of aural imagery became more real than their referents, sharpening discourse into polemic.

Smith locates sectional soundmarks within a rich account of the broader aural fabric. Thus he identifies other cross-cutting tensions in elite ears, notably those of class, as in southern apprehensions at the potentially subversive noises of the evangelical camp meeting. Northern men were disturbed by the raised voices of female abolitionists who offended the gendered stereotype of the bourgeois woman as the custodian of domestic calm and its aural niceties. Redefined as noise by censorious social superiors, such sounds were part of an extensive repertoire of celebration, affirmation, and resistance among subordinates that should be a prominent item on the agenda of any new history of aurality. Silence, too, could be an equally disturbing signifier—the intimation of slave insurrection or frontier attacks by Native Americans. In Smith's account, no doubt prompted by Alain Corbin's work on nineteenth-century France, the most resonant sound across all of settled America was that of the bell. Not only were bells central to the maintenance of an orderly soundscape, defining and regulating time and space, but they had resounding political and symbolic associations. In 1861, the South answered the Liberty Bell by casting its own "Secession" bells. Many such had to be recast into cannon; surviving plantation bells that had summoned slaves to labor were smashed by African American troops as the very instruments of oppression. For the planters the noise of the mob had moved south, erasing much of the old familiar soundscape. Yet as they reasserted their hegemony, so, too, did they restore much of the old acoustic order, deriving ironic satisfaction from marketing the pastoral quiet of the South as a tourist haven for overworked northerners.

Smith recruits a wide range of contemporary voices and acoustemological specialists in this meticulously worked contribution to what he promotes as the necessary "rescue of historical aurality from the grip of ocularity" (p. 258). A generation ago, Roland Barthes asked for a history of looking. Historians have provided some impressive responses, demonstrating the hypervisuality of modernity and its extensive and still compelling social implications. As Smith would surely agree, studies of aurality should not only counter our own visual preoccupations but complement them as part of a comprehensive reconstruction of the sensorium in history that captures the shifting saliencies and interactions of all the senses. While his study offers an encouraging invitation to such a task, it also alerts us to its particular difficulties, not least in the crucial matter of representation. The problem here is not that of the historian's much-debated dependence on rhetoric, but which rhetoric can best do the job. Smith explicitly excludes the privileged and formalized sounds of music from his account and also mostly eschews the rich metaphorical resource of musical language, making him too dependent on social science neologisms and other contrivances. Historians of sound will have to refine a vocabulary that is both precise and appropriately resonant, while negotiating the great number of cross-sensory usages in our language that both complicate their work and remind us of the larger project that still beckons.

PETER BAILEY
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JANET M. DAVIS. *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 329. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

By the end of the nineteenth century, American railroad circuses were extravaganzas. Central to the most celebrated was a gigantic, three-ring tent wherein performers flew through the air, walked the high wire, made animals do tricks, balanced on horseback, clowned, and accomplished other uncommon feats. Attached to the big top was a menagerie where patrons gawked at foreign animals. There was a midway where

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a side-show talker pitched passersby tales of dog-faced humans, wild men from Borneo, armless wonders, and sword swallowers. The railroad circus, with its glitzy displays of color, people, animals, and equipment, invaded towns, grabbed citizens' imaginations, and then left. Circus day was part and parcel of the culture but with its mock Oriental, African, and other non-American motifs, it was an exotic and, in retrospect, a bizarre intrusion into the hum-drum of everyday life.

Being a vibrant, entertaining, and symbolically loaded aspect of our national heritage and a potentially challenging topic for historians, it is a shame that the circus has not, until this ground-breaking book, attracted the interest of formally trained scholars. With a few exceptions, the historians of the circus have been circus buffs, people whose nostalgia for the institution looms larger than their penchant for analysis. Although this book is about the turn-of-the-century railroad circus and offers plenty of description, Janet M. Davis says that her purpose is to "use the . . . circus as a way to explore then-prevailing attitudes about gender, race, labor, sexuality, monopoly formation, nationalism, and empire" (p. xiii). The author's ambitious drive to transcend the substantial subject matter, to focus on what the circus revealed rather than what it was, is both a strength and a weakness.

Davis takes her examples from the largest of the traveling shows (Although technically not circuses, she includes large Wild West shows) and rightfully so. They reached the most people, and the archival resources are abundant. Davis starts her book with an appropriately succinct history of the circus in the United States from the 1790s to the late nineteenth century. Those already familiar with the subject will find nothing new here but will appreciate the remedial background the second chapter provides. For those with no background, the chapter is a concise primer. In chapter three, Davis provides a tight description of the physical circus, its organization, how it worked, and the specifics of the tasks involved. Here, she clearly substantiates her premise that the railroad circus was an immense accomplishment whose size, complexity, logistics, and popularity make it worthy of careful study.

Chapter four ("Respectable Female Nudity") focuses on women who performed in the circus. Davis argues that women's participation paralleled changes women experienced in the larger society. Women circus performers broke away from conventions of oppressive dress, physical weakness, and being in the background. The author tells us that showmen were uneasy about the radical transformative potential of these new women and therefore deployed strategies to reconfigure strong Euro-American circus women into dainty, domestic ladies and women of color into educational artifacts. There are wonderful examples of women performers and their presentation. In this, and in the chapters that follow, Davis presents provocative ideas and thought-provoking analysis. But her argument, particularly the parts in which she declares intent on the part of the showmen, is unsubstantiated. The gender analysis continues in chapter five, "From the King of the Beasts to Clowns in Drag." Here the concentration is on how exhibitions of male gender both reinforced and subverted social norms. We are taken on a tantalizing trip through the range of topics the title suggests, meeting various human and animal performers that crossed lines between male and female as well as human and beast. Chapter six argues that the circus reinforced America's entanglements in remote countries by casting non-Western foreigners as inferior and engaging in an international business of buying animals and hiring people from overseas.

This is an ambitious work, important and well researched. It treats seriously what others might see as frivolous. A nice choice of photographs and circus advertisements add excitement to the text. But there is too much theory imposed, and not enough induction built from the archival materials to make the central arguments satisfying. With the exception of the rich description of the circus and the performers, the book is more about how present prevailing theory provides a script for reading the turn-of-the-century big top circus than about exploring then-prevailing attitudes about race, class, and gender.

ROBERT BOGDAN
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ARTHUR VERSLUIS. *The Esoteric Origins of the American Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. 234. $45.00.

In this volume, Arthur Versluis extends his studies of religious esotericism to the mid-nineteenth century American literary renaissance. The result is a sometimes convincing, sometimes baffling, but consistently stimulating reading of a half-dozen canonical and a few obscure American authors. The study should henceforth be taken into consideration in any overview of this phase in American cultural history and in any narrative of alternative religious traditions.

The mercurial quality of the work derives in part from the number of strains it brings into play: alchemy, Christian theosophy, freemasonry, gnosticism, hermeticism, neoplatonism, Rosicrucianism, and Swedenborgianism. As with denominations in Christianity, each of these shared features with the others but configured them in its own distinctive pattern. Some of them bore stark mutual antinomies as well. Keeping it all straight will be a challenge for only readers who are casually acquainted with the subject, although an early chapter does supply concise summaries to which one can return as needed. A greater difficulty arises from the book's interpretive map. The esoteric paths are laid out as clear alternatives to the heritage of Enlightenment materialist rationalism, with its alienation of subject from object and its commodification of nature. Esotericism's relationship to more traditional religion, however, needs to be much better explored. Versluis typically speaks of his searchers' dissatisfaction with "conventional" or "institutional" Christianity, but he

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does not consider the mystical and pietist strains that loomed large in that faith's immediately preceding history and that provided substantial food for many a spiritual hunger. The reader is left wondering where exactly the orthodox and esoteric currents met, overlapped, and diverged, and why they attracted their respective devotees.

One can hardly fault the author on this point, however, since his principal purpose was to demonstrate the centrality of esoteric themes in the American literary renaissance. Without these, he argues, "its entire character would be changed and it might not exist at all" (p. 186). That case needs to be made via studies of individual authors, and it here succeeds best in the chapters on Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman. Melville's harrowing gnosticism has been scanned before, but Alcott's notoriously misty prose is revealed as the theosophy of Jacob Boehme with its specific Christian language removed, while "the stupendous Whitman ego" (p. 159) is shown inverting the typical esoteric transcendence of self into its imperial extension instead. Next to these respectively rueful and monitory tales, Fuller's is entirely positive. Putting her poetry, journal entries, and original book illustrations side by side, Versluis makes a strong argument that Fuller was not just inspired by but personally practiced the esoteric and that scholarly neglect of this point to date has left her fundamentally misunderstood.

The author posits a lesser but still potent role for the esoteric in other writers: as a foil for ridicule (Edgar Allan Poe), a current of anxiety (Nathaniel Hawthorne), or a tantalizing possibility (Emily Dickinson). The ambiguities involved in his method are most apparent in his treatment of Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose project of making "Hermeticism open to all" constituted "the American Revolution of consciousness" (p. 126). Versluis traces Emerson's debts to Boehme and Emanuel Swedenborg to make his case but ignores the well-known Kantian line of influence via Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Esotericism, idealism, romanticism, and Protestant Christianity are all in the stew here and will need a more discriminating sieve to strain and measure them out.

A final question concerns the author's placement of esotericism in the larger historical flow. That most of his literary figures adopted the esoteric as a textual resource instead of a life practice is well put. That esoteric practice was more popular in the colonial era is also true, making this a tale of declension in ironic parallel to that once posited for Puritanism. But how can esotericism be said to have arisen against industrialism and Enlightenment rationalism when it faded in practice precisely as these rose? And why were such devotees of cold technologism and enlightened politics as Benjamin Franklin and the other revolutionary leaders nearly to a man participants in freemasonry, an esoteric church if there ever was one? In short, puzzles of the whole remain, but Versluis's book succeeds often enough in its particulars to make his a challenge to established interpretations.

James D. Bratt
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Stephen John Hartnett. *Democratic Dissent and the Cultural Fictions of Antebellum America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. x, 230. $34.95.

In these four case studies, Stephen John Hartnett presents what he calls a "rhetorical history" (p. 6) of political persuasion in antebellum America. The focus here is not on the history of rhetoric, and certainly not on nuanced close readings of specific texts, but instead on a broadly rhetorical analysis of the workings of the mid-century public sphere. Exploring the "discursive conditions of American democracy" (p. 7) and "the sheer *rhetoricality* of democratic dissent" (p. 3), Hartnett himself is strongly rhetorical in bringing his points home, especially in relation to his central arguments about class and race. But over the course of the book's four chapters, these arguments change quite dramatically. The first three chapters—on abolition, white supremacy, and Manifest Destiny—develop a dark vision along the lines of Sacvan Bercovitch's studies of American rhetoric and ideology, describing an omnivorous, no-exit discursive system that makes true dissent impossible as it defuses and assimilates even the most radical critiques. But Hartnett's final chapter on Walt Whitman's experiments with democratic representation reverses course, suddenly suggesting a much more positive vision of possibilities for vital dissent that would allow "the rhetorical give-and-take of democracy to thrive" (p. 169).

With this turn in the argument, the book's central concept of "cultural fictions" also appears in new form. Early on, Hartnett introduces this rather vague term to refer to the commonplace stories or notions that are repeated or shared by diverse members of a collectivity and so gain persuasive power as carriers of ideology. Rhetorical criticism of such fictions, then, works as a form of radical ideology critique, stressing how a dominant ideology or mythology maintains its hold on groups of people. In this view, even strong dissent can only be expressed through assent to central cultural fictions. Hartnett uses the word "fictions" to stress that they are usually not true but in fact operate as elements of false consciousness that can be manipulated to mask, and coerce assent to, real social inequities or injustices. The U.S. Constitution can be seen as a founding cultural fiction: "a baffling legal document written by the rich and for the rich in a cunning attempt to persuade the masses to consent to their own disempowerment" (p. 111). Similarly, "white supremacy" is a fiction that gives poor southern whites a false feeling of solidarity with the slave-holding elite and so diverts them from focusing their anger on the economic injustices in their own lives; and the myth of the superiority of northern capitalism over southern sla-

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very is a fiction used by the northern politico-economic elite to keep the "'riffraff' in line" so that they will not rise in class revolt against their "betters" (pp. 58–59). But with the shift in tone at the book's end these central concerns with the perversion of democratic processes disappear as Hartnett concludes that "cultural fictions may be understood simply as the enabling narratives and edifying rhetorical conventions" by which citizens come together in public debate (p. 176).

The book's first three chapters certainly develop a clear, coherent argument about mid-century discussions of race and class. Chapter one, on northern abolitionism, stresses how even the most radical dissent from slavery gained its rhetorical power through "gung-ho valorizations of modernity, the Enlightenment, and especially capitalism" (p. 34). Chapter two follows this by arguing that mid-century claims about the differences between North and South are themselves fictions. According to Hartnett, property ownership in the North was no more egalitarian than in the South; the capitalist economy depended on, and so was complicit with, the slave economy; and, ideologically, the dominant southern myths about white racial superiority and about the "serious evils" of massive, violent social disruption that could result from emancipation of the slaves were widely shared. Chapter three caps these arguments through the book's most detailed and convincing close analysis, showing how Robert Walker, in his propaganda tracts on Texas annexation, was able to manipulate public opinion in devious ways at a crucial moment in American history by appealing to a synthesis of cultural fictions—a myth of the Manifest Destiny of American empire founded upon white supremacy and white fear—that brought many Americans (in both the North and the South) together in a specious sort of imagined national community.

The book could have ended on this note of grim coherence. Hartnett, however, adds a chapter on Whitman and the daguerreotype that sends us off in very different directions. In this rough, rambling section we leap to wholly new subject matter: from directly political writings to works that are primarily literary and aesthetic; from verbal arguments to visual images (with an intriguing analysis of photographic and painted portraits); from issues of democratic dissent to problems of democratic representation (how one self can be seen to represent a larger social grouping). And we leave behind almost entirely the book's dominant questions about race, slavery, or the workings of cultural fictions. Seemingly at a loss when confronted with the experimental rhetorical forms of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Whitman, Hartnett confines himself to highly generalized and unhelpful assertions about their verbal work, only to conclude in a different vein by celebrating these two authors for their development of forms that "privilege open public debate" (p. 176). The book then tentatively opens out of its earlier vision of American democracy as a closed, deceptive discursive system to hold up the work of some abolitionists, now seen in a more hopeful light, along with Emerson and Whitman, as models of the sort of successful dissent that might make the "promises of democracy more real" (p. 181).

PETER GIBIAN
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JOHN ALEXANDER WILLIAMS. *Appalachia: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 473. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Except for Richard B. Drake's recent awkward and disappointing effort, there has never been a comprehensive, one-volume history of the Appalachian region. John Alexander Williams's new volume will appeal both to scholars and to a broader public long befuddled by repetitions of the tiredest of myths about the southern mountains. It is a compelling example of the synergistic economies of the expanding and maturing scholarship that has been undertaken on the region during the past four decades.

Beginning with probes by Spanish conquistadores into the Blue Ridge and Great Smokies and reaching to the recent environmental grotesqueries of "mountaintop removal," Williams skillfully constructs a tightly structured, cogently argued, gracefully written narrative and analysis of the most important sectors and dynamics of Appalachian history: the structuring and modulating effects of geography and environment; exploration, immigration, and outmigration; major processes of social, economic, political, and cultural development; demographic change; the turbulent relations of region and nation; the successive waves of rapacious entrepreneurial adventure; the evolution and interaction of local, state, regional and federal institutions; the challenge posed by Appalachia's complexity to national ideology and policy; and the origins, permutations, and uses of popular images, icons, and myths about the region.

To his great credit, Williams walks a tight line between comprehending the region as region and blurring a myriad of long overlooked intraregional differences. Similarly, he examines both what sets the region apart and what makes it, in some important ways, not very different from the larger South, the Midwest, or the nation as a whole. Hence an Appalachia too often imaged as homogeneous, static, rural, white, Protestant, violent, premodern, and above all different and separate emerges as varied and dynamic, racially and culturally diverse, both traditional and modern (even postmodern), and complexly linked to all of the world outside—a palimpsest of our collective past and a map of where we as a nation may be headed. Extended passages of structural and systemic analysis are balanced by concrete illustrative detail and brief segments focused on local cases and specific individuals and institutions. From a cultural studies perspective, the palpable realities of regional history are effectively counterposed with the complexities of representation.

Williams's new history of Appalachia is in so many

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ways so excellent that I pass only reluctantly to raising some problems of particular interest to historians in general and to the many Appalachian specialists upon whose work it draws. In the first place, it is not clear whether this volume is intended primarily as a popular or a scholarly history. It bears marks of the former (sprightly style, relative sparseness of documentation, comprehensiveness). As a popular history, however, it has some weaknesses. Long stretches of discussion on topography, trade and transportation routes, and other subjects call for clarifying maps, but there are only five in the entire volume. Of the thirty-one photographs (quite skimpy for a popular history), some are rather idiosyncratically chosen. One of the four coal industry photographs is a Ben Shahn close-up of several rail cars full of coal; its caption emphasizes "the play of light upon textures." Only three photographs (pp. 356, 359, 365) illustrate tourism and urbanization. A single photograph of a logging camp (p. 248) stands for the whole of non-coal-related industrialization. Readers expecting a popular history may also find numerous long sections of heavily detailed text to be tough going (e.g. modernization theory, pp. 321–26). As popular history, then, Williams's account offers both too little and too much.

Considered as a scholarly history, the volume presents other problems. A few result from the author's tactical choices. In a text richly detailed with quantified data, only one table (out of eight) occurs within the first 367 pages. More seriously, documentation is in general held to a bare minimum. Comparing pages of notes per hundred pages of text (an admittedly crude but nonetheless pertinent measure) to other recent scholarly histories in the field, Williams's documentation is about one-third as dense. Of the 534 endnotes, the great majority contain only one reference; only fifteen notes are substantive.

Moving beyond these numbers, one must understand that this volume makes its appearance at an important strategic moment at the end (one hopes) of decades of ill-informed, poorly conceived ungrounded popular and "scholarly" writing about Appalachia, and after three decades of new, solidly conceived, and grounded scholarship that challenges and replaces the former. At this juncture, Williams faced two key structural tasks: to move the discourse about Appalachia forward with lucid discussion and analysis informed by the best new scholarship; and to render his account transparent with respect to process, so as to give credit where credit is due and direct nonspecialists to this new scholarship.

Williams carries off the first task considerably better than the second. Certainly he has drawn skillfully and effectively upon some of the best recent scholarship on the region. He relies particularly heavily, however, on a relatively small number of secondary sources: of 599 total references in his notes, fully one-quarter come from eighteen published volumes (both recent and not). Equally troubling is what could (and should) have been drawn upon but apparently was not. Time and time again, Williams neglects to refer readers to much of the excellent (and frequently extensive) recent scholarship on a wide variety of topics he discusses (whether at length or briefly). Without attempting to be exhaustive, I noted the following examples: traditional and country music in general and Appalachian music in particular, Hindman Settlement School, the folk revival, the Appalachian Volunteers, railroad songs, the John C. Campbell Folk School, Tom Dula, Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, the Seegers and the Lomaxes, Black Mountain College, major receiving centers of Appalachian outmigration such as Cincinnati and Chicago, the Shenandoah National Park removals, the Blue Ridge Parkway, the White Top Folk Festival, Foxfire, the Council of the Southern Mountains, the United Mine Workers, and stripmining and mining-induced flooding. On every one of these topics, excellent (in many cases extensive) recent scholarship exists, but one would not know it from reading Williams's history. Indeed, one emerges with a very limited sense of the great body of substantial recent scholarship on which this book in fact rests, the archival records on which that scholarship was built, or where to turn to expand one's knowledge.

Beyond published sources, no Ph.D. dissertation of the past forty years, and not a single pertinent legislative hearing (state or federal), is cited. There are fewer than fifty references to any primary document, published or unpublished, and almost all of Williams's fifteen references to archival collections cite one document only. No documents are cited from the major Appalachian collections at Berea College, Appalachian State University, East Tennessee State University, the University of Kentucky, or the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Nor is there any reference to the decades of groundbreaking journalism by such writers as Ben Franklin, Ward Sinclair, James Branscome, Tom Gish, and others.

Individual readers (lay or scholarly) can decide how serious such omissions are for their purposes. In any case, Williams has written a book that can (and should) stand as the definitive one-volume history of Appalachia for some time to come. It is a welcome and valuable addition to the steadily growing body of new work on a long misunderstood region.

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Stephen G. Hyslop. *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806–1848.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 514. $34.95.

Stephen G. Hyslop has written a complete and detailed history of the significance of the Santa Fe trade to both the United States and Mexico. Employing all of the available primary and secondary sources germane to the trade, he makes particularly effective use of diaries

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and memoirs. Some, like those of Josiah Gregg, George Wilkins Kendall, and Susan Shelby Magoffin are well known, but others, I believe, appear in a bibliography compilation for the first time. First-hand accounts by U.S. army officers who guided the caravans into Mexico liven up the narrative. All told, perhaps the strongest point of this book is its reliance on excellent primary sources.

The "Santa Fe trail" ran from St. Louis or Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe and ultimately Chihuahua, Mexico. It is thought of as an exclusively American trade route, but the author emphasizes the role played by Mexicans journeying to the United States as traders or workers. Much more was involved than the mere buying and selling of goods. Americans and Mexicans formed impressions of each other and the seeds of a lasting "culture conflict," resulting in the Mexican War, 1846–1848, were sown. Indians of many tribal affiliations, particularly Osage, Pawnees, and Comanche were also present and many "American" observers stated their preference for the character of these Native Americans over that of Mexicans. All the groups mingled at Bent's Fort and other locations along the Santa Fe trail. Mountain men bringing their furs and pelts to market added to the lively mix.

The history of the Santa Fe trail really begins with the American explorer Zebulon Pike. Since his commission came from General James Wilkinson, some historians believe that Pike was linked to the Burr Conspiracy. Officially ordered by Wilkinson to locate the source of the Red River, Pike took his party as far off course as present-day Colorado. Finally, he turned south and was detained by Spanish authorities at Santa Fe on the Rio Grande. Since Pike believed in the ultimate conquest of Mexico by the United States, he was the prototype of many who would come after him. In fact, Hyslop's principal theme throughout this work is that "traders cleared the way for conquerers."

The Santa Fe trade had a duration of twenty-five years. It began in 1821 and concluded with the advent of the Mexican War in 1846. For the first time in such an endeavor, goods were transported by wagons rather than pack animals. William Becknell, an enterprising frontiersman from Virginia, led the first trading caravan to Santa Fe from St. Louis in 1821 and made a number of trips thereafter. Kit Carson, representative of many trappers and mountain men linked to the trade, reached Taos in 1826 and settled there permanently. Traders usually purchased their commodities in New York and then shipped them to St. Louis. Mountain men brought their furs into St. Louis or Independence, Missouri, for shipment to New Mexico. Mexican law forbade commerce in arms, particularly to Indian tribes, but the policy proved unenforceable. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the trade originating in Missouri went to Chihuahua and then into the interior of Mexico rather than to Santa Fe. Hyslop quotes from many primary sources dealing with the business, but Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), remains the most engrossing eyewitness account.

By the Boundary Act (1836), passed in the first administration of President Sam Houston, the Republic of Texas claimed the Rio Grande from source to mouth as its southwestern boundary. Houston's successor, Mirabeau B. Lamar, in desperate financial straits and eager to promote trade with Mexico, sought to validate the claim by the conquest of Santa Fe. Poorly conceived and hurriedly planned, the Santa Fe expedition was a complete fiasco. Manuel Armijo, governor of the Mexican state of New Mexico, easily routed a Texas force that had been depleted along the way by desertion and Comanche raids. Many American citizens fighting with Texas were captured and confined to Mexican prisons until 1848. In 1846, after the outbreak of the war with Mexico, U.S. troops entered Santa Fe after only token resistance by Armijo. Whether or not the governor and other Mexican officials were bribed to lay down their arms remains an unanswered question. General Stephen Kearney, the highest ranking military officer in the West, then proclaimed the Territory of New Mexico and shortly thereafter set out on the campaign to add California to the Union.

Charles Bent, an old Santa Fe hand, was named the first American territorial governor of New Mexico by General Kearny. Tensions between pro and antislavery factions and between Mexicans and Indians flared into violence. At Taos, Pueblo Indians, who had a long history of resistance to Spain and Mexico, murdered Governor Bent and other prominent American officials. Due to the efforts of Colonel Sterling Price and volunteers from Missouri, Santa Fe and Chihuahua were spared bloodshed. The territory of New Mexico remained under military rule for a period of two years after the conclusion of the Mexican War. In accordance with the Compromise of 1850, New Mexico was organized as a free territory, and the claim of the state of Texas to the territory east of the Rio Grande was disallowed. However, Texas was placated with an award of ten million dollars, which effectively discharged the debt of the old republic.

Hyslop has written a very informative and entertaining book. Throughout his narrative, he depicts the harsh conditions of the trade but also the rewards at the end of the journey. The author has given us a vivid portrait of the Santa Fe trail and its importance to the United States and Mexico. This was a very enjoyable read.

STANLEY E. SIEGEL
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MARÍA E. MONTOYA. *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840–1900*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 299. $50.00.

María E. Montoya has written an engaging examination of the Maxwell Land Grant, the most famous of

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roughly two hundred land grants in New Mexico and southern Colorado, the title to which originated under Spanish and Mexican rule and came into U.S. sovereignty by way of the property guarantees of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Montoya's study is one of the few book-length monographs that closely examines a single Hispanic land grant. The breadth of the study, from the making of the grant in 1843 to its final resting place early in the twentieth century, is matched by the depth of the detail that the author provides. The book is deeply sourced, beautifully written, marred by occasional errors, and full of controversial assertions. The vast empire of the grant, finally surveyed at 1.7 million acres, has fueled many romantic stories, beginning with the deep imprint left on the grant by the baronial first real owner, Lucien B. Maxwell, and ending with the latest owner, the baronial Ted Turner. To her credit, Montoya for the most part eschews the romantic tales for a more penetrating analysis.

Part of her analysis covers areas previously explored by other historians. Morris Taylor, among others, has already made familiar the efforts of the Dutch-owned Maxwell Land Company to control the mess the company bought when it purchased the grant in 1877. Montoya adds little that is new to that story. The director of the film *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (1957) provided more action than Montoya can in her extended description of the shoot out between settlers and grant owners at the Pooler Hotel on August 25, 1888. However, Montoya uniquely focuses on the terrain of the Maxwell grant and the peoples dispossessed in the adjudication of the grant under U.S. rule.

As Montoya shows so well, Native Americans, Hispanics, and some Anglo miners had each established possessory footholds on the grant before the United States confirmed it to a single European owner. All three groups suffered greatly, argues Montoya, from a transformation of the nature of interests in the land between the making of the grant in 1843 under Mexican rule and the confirmation of the grant in 1877 under U.S. rule. The transformation of the nature of the interests in the Maxwell grant, she concludes, effectively dispossessed all three groups in favor a single grant owner, a European investment company speculating in western land.

Montoya constructs several different versions of this dispossession, some more convincing than others. For example, she finds that in the movement from Mexican to U.S. rule women actually lost ground in their ability to manage property, like the Maxwell grant, on their own. The proposition is not as easily proved as Montoya makes it seem; marriage had debilitating effects on both Mexican and American women. In any case, it is hard to see how the status of married women had much to do with the property transformation of the Maxwell grant.

By contrast, Montoya time and again claims that Mexican law would have recognized the rights of the Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo claims to land within the grant. Application of that law under the property guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, she insists, would have prevented the massive dislocation that followed the advent of U.S. rule. However, Montoya never says exactly how the civil law property traditions differed from their common law counterparts and how those differences might have protected the dispossessed. It is true that the civil law recognized a much wider and richer range of mutual interests in land (*servidumbres*) than the common law, but that difference neither explains the nature of Native American and Hispanic claims to Maxwell grant land nor demonstrates the injustice in failing to recognize their claims. Indeed, the peculiar development of the Maxwell Land Grant, particularly under the idiosyncratic hand of Lucien B. Maxwell, may well have been not so much the result of property rights recognized under Mexican law as an immature and informal property regime not based on either common law or civil law tradition.

Montoya begins and ends her book with a description of her own involvement in a recent Colorado land grant case involving precisely the issues she raises here. In 2002, the Colorado Supreme Court decided the case, recognizing as a matter of common law property rights just the kind of real property interests that Montoya argues would have protected the dispossessed under Mexican law had the United States honored rather than squelched them. The decision shows that the shift from Mexico to the United States and from the civil law to the common law was not as dramatic and unfair as this book argues it to have been.

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University of New Mexico

Mark M. Carroll. *Homesteads Ungovernable: Families, Sex, Race, and the Law in Frontier Texas, 1823–1860.* (Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture, number 3.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 244. Cloth $40.00, paper $19.95.

Antebellum Texas was a complex place, joining Native American, Mexican, African American, and Anglo populations. In this slender volume, Mark M. Carroll uses the body of law that evolved in that rich Texas culture to examine power in families and between households and the states. Nineteenth-century Texas law and society, he argues, were synergistic, changing and shaping one another as they made adjustments regarding families, sex roles, and race (p. xvii). Hispanic law blended with the common law widely used in the eastern United States, leavened with judicial activism that picked and chose relevant case law to create a society with relatively liberal gender roles for Anglo women, isolation for Natives, social stratification for Tejanos, and subjugation for African Americans.

The generous land-grant policy begun under the new Republic of Mexico first enticed single male settlers, some of whom had abandoned their families back east.

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On their own, with a shortage of Anglo females, these men sometimes established illegitimate relationships with Native women that were never recognized under any law. They also turned to Tejanas, Mexican women living in Texas, as mistresses, and a few married Tejana women from upper-class families. Only Anglo men enjoyed such a wide choice of sex partners. For scarce Anglo women, contact with men from other ethnic groups was taboo.

Concern for property rights shaped the interactions of African Americans and Anglos. Because Texas settlers were fundamentally committed to white supremacy, African Americans simply could not be legitimate heirs to the generous land grants, and the laws worked to disinherit them. The majority of slaves lived on isolated homesteads, where Anglo Texan men "cohabited with their slave women with uncommon frequency" (p. 61). But it was much easier to maintain a longtime mistress than to marry a black woman. Emphasizing Anglo allegiance to slavery, in 1837 the Republic of Texas banned and criminalized marriage between blacks and whites. The law did not, however, criminalize marriage between Hispanics or Native Americans and Anglos. Hispanics and Native Americans occupied a middle ground between black and white.

As Texas became at first an independent republic and then a state, more Anglo women immigrated. These women entered a world of unruly men, huge tracts of land, laws inherited from Mexico, and crude living conditions. Some Anglo women found employment as sex workers. Others married out of practicality rather than affinity, becoming partners in land ventures. Property law was favorable to their interests. The Texas Congress adopted the Hispanic community property system in 1840, which maintained a woman's separate legal identity. A woman could "control, convey, and encumber the community property and her separate property if her husband consented or if he was absent from the home for an extended period of time" (p. 100). Laws governing marriage recognized that access to separate property gave Texas women more autonomy. Women usually went unpunished for adultery, which was not uncommon, as long as the paramour was an Anglo. A man could kill his wife's lover but not his wife. A woman could divorce fairly easily, finding a new and better husband if the previous one proved unable to support her. Such female liberty distinguished Texas from other southern states.

Early Texas attitudes toward marriage remained casual. Bigamy was not rare, as land-grant rules encouraged men to leave their first families and strike out for new riches with the land claims of a second woman. Mexican Texas required that marriages be performed by priests, and many people simply eschewed the ceremony and cohabited. After statehood, Texas lawmakers became concerned about casual marriage as a threat to the social order, and they generated a coordinated body of law to encourage stable families. Common-law marriages legitimated informal unions, while criminalized fornication laws tried to legislate fidelity. Texas jurists protected women by expanding the grounds for divorce, including cruelty, abandonment, and adultery. They changed bigamy laws, often upholding the rights of longstanding reputed wives against those of abandoned wives. Serious penalties for adultery, which threatened family stability, "discourag[ed] men and women from abandoning one another" (p. 151). The jurists saw the law as a tool for shaping social and economic change, and they employed old doctrines "selectively, creatively, and pragmatically" to deal with the state's unusual circumstances (p. 165).

Carroll presents a complicated and nuanced story that certainly persuades that Texas was unusual and interesting. He strives to give agency to all of the players, but given the nature of his evidence (case law, printed primary sources, and secondary sources), Anglo men remain the chief actors in the narrative. The book is somewhat repetitious and unrelieved by any illustrations. One wishes for a broader interpretation: what did it mean for the South, poised on the brink of civil war, to have this odd place as its western border? But perhaps that is another story.

REBECCA SHARPLESS
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MILTON C. SERNETT. *North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 369. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

More than a half-century after its publication, Whitney R. Cross's classic work, *The Burned-over District* (1950), continues to inspire new studies. With this book, Milton C. Sernett joins scholars such as Mary P. Ryan, Paul Johnson, Nancy Hewitt, and Curtis Johnson in examining the social and cultural history of central and western New York. Focusing on "a core area along the Erie Canal from Utica to Rochester" (p. xviii), Sernett describes the transformation of the Burned-over District, a region famous in the 1820s and 1830s for wave after wave of religious revivals, crusades, and enthusiasms, into North Star Country, an important center of the struggle for African-American freedom in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Like Cross, Sernett emphasizes the important role Charles Grandison Finney played in "preparing the ground" for New York abolitionism. The revivalist's emphasis on personal regeneration prompted converts to conclude "that there needed to be a national conversion on the question of slavery" (p. 23). As a result, they readily adopted the immediatist philosophy advocated by William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, which demanded immediate repentance and emancipation. But what began as a collaboration soon turned into a competition, as New York and New England abolitionists began to develop different strategies for abolishing slavery in the United States. The growing

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tension between the two groups is a leitmotif of Sernett's narrative.

Although he surveys a relatively small geographical area, in some ways Sernett presents a broader perspective on abolitionism than that found in other works on the subject. His focus goes well beyond what he calls "movement abolitionism" (p. xix), represented by such organizations as the American Anti-Slavery Society, the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Liberty Party. Besides the movement abolitionists, he considers the more independent "self-defined abolitionists" and "those who did not identify with any faction of movement abolitionism" (p. xix). Sernett also extends his study into the 1850s and 1860s. Indeed, more than half of the book is devoted to the freedom struggle of those decades, when the independent abolitionists, African Americans as well as whites, were especially active, and the New York antislavery effort became "tightly ensnared in a thicket of national conflicts" (p. 129). In Syracuse, for example, in 1851, a biracial vigilance committee resorted to force to rescue fugitive slave William "Jerry" Henry from the police station. Other abolitionists joined the network of people known, figuratively, as the Underground Railroad. Radical abolitionists (Sernett's term) such as Gerrit Smith, Jermain Loguen, Frederick Douglass, and Harriet Tubman supported John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and, according to Sernett, were privy to his plans to use violence against slavery in the South. Having made the transition from moral suasion to the use of force, most New York abolitionists supported the Civil War, which they viewed as "fundamentally . . . a conflict over the morality of slavery" (p. 226).

Throughout the book, the emphasis is not so much on ideas or ideology as on individuals, the moral choices they made, and the actions, whether individual or collective, in which they engaged. Sernett presents a wide range of "moral actors" (p. xxi), some well known to students of abolitionism and others less familiar. The great virtue of his book is the wealth of information it provides regarding the role New York's African Americans played in the struggle for freedom, sometimes in collaboration with white reformers and at other times in their own separate organizations (reform associations, independent church congregations, vigilance committees, the black convention movement, and the volunteer companies that fought in the Civil War). Alongside well-known African-American abolitionists such as Douglass and Tubman, Sernett describes the lives and actions of less famous preachers, farmers, schoolteachers, fugitive slaves, housewives, and domestic workers who formed the rank and file of the African-American abolitionist army.

In the introduction to his book, Sernett notes that North Star Country has been his home for a quarter of a century. His book is not only a narrative of the antislavery struggle in upstate New York but a testimony to the moral commitment hundreds of its inhabitants made to abolish slavery in the United States. While the admiration Sernett feels for the New York abolitionists is explicit, it is not so intrusive as to spoil his recounting of an important segment of New York and, ultimately, American cultural history.

ANNE C. LOVELAND
Louisiana State University

PAUL CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON. *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind.* (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 258. $34.95.

Turner Ashby's Civil War career began in the spring of 1861, when the volunteer cavalry company he had assembled from his home in the northern Virginia piedmont was accepted for Confederate service. He served with some distinction as a colonel in the Seventh Virginia Cavalry, fighting under Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley campaign. In June 1862, he was killed in a skirmish near Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Paul Christopher Anderson's book, the most recent of a half-dozen works on Ashby, will disappoint readers hoping to find a new study of Ashby's brief military career. As the title suggests, Anderson places more emphasis on Ashby's image than on his exploits on the battlefield. The phrase "cultural biography" has been much used lately, and sometimes misused as simply an alternative to the old "life and times." But this book is truly a cultural biography. The subject is not Ashby; it is southern society before, during, and after the war, explicated through a discussion of Ashby's life.

Anderson organizes his study around Ashby's "four faces," each treated in a separate chapter. The first looks at Ashby as "ideal horseman" (p. xvi), a way of getting at the South's sense of honor and chivalry. Anderson's discussion of the role of chivalry in southern society is reminiscent of T. H. Breen's "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia" (*William and Mary Quarterly* [1977]). This image of Ashby provided just what the Confederacy and its soldiers needed at the beginning of the war. "Ashby the horseman served as an illustration of what was valuable in life," Anderson writes, "a vivid representation of their idea of home and what they were fighting for" (p. 62). Significantly, Ashby was known as "The Knight of the Valley."

The war quickly became a bloody affair, at odds with the image of knights in shining armor nobly defending honor and chivalry. In June 1861, Ashby's brother Richard was killed in battle. Ashby broke his sword over Richard's grave and swore to avenge his brother. This becomes, for Anderson, the defining moment of Ashby's second face, that of family defender, an image that added a layer of vengeance to the chivalric foundation already in place.

The third face, illustrated in Ashby's savage success with guerrilla warfare, was of a "natural and romantic man" (xvi). The romanticism of an earlier age lingered

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in the South, and its emphasis on the release from traditional boundaries helped southerners deal with the contradictions of chivalry's order and the disorder of the bloody partisan war of the valley in 1862.

By the late spring of 1862, the character of the war was beginning to change, from fairly localized conflicts to a larger and more unified struggle for national independence. No longer could Ashby and other southerners convince themselves that they were fighting merely for home and family; now they had a bigger and more impersonal goal, one that contrasted sharply with the motivation that had taken them to the battlefield a year before. Anderson points out that the transformation was not complete until midway through the war, a year after Ashby's death. But he also shows, through a discussion of Ashby's sometimes tense relationship with the Confederate military administration, that Ashby was aware of, and had to deal with, this transformation. This, the "Confederate warrior" (p. xvi), is Ashby's fourth face.

Anderson concludes with a brief but insightful examination of Ashby's image after the war, how southerners remembered and honored him, again with an eye toward how those images reflected the larger concerns and needs of southern society.

Ashby's four "faces" are not chronologically distinct, although Anderson presents them that way to show how they matched Confederate needs at different times in the war. "Chronology works less as a scaffolding and more like a string," writes Anderson, "weaving in and out of the themes while tying them together" (p. xvii). Anderson's ability to avoid the temptation of telling a straightforward narrative, of keeping his subject off center stage for much of the book, is what make this a successful cultural biography. Anderson shows that an understanding of Ashby's life and, more important, his image helps us understand much about nineteenth-century southern society.

The title of Anderson's original dissertation used the phrase "in the Shenandoah Valley," indicating that he conceived of this project in a more limited fashion. He is perhaps more successful at demonstrating the northern Virginian mind than "the southern mind" (from the book's subtitle). I wonder if similar studies could be done for representative figures from other parts of the Confederacy: Northwest Georgia, coastal Carolina, mid-Tennessee, and so forth. That would be an interesting and useful book of essays.

DAVID B. PARKER
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GARY W. GALLAGHER, editor. *The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula and the Seven Days*. (Military Campaigns of the Civil War.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 272. $34.95.

In the never-ending exploration of Civil War military history, some battles and campaigns receive a disproportionate amount of attention. Gettysburg, for example, remains a favorite with many writers; recently Chattanooga was the subject of several treatments. But other campaigns deserve a closer look, not necessarily because scholars will offer markedly different analyses of battlefield tactics and operational movements but because of the wider context in which the campaigns took place and their impacts on the course of the war. Such is the case with the Peninsula Campaign of 1862. George B. McClellan's failure to take the Confederate capital at Richmond dashed hopes for a short, limited conflict; in its aftermath, Republicans and abolitionists pushed the Lincoln administration toward taking a firmer stand against slavery. The campaign also saw the emergence of Robert E. Lee as a battlefield commander, the fortuitous consequence of Joseph E. Johnston receiving a disabling wound. In short, the campaign proved important as much for what did not happen as for what did: it proved that Confederate victories in the east exercised a disproportionate influence on evaluations of the progress of the war, wiping out the impact of several months of Union victories in the west.

In this volume, another fine addition to the University of North Carolina Press's "Military Campaigns of the Civil War" series, editor Gary W. Gallagher has persuaded eight historians to join him in exploring aspects of this campaign. Some of the essays reflect traditional examinations of well-worn topics. John T. Hubbell's essay on McClellan's performance adds to the already substantial negative assessment of the Union commander's generalship and character. Useful primarily as a concise version of a fairly familiar indictment, Hubbell's treatment of the general's shortcomings suggests just how difficult a task McClellan's few advocates have before them. William Miller's essay strikes at the heart of one of the defenses raised by Little Mac's fans (one often begrudgingly conceded by his critics): that he was a great organizer and planner. Miller persuasively argues that McClellan fumbled repeatedly when it came to utilizing the bridges and roads necessary to facilitate the army's movement across the Chickahominy River; he failed to exploit the opportunities for movement offered by the engineers' labors, even as he complained incessantly about them. Readers will come away from this pair of essays convinced that McClellan was an even bigger loser than they may have suspected.

Two essays tackle Confederate subordinates. Robert K. Krick argues that an exhausted Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson fell far short of the standard of generalship he had established in the Shenandoah Valley. Peter S. Carmichael wrestles with the more problematic John Bankhead Magruder, who commenced the campaign by skillfully delaying McClellan's advance at Yorktown only to find himself in Lee's dog house at the end of the Seven Days after several miscues. Absent from the volume is an analysis of Lee's performance in his debut with the Army of Northern Virginia, although in many ways the army would not truly be his until after the campaign, when he shifted

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generals around and bade farewell to others, including Magruder.

Reflecting recent efforts to expand the coverage of military affairs beyond the battlefield are two essays on different aspects of the same question: the impact of the campaign on the questions of race and slavery. James Marten looks at how southern noncombatants, both white and black, responded to the arrival of Union soldiers. One could already detect signs of war weariness among white Virginians less than a year after the tremendous victory at Manassas, and dissatisfaction with the Confederacy's management of military affairs would persist even after the Yankee threat subsided. African Americans welcomed the invaders as liberators, and in turn some of the liberators looked somewhat more kindly at the liberated as experience eroded preexisting racial stereotypes. Back in Washington and throughout the North, Republicans seized on McClellan's failure to justify an escalation of the war to include striking directly at slavery. Echoing Mark Grimsley's *The Hard Hand of War: Union Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865* (1995), William A. Blair points to the results of the Seven Days as a critical catalyst of change—although one must add that in the west several Union commanders underwent similar transformations, advocating a harsher war without the experience of defeat to prod them along. What seems more evident is that the acceptability of the hard war position set forth by radical Republicans was due to the fact that battlefield results seemed to confirm their prescription for victory.

The final two studies offer detailed descriptions of the performance of military units in the major opening and closing engagements. R. E. L. Krick recounts how William H. C. Whiting's division carried the day at Gaines's Mill. Spearheaded by John Bell Hood's Texas brigade, the division broke through the Union line just north of the Watt House, inaugurating a pattern of successful Confederate assaults that would persist with but few setbacks all the way to July 3, 1863. One of those setbacks occurred in the campaign's final clash at Malvern Hill, where Union artillery pulverized Rebel infantry; in contrast, Confederate guns proved largely ineffective in supporting the infantry assault. Keith Bohannon explains why in the sort of study that will be appreciated by students of tactics. In both cases, these are interesting, focused studies; unfortunately, those scholars who disdain such approaches probably will give these fine efforts short shrift.

Like the majority of its predecessors, this volume offers readers a sampling of the multiple ways one can approach the study of the Civil War. Several essays do a particularly good job of demonstrating the interaction between politics and military affairs at both the highest and lowest levels of society. It would be interesting indeed if Gallagher or someone else would subject the campaigns in the west to the same sort of treatment, allowing who are readers just a tad tired of Robert E. Lee or the succession of his stumbling Union counterparts to learn something about how the command team of Ulysses S. Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman, and George Henry Thomas emerged or to see that not all Confederate commanders were quite so skilled as were the key leaders in the Army of Northern Virginia.

BROOKS D. SIMPSON
Arizona State University

GARY W. GALLAGHER and ALAN T. NOLAN, editors. *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. v, 231. $29.95.

This collection of well-focused essays by nine historians addresses continuing historiographical and popular interest in the compelling symbols of the South's idealization of the Confederate experience. The essays explore the functions of the Lost Cause mythology, looking at leading historical figures who played parts in the legend, continuities between prewar and postwar attitudes, the political and ideological divisions among white southerners who otherwise affirmed the main arguments of the Lost Cause, and the resurgence of neo-Confederate ideas in the contemporary South.

The Lost Cause myth emerged full blown after the Civil War, with its advocates portraying the Confederacy as doomed from the beginning because of the industrial and demographic resources of the North. Southerners, according to the legend, fought gallantly for the idea of states' rights, leaving a notable record of courage and skill in battle and unrelenting sacrifice on the home front. Coeditor Alan T. Nolan is aggressive in attacking the main points of the Lost Cause ideology, arguing that it was an intentional effort to rationalize secession and war while ignoring real historical facts, including the weaknesses of antebellum slaveholding society, the centrality of slavery to the Confederacy, and the internal divisions among whites during the war. Nolan's essay is compelling, and he achieves his goal of sweeping away the factual underpinnings of the neo-Confederate view of Civil War history. He is a bit too adamant, though, about the "factuality" of history in positing the falseness of "myth" and the reality of "history." Lloyd Hunter's essay on the religious meanings of the Lost Cause is more modulated than Nolan's in seeing that myth itself has a history that needs to be understood. Hunter's contribution as well is to discuss the Lost Cause in terms of the sacralization of southern culture.

Several essays in the volume examine key historical actors who figured in the story of the Lost Cause. Confederate General Jubal Early was crucial in taking the ideology of the cause into a public forum. Coeditor Gary W. Gallagher's essay concludes that Early would have been surprised at how successful his efforts were in launching the idealization of the Lost Cause, which in part came to dominate the national culture's view of the Civil War. He notes that the Lost Cause succeeded because it was partly grounded in historical fact. Robert E. Lee was a gifted soldier, and the Army of

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Northern Virginia fought well under severe limitations. Still, Early and other proponents of the Lost Cause distorted the historical facts in denying Lee's faults, ignoring southern advantages in fighting the war, denying the achievements of northern generals, and downplaying the significance of the western theater of battle where Virginians did not fight. Gallagher's essay is also significant in examining the perpetuation of the Lost Cause through contemporary fiction and popular art.

Other essays examine such victims of the Lost Cause as James Longstreet and Ulysses S. Grant. Longstreet criticized Lee's generalship, urged postwar reconciliation of North and South, and supported the Republican Party—all of which made him the whipping boy for proponents of the Lost Cause. Jeffrey D. Wert's essay examines Longstreet's relationship with his comrades, the accusations about Longstreet's role at Gettysburg, his ineffectual attempts to defend himself from criticisms, and the long debate about Longstreet's place in military history. Grant equally has been the victim of the Lost Cause interpretation. Detractors built their case against him, ignoring his successes in the West and focusing on his campaigns in Virginia, where sheer northern numbers came to explain his victories. Brooks D. Simpson suggests that Grant's image as a butcher still survives in American popular attitudes and among some Civil War historians.

Charles J. Holdon's essay on Wade Hampton's role in South Carolina is one of the most valuable in this collection. He shows that Hampton's role as a Confederate military hero and as a leader of Redemption ending Reconstruction in his state did not sustain broad political support for him at the end of the nineteenth century. White voters came to perceive him as a symbol of aristocratic interests, and Ben Tillman and others exploited such social class resentments to end the political dominance of one of the Lost Cause's most notable military-cultural symbols. In the last decade of his life, Hampton regained popularity, focused solely on his embodiment of the wartime effort. Holdon properly concludes that Hampton's story indicates that politics and economics could outweigh Confederate credentials for postwar voters, despite white admiration for the Lost Cause.

LaSalle Corbell Pickett is one of the most interesting makers of the Lost Cause, and Lesley J. Gordon's study of her is a welcome contribution to the historiography of the movement, which has focused more on men than women. Pickett was the widow of General George E. Pickett and herself the prolific author of history, memoir, and fiction that created a romantic view of the southern past and an idealized view of her marriage. She was also a popular presence at Lost Cause ritual activities, such as Confederate Memorial Day and monument dedications. Gordon illustrates the thesis of the collection well, showing that Picket glossed over unpleasantries in recounting historical events and ignored the poverty, illness, and long separations that characterized her marriage.

Other essays in this collection look at how the Lost Cause was transmitted in public forums and at the adaptation of the Lost Cause to the New South. Keith Bohannon provides a case study of Confederate veterans reunions from 1885 to 1895, arguing that they were a key forum for communities to construct a collective memory of the past and pass it on to young people. Peter A. Carmichael's article portrays the postwar attitudes of the sons of Virginia slaveholders who had been students in the 1850s. They emerged after the war as advocates of New South progress and used the idea of wartime devotion and sacrifice as an inspiration for building a new society around economic development and social progress.

Gallagher uses the historiography of public memory to suggest the broader meaning of these studies of the Lost Cause. It is a timely suggestion. Most of the contributors to this volume do not intentionally develop their studies around issues of public memory, but their work is nonetheless an important contribution to understanding how the South's mythmaking about the Civil War dominated the region's public culture, alongside Jim Crow segregation.

CHARLES REAGAN WILSON
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NANCY COHEN. *The Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865–1914*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 318. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

"Who killed American democracy?" remains a favorite question among historians. Nancy Cohen offers a new set of villains: late nineteenth-century liberal intellectuals who preceded the often vilified Progressives in advocating administrative rule by elites as an alternative to authentic popular government. Cohen contends that figures such as E. L. Godkin, George Curtis, Charles Francis Adams, and Charles Eliot Norton should be seen not as champions of laissez-faire but as early prophets of antidemocratic regulation—or "administration"—by the rich for the rich. Fearful of threats to property represented by post-Civil War egalitarians such as Wendell Phillips, by labor activists, and by agrarian radicals, Cohen's liberal publicists "laid the critical practical and ideological groundwork for the creation of a modern liberal democratic state with powers to regulate and intervene in social life—through means almost wholly removed from democratic participation and accountability" (p. 113). A rising generation of "ethical economists," including Richard T. Ely, Henry Carter Adams, and John Bates Clark, initially allied with insurgent challengers to this antidemocratic liberalism. Eventually, however, Cohen argues, the hegemonic power of capital forced these economists into embarrassing personal recantations and shunted their profession into channels useful to the ruling class that had seized control of American universities. Progressive reformers then achieved what their predecessors had envisioned: "the administrative

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politics instituted to regulate and preserve corporate capitalism eliminated the forms of democratic participation and accountability that, for all their flaws and exclusions, had characterized American politics since the Jacksonian era" (p. 255).

Cohen's spirited critique of Godkin's and Clark's generations depends on two judgments that have become increasingly problematic in recent years. First, romanticizing nineteenth-century American public life as a democratic Eden is no longer convincing after books by Philip J. Ethington on San Francisco, James Connolly on Boston, Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin on the limits of political participation, and Alexander Keyssar on voting have exposed the harsher and more complicated realities behind the myth of an expansive "producerist" democracy. Second, the work of Daniel Walker Howe, David Hall, and Geoffrey Blodgett in *Victorian America* (1976), Daniel T. Rodgers's *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920* (1978), dissertations by Kevin Pierce Thornton at Michigan and Leslie Butler at Yale, and James Turner's biography of Charles Eliot Norton (none of which Cohen cites) have shown why characterizing post-Civil War liberal intellectuals as elitists mistakes their criticism of corruption and industrialization for criticism of democracy. Cohen's insistence on these thinkers' misgivings about laissez-faire is a valuable corrective to some earlier accounts. But these liberals, echoing the Whigs (and some of the founders) before them, feared that big money would corrode the culture of liberal democracy, not vice versa. They emphasized the importance of education, as did Alexis de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill, because they sought to raise the level of democratic debate and improve the quality of public participation rather than shut it off. They emphasized administrative expertise because they believed partisan politics was preventing the U.S. from fulfilling its republican promise. Not all nineteenth-century critics of American democracy defended hierarchy, as the strident challenges by abolitionists, women's rights advocates, and Marxian socialists make clear.

My disagreements with Cohen stem in part from a different assessment of the writers she examines and in part from a difference in perspective. Although she is unusually generous in citing the work of some of the historians whose work she challenges (including Thomas Haskell, Mary Furner, Wilfred McClay, Rodgers, and me), she does not always engage arguments or evidence but simply notes that there exist "alternative" interpretations. In her introduction Cohen explains her approach: "The history of political ideology, which is more about power and culture than about the quality of ideas, demands a different approach" from that of most intellectual historians. "It should begin with social history, broadly construed, and pay particular attention to the dialectical relationship between power, politics, and culture" (p. 17). From that plausible contention Cohen draws the following conclusion: "Liberal reform intellectuals either were born into money, married it, or made it as entrepreneurs of the pen . . . Northern intellectuals were quite dependent on the ownership of capitalist property in ways that made them personally sensitive to threats to property rights" (p. 16). Readers who share Cohen's sense of these journalists and the Progressives who followed them as flacks for the ruling class may find her analysis convincing. Skeptics who find such claims reductionist may be drawn back instead to earlier thinkers such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Florence Kelley, W. E. B. Du Bois, John Dewey, Max Weber, Robert Michels, or Vilfredo Pareto, all of whom agonized over the relations among technical expertise, education, and popular participation in democracy and agreed that these are among the most difficult issues of our era. Because government will not wither away even in the most democratic of cultures, treating every form of "administration" as equally antidemocratic simplifies a multidimensional issue and presents us with a night in which all cows are black.

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Warren Zimmermann. *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2002. Pp. xii, 562. $30.00.

Writing en route to Cuba during the Spanish-American War, Theodore Roosevelt envisioned the coming campaign as "the first great triumph in what will be a world movement." That movement—the emergence of the United States as a world power—is the subject of Warren Zimmermann's fine book. He approaches it in two ways. The first half of the book, after a workmanlike overview of the United States in 1898, consist of essays on five men who exemplified the expansionist movement and played a part in its development. They include the poet, journalist, and diplomat John Hay; Alfred T. Mahan, theorist of sea power; Elihu Root, corporation lawyer, government administrator, and presidential adviser; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, expansionist spokesman and mentor of Theodore Roosevelt, and finally, TR himself. Far beyond potted biography, each of these chapters examines the shaping of the characters and viewpoints of its subject in penetrating and insightful ways. Roosevelt, Zimmermann theorizes, was so eager to fight in a war with almost anyone because all his life he regretted his revered father's failure to fight in the Civil War and wished to redeem the family honor. While the author believes that each of these men was remarkable in his own way, he portrays them warts and all.

The second part of the work is a narrative of events from the Spanish-American War through the TR's presidency. Zimmermann unerringly picks out key points to make in each episode, offering sure-handed judgments and shrewd assessments. In doing so he ventures onto controversial ground. His William McKinley was "one of the nicest men ever to sit . . . in the

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White House" (p. 252) but lacked backbone and was manipulated by Roosevelt and Lodge. This is a view contested by scholars ranging from the New Left to Lewis L. Gould, H. Wayne Morgan, Paul Holbo, and others, who see the beleagured McKinley variously as a devious schemer, a masterful politician, or an able leader in troubled times. Similarly many scholars have questioned how much a young and junior Roosevelt could have influenced older and more powerful men who regarded him as pushing, over-active, and extremist in his views. Zimmermann's answer is that McKinley's inadequate national security structure was headed by a senile secretary of state, an inept secretary of war, and a well-meaning navy secretary who was unfocused and lacked energy. Only Roosevelt and Lodge brought the president strong, consistent advice, while there were no effective voices to oppose the jingoes. It is an interesting argument, although I remain skeptical. "In the end," the author writes, McKinley "went to war for the same reason as his Spanish opponent: to preserve the influence and leadership of the government in power" (p. 266). This matches the conclusion reached earlier by John Offner (*An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895–1898* [1992]), but it seems to minimize the influence of Lodge and Roosevelt.

As to the new colonies, Zimmermann is duly critical of American atrocities in the war to conquer the Philippines and of Root's cover-up at the War Department, of Roosevelt's shabby ethics in separating Panama from Colombia, and of other such questionable episodes, but he doubts whether any of the peoples involved would have been better off in the long run had the United States never interfered. Of Hay's Open Door policy for China, he notes shrewdly that open doors are for those not already inside. The policy was more perception than substance, he says, but notes that perceptions do sometimes count.

The book ends with an overview of America's role in the world during the twentieth century. His five exemplars and their fellows, Zimmermann states, created an authentic American imperialism "that was confident in its object ives but modest in its application" (p. 493). Roosevelt and Wilson, the foremost imperialists of modern America, were both progressives in domestic policy and never lost sight of democratic values even as they violated them. The contradiction continues: from the expansionist beginnings, American foreign policy has sought the two often conflicting goals of human rights and stability abroad.

A career foreign service officer and ambassador, Zimmermann brings hands-on experience and a broad perspective to his subject, producing a well-written volume of value to both the beginning student and the seasoned scholar. This book is excellent and particularly relevant at a time when the United States again seeks to expand its role in the world.

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JEFFREY SKLANSKY. *The Soul's Economy: Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought, 1820–1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 313. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

According to Jeffrey Sklansky, early Americans possessed a firm understanding of how property determined political, social, and economic life. As the nineteenth century wore on, and as the country lost its yeoman agrarian base, numerous political economists and social theorists rewrote the basics of economic thought to accommodate industrial capitalism. By the Progressive era, the importance of property and class in American political economy had been dropped in favor of an organic vision of people seeking their selves, their identities, their souls—hence the title of the work—in a society that had been integrated by an all-embracing market.

To demonstrate his thesis, Sklansky investigates a number of well-known nineteenth and early twentieth-century social theorists. He commences with a discussion of economic concepts at the start of national life that mirrored somewhat faithfully classical economics and its depictions of class conflict and the individual creation of value. Early Americans believed they could escape the class collisions of Europe by having citizens possess landed property and permitting simple commercial exchange. But by the antebellum decades, industrialization and commercialization brought forth the wage earner, class conflict, and poverty. Americans in their economic treatises sought to escape these realities. Henry C. Carey rewrote the labor theory of value and posited a harmony of interests through association; Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Bushnell, and Margaret Fuller saw the new realities but argued that true wealth was internal awareness and self-searching, a transcendental quest beyond material possession. Although it would seem that the proslavery writers George Fitzhugh and Henry Hughes were an odd match with northern transcendentalists and free labor advocates, they also rejected classical economics and promoted the idea of an organic society in which individualism was suppressed. In the postbellum years, Henry George tried to retain the elements of a competitive, wage-labor society by insisting all economic ills arose from land monopoly; he was assisted by William Graham Sumner, who stressed the interdependence of people and who justified inequality. Following them were the writers in the late Gilded Age and the early Progressive era: William James, John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall, Simon N. Patten, Thorstein Veblen, Lester F. Ward, and Edward A. Ross. Here Sklansky leaves political economy to investigate the rise of sociology and psychology. His last chapter draws in the evolution of legal doctrines by contrasting Thomas M. Cooley with his son, Charles H. Cooley. The common element in all these later writers was a belief that independence was a fantasy, that the market had thoroughly integrated American society and had created a vast interdependence, that individuals had to

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search their own psyche for fulfillment, and that inequality was acceptable. They used the new organic vision of society to search for social harmony, not to expose class conflicts; they dropped entirely the revolutionary era's emphasis on the role of a wide distribution of property in political and economic affairs. Sklansky concludes that these writers created the justification for industrial capitalism.

This book has a number of strong features. Sklansky has found a good problem to work on: the shifting role of property in social thought between 1820 and 1920. The rather brief commentary above does not do justice to the intricacies of his analyses of the writings of these authors, and he makes interesting observations on the way these individuals handled specific topics in political economy such as value and the wages fund. His endnotes are rich with secondary citations, and he has mastered a truly diverse literature covering economics, sociology, psychology, and, in general, intellectual history.

Yet there are problems. First, it is not clear that these individuals are the right persons to choose in order to establish the basic thesis of the loss of the classical economists' perspective. Once Sklansky leaves political economy for sociology and psychology, he really allows his figures legitimately to go into realms economics does not. Moreover, for this kind of interpretation a far broader search of political and economic writing is required. Second, Sklansky's decision to call his late Gilded Age and Progressive era authors the justifiers of corporate industrial capitalism is, well, odd, and likely to be disputed. (The details of his exposition on James, Dewey, Patten, Veblen, Ward, and Ross I leave to others, for I have not the expertise to critique his findings, although his evidence is compelling.) The older work on this subject is Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865–1901* (1956). Fine exalts these authors for breaking away from laissez-faire and for laying the foundation for the modern welfare state; Sklansky decries them for leaving the classical analysis of class conflict and the role of property in American life. That leap in perspective is a little breathtaking and disconcerting. These individuals were more opponents of American industrial evolution than they were its cheerleaders.

Readers of this book should be aware of the author's perspective: wage labor is at all times and in all places an unmitigated evil; the labor theory of value is transcendentally true; class conflict is the inevitable result of any capitalist system. Those who agree with these propositions will generally have little trouble with the book; those who disagree will. And while a number of topics deserve comment (such as the incorrect assertion on p. 120 that in classical economics rent and wages were negatively related, when actually they were positively related), one observation in particular is most pressing. Seldom does one come upon a book so relentlessly individualistic in its outlook, an outlook that stems from the author's insistence that Truth tells us that all value is individually created. And this comes from an author who is unsparingly hostile to all things capitalistic. Sklansky's resurrection of individualism for anticapitalist causes comes as an eye-popping shock, and while for others it may have its attractions, from me it draws forth a deep skepticism.

JAMES L. HUSTON
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JOSHUA BROWN. *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 361. $49.95.

Joshua Brown has made a significant contribution to the historiography of journalism through this book. He brings his experience as a documentary filmmaker as well as his academic training to the analysis of news images to "decipher the conventional wisdom and unconventional debates embedded in their seemingly dull, linear codes" (p. 1). Brown pushes beyond what he terms "the canon of the visual" to bring an interdisciplinary approach to bear on his analysis of the wood-engraved pictures illustrating Gilded Age weeklies such as Frank Leslie's. He asserts that the pictures embodied not a superficial and ephemeral representation of a simplistic reality but instead a multilayered negotiation among the producers and the consumers of the weeklies. Perspectives from social historians of readers would have further enriched Brown's study, but it remains a sophisticated, rich source that opens new territory for historians of illustrated journalism and of the Gilded Age.

Brown traces how Americans appetite for pictures grew in the early years of the United States, culminating in the 1850s as a kind of "mania" among ordinary people. By 1860 Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* was established as the premier source of illustrated news in the nation. Leslie advanced the field of reporting by rapidly transforming the news into an illustrated narrative and by getting that narrative out to the American public quickly (pp. 32–33). Leslie's and other weeklies like it employed young artists or artist-reporters to reconstruct verbal testimonials and descriptions and to transform them into visual images. Brown describes the technical process of producing the engravings in a clear and engaging fashion, placing it in the larger social and artistic context of the time. He demonstrates that the illustrated weeklies were not static, one-note commercial products but were instead an "arena for contending representations of Gilded Age life, their wood-engraved pictures constituted by a complicated social negotiation among artists, editors, engravers, and readers . . . as changeable and volatile as the times the pictures depicted" (p. 1).

Brown's chapters on the construction and reconstruction of representation support his thesis and break new ground in social history. A heterogeneous "world of strangers" in New York City broadened the images represented in Leslie's weekly to include the

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urban poor. As the population grew and diversity increased, Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* could no longer count on the "shared perceptions of its reading public" (p. 149) and was forced, as Brown puts it, to "experiment in capturing social reality without pictorial typing" (p. 169). Brown is at his strongest when analyzing the efficacy of "physiognomic social typing," or the highly stereotyped characterization of groups like African Americans, Irish Americans, the poor, and the working class. Traditional representations of gender and race were buffeted by social and political change; hence images of women and African Americans changed in significant ways during the Gilded Age, as did the representation of soldiers and war during the Civil War. Images of a whole range of women appeared in the weekly during these years, including poor women, prostitutes, middle-class married women, and respectable working women. For African Americans, racist representation was the norm in the pictorial press well into the twentieth century, but after the Civil War a wider variety of images began to proliferate. As the Gilded Age progressed, readers shared less and less the commonality of perception that guaranteed the acceptance of racist and sexist images.

Just what readers did share is somewhat fuzzy in Brown's analysis, however, and his discussion would have benefited from more complete reference to social histories of reading and consumption. In particular, Carl Kaestle's "Studying the History of Literacy" and "The History of Readers" (in Carl Kaestle *et al.*, eds., *Literacy in the U.S.: Readers and Reading Since 1880* [1991]) would have provided useful perspectives on why people read in the nineteenth century, as well as T. Jackson Lears's essay, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930" (in Richard Wightman Fox and T. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* [1983]). Brown tantalizes with information on the multiple copies of each weekly, or the "tatters of newsprint" shared by Civil War soldiers, for example, but other insights about the nature of Leslie's newspaper readership as a group are relatively few and far between.

Despite this gap, Brown's book is an intelligent, engaging and significant contribution to the history of print journalism and to the social history of the Gilded Age. Handsomely illustrated and demonstrating significant changes in pictorial journalism over time, it captures a time when illustrated weeklies were shaped and reshaped by both producers and readers.

HELEN DAMON-MOORE
Cornell College

JOHN IBSON. *Picturing Men: A Century of Male Relationships in Everyday American Photography*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2002. Pp. xix, 237. $32.95.

American men of an earlier era were frequently photographed in pairs and small groups, John Ibson observes, and they assumed poses and guises that would surprise viewers today. Nineteenth-century studio photographs show men holding hands, sitting on one another's lap, inclining heads together, even kissing. Between the late nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War I, they also assumed a variety of theatrical stances ranging from mock combat with raised fists or pistols to mock weddings with the bride in drag. In team portraits prior to the 1920s, young men routinely draped arms across comrades' shoulders and often sprawled on top of one another. In snapshots of the same period, men hugged affectionately and unself-consciously. Clearly, Ibson argues, the conventions by which American men have presented themselves before the camera have changed enormously over time.

What did such photographic rituals mean, and what is signified by their gradual decline in the 1920s and 1930s, brief renaissance among servicemen in World War II, and then virtual disappearance in the late 1940s and 1950s? Ibson sees in such materials important if neglected historical evidence of a fundamental cultural shift. Viewed in context, Ibson maintains, vernacular photographs chart a buried history of male intimacy in which bonds of affection, camaraderie, and commitment were intensely felt and openly displayed. Intimacy, he insists, should not be conflated with sexuality. Against the current presumption to code such displays of male affection as gay, Ibson seeks to recover a lost world in which feelings and desires were structured differently, male affection and sexuality were less insistently classified, and hence both were allowed to be more fluid and multidimensional. Indeed, he argues, as sexual segregation in much of American life decreased, anxiety rose about homosexuality; the resulting equation of gestures of male affection with sexual deviancy—so pervasive by the 1950s—played a key role in the expulsion of male intimacy as a central feature of American culture.

In assembling his photographic evidence, Ibson consulted mainstream library and museum archives; he also combed less scholarly repositories, including antique shops, flea markets, gun shows, and eBay, from which he has amassed a personal collection of nearly five thousand images that provide the overwhelming source for the roughly 150 illustrations in his book. This selection, he contends, is representative, comprehending regional variations, rural and urban settings, working and middle classes, civilian and military life, and work and leisure pursuits, although it also reflects the relative paucity of men of color in his sources.

Ibson aims to read these photographs as much as possible in terms of their original intentions, and he draws on memoirs, novels, studies of photography, and more general social and cultural histories to place them in context. His study both confirms and extends recent analyses in the history of masculinity, notably E. Anthony Rotundo's examination of male friendships in

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Manhood in America: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era (1993). More particularly, Ibson's book contributes to scholarship in the history of the emotions, helping readers to appreciate the complex webs of affective relationships that bound men to one another in the past. In disclosing a hidden record of male intimacy, Ibson's book also casts the history of male-female intimacy in a new perspective. The lightheartedness of male companions in nineteenth-century studio photographs and early twentieth-century snapshots, he notes, frequently seemed to vanish when men posed with women. Ibson concludes, "Men's eventual comfort with women in and out of photographs and the heterosexual marriage of companions did not necessarily have to be purchased by the loss of intimacy between males, but that apparently was the bargain struck in twentieth-century America" (p. 128).

At times, Ibson seems unwittingly to participate in casting gender companionship as a zero-sum game, as when he titles his chapter on American servicemen living substantially apart from women in World War II "Men Set Free." Nonetheless, his book raises a host of fascinating issues about the changing character of intimacy among men—and also between men and women—from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. One wonders, for example, whether photographs of men together in other countries chart a similar history. Ibson's book also offers another invitation to historians to think visually as well as verbally, to frame hypotheses from visual sources rather than looking to them merely to illustrate a narrative based entirely on written records.

JOHN F. KASSON
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JEAN L. SILVER-ISENSTADT. *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 342. $24.95.

Mary Gove Nichols (1810–1884), a woman currently on the fringes of history, was in actuality one of the foremothers of the women's health movement. Her somewhat controversial life, brought to historians by Jean L. Silver-Isenstadt, was both fascinating and somewhat bohemian. Born and raised in New England, Nichols early became an independent thinker. She sought out her own religion (Quakerism), which, in the first of many unexpected turns for the reader led her into an abusive marriage with Hiram Gove, a situation she tolerated for ten years before walking away.

During her years with Gove, Nichols began to speak publicly and write about women's health issues. Part educator, part reformer, she believed that women should know about their bodies and have control over what happened to them. Much of her ideology—that women not be sexually abused and that marriage not be a prison—evolved from her abusive relationship with Gove, a relationship that did not end with Mary's leaving. Gove, besides harassing his estranged wife and kidnaping their daughter, insisted that she support him economically. Even after she rescued her daughter and ran away to New York City, where she lived in a communal home of artists and free thinkers, Gove tracked her down and tormented her. After all, as a husband in the first half of the nineteenth century, he had legal rights to all she owned, including the copyrights on her writing. Nichols greatly resented what she termed "his right in my brain" (p. 62).

In 1842, Nichols's *Lectures to Ladies on Anatomy and Physiology* was published. It was a work that both taught women about their bodies and also addressed dress reform, especially vis-à-vis constricting and harmful corsets. In the early 1840s, Nichols also embraced hydrotherapy (the water cure) as the best method for treating illnesses. She supported her daughter (and Gove) by taking in private patients, writing health tracts and pieces of fiction, and teaching classes. Late in the decade, she met Thomas Low Nichols, a health reformer as well as an early supporter of woman's rights. Mary Nichols trained Thomas in the water cure and, in 1851, the two opened the American Hydropathic Institute, the first such medical school in the country. Together, they trained male and female practitioners, wrote books and articles, treated patients, and spoke out for women's equality and free love and against oppressive marriage practices. While respected for their medical knowledge and practices, however, they were also frequently criticized for living together without being married—an impossibility as long as Gove refused Nichols a divorce. Thomas and Mary eventually wed in 1848, thanks to Gove's desire to be free to remarry.

Among their many joint projects is *Marriage* (1854), their strongest statement about women's right to ownership of their own bodies. At about the same time, they also began to connect their ideas with spiritualism. Mary, in particular, claimed to experience communication with the spirit world. After living in the utopian community, Modern Times, on Long Island, New York, the couple moved to Cincinnati, where they failed in their attempt to open another hydropathy institute and treatment center. It was there, in 1857, that they both inexplicably claimed that the spirit world had instructed them to convert to Catholicism. They soon moved to England, where they quietly passed the rest of their lives.

Silver-Isenstadt has written an engaging biography of both Mary and Thomas Nichols. (Indeed, some of the chapters concentrate more on him than on her.) As a historian of science and a physician, she offers a depth of understanding to the Nichols' work that a non-science-oriented reader can greatly appreciate. However, there is fodder in the Nichols' lives for some psychologizing, and perhaps more hypothesizing, especially on the issue of the couple's complete turnaround from being free love woman's rightists to conservative Catholics and their subsequent recantation of all of their ideas and practices that were

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contrary to church doctrines. Silver-Isenstadt explains this dramatic conversion as reflective of many of Mary Nichols's beliefs. Her arguments are not totally convincing. Were there other possible motivations based on concrete outside forces? She also suggests that Nichols set the stage for such early woman's rights leaders as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. There is scant evidence for this claim. It would be interesting, however, to try to discover if such late nineteenth and early twentieth-century health reformers as Emma Goldman and Margaret Sanger had ever heard of Mary Gove Nichols. They seem to this reviewer to be the logical inheritors of Nichols's legacy.

HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO
City College of New York

MELANIE SUSAN GUSTAFSON. *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924.* (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 288. $34.95.

What did women want from the Republican Party during its first sixty years? Melanie Susan Gustafson examines both the women who wanted the party's support for reforms and those who sought a greater place for women within the party. These individuals and groups frequently overlapped, and Gustafson is particularly interested in the complicated relationships among women reformers (especially suffragists), partisan women, and the Republican Party. Women's partisanship influenced their reform activism; at the same time, women's activism affected their roles in the Republican Party. As Gustafson argues, only by examining these relationships holistically can we gain a full understanding of U.S. political history.

Gustafson begins by discussing how a close yet intrinsically unequal relationship developed between the women's rights movement and the Republican Party. She follows the suffragists in their largely unsuccessful efforts to persuade the party to support women's enfranchisement, women's divided response to the party's inaction, and their continued allegiance (for the most part) to the party nonetheless. Gustafson explains the factors in the 1880s that enabled temperance worker Judith Ellen Foster to establish the Woman's National Republican Association, a move that greatly increased Foster's personal power but maintained Republican women within an auxiliary role. Gustafson documents how, in 1912, the hastily organized Progressive Party, in search of workers and resources, gave women both a suffrage plank and greater internal opportunities than granted by the Republicans. But as the Progressive Party declined, so did women's opportunities. She ends her book with the triumphant Republican Party of the 1920s that placed women in a separate organization, the Women's Division, where they stayed until 1952.

Gustafson analyzes women's entrance into partisan politics before they won the national vote in 1920, the close yet contentious ties between women and the Republican Party, and the relationships between suffragists and the Republican Party; however, she does not extend significantly the work of such scholars as Jo Freeman and Rebecca Edwards regarding these themes. Gustafson makes her own contribution by studying how women, searching for greater political power, developed partisanship and nonpartisanship as tools for use with, against, or in spite of the Republican Party. As Gustafson observes, the party's policy of accepting women's service while eschewing women's equality must be reckoned as a major catalyst in women's struggles for their political rights.

While Gustafson tells little that is new regarding women and the nineteenth-century Republican Party, she makes important contributions regarding women's political maneuvering during the Progressive era. She notes that Republican men as well as women frequently joined the Progressive Party because of their beliefs in party independence and reform, but that white women became the symbol of the party's freedom from partisan corruption. Therefore, when Republican women flocked to the Progressive Party in 1912, they represented themselves as the new women partisans who stood for principle and independent thinking. Their claims to be the "nonpartisan partisans" aided their position in the party during the 1912 election, when male Progressives believed they could win as the party that stood for nonpartisanship. After Progressives lost the election, the male progressives turned quickly toward partisanship and away from women.

Given the strength of Gustafson's analysis regarding the Progressive era, it is regrettable that her work is underdeveloped in other crucial areas. Although she states she will "focus on the interactions of women and men in Republican party politics" in order to give us a comprehensive view of politics, she does not explore these relationships systematically (p. 5). We hear Susan B. Anthony fuming at the party for decades, and we see Republican men take some official actions vaguely in the direction of suffrage, but we do not hear the debate among male party leaders about these actions. We learn that some women, who held key political positions, had close relationships with prominent men, such as Foster with James Clarkson and Frances Kellor with Theodore Roosevelt. But we do not see this kind of sponsorship placed in a larger political context.

Gustafson provides some important information about African-American women and the Republican Party, but her coverage has gaps in key areas and her analysis here too is underdeveloped. Although we learn about relations between black and white Republican women, we do not learn about relations between black women and Republican men, black or white. We do not learn why the party developed certain policies regarding black women or why these policies changed over time. All too often, crucial details are given, from the activism of black women in the early southern

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Republican Party to the 1924 creation of the National League of Republican Colored Women, without explanation of their historical importance.

Gustafson nonetheless forces us to think both broadly and concretely about how women develop political identities and strategies. Researchers will turn to her book for years to come.

GAYLE GULLETT
Arizona State University

ROBERT G. BARROWS. *Albion Fellows Bacon: Indiana's Municipal Housekeeper.* (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 229. $24.95.

Robert G. Barrows's biography of Albion Fellows Bacon is a welcome addition to Indiana University Press's "Midwestern History and Culture" series. The life of Bacon, named for her deceased father, gives us an intimate view of what it was like to be an upper-middle-class woman reformer during the Progressive era. Bacon is representative of many women of her class who were not women's rights activists but yet were reformers. For Bacon, the issue of woman's rights was not singularly important. It took third place, following family and tenement and child welfare.

Barrows discerningly uses Bacon's life story to tell the story of Progressive-era activism, particularly in the areas of housing and child welfare. He does a great job of linking the literature on Progressivism to the local story of Bacon's life and activism and gives readers a firm understanding of the shape of that body of literature and changing historical perspectives over time. Barrows chronicles the evolution of what he calls "an inadvertent feminist," clearly showing Bacon's use of her qualities and the responsibilities of her traditional roles as wife and mother to describe and justify her move into the public sphere to do "municipal housekeeping."

In chapter one (filled with descriptions of life, time, and place in a small southern Indiana town), Barrows sketches the family background and the events of Bacon's childhood and youth that helped shape the woman she would become: her early Methodist upbringing, her love of nature, her education-minded mother, her work as a stenographer, the "Grand Tour" of Europe she made with her sister Annie, her marriage to Hilary Bacon, and her early artistic endeavors. This section is delightfully peppered with Bacon's own poetry and gives the reader an intimate sense of her as a young woman at the end of the nineteenth century. (Barrows tells us more in chapter seven about the role of writing and art in Bacon's life.)

Chapters two and three chronicle Bacon's evolution as a social activist reformer, a development that saved her from a long bout with "nervous prostration" (an affliction commonly experienced at that time among urban, upper-middle-class American women). Her activism began with her family's move to Evansville, Indiana, and Bacon's work as a "friendly visitor" to the poor, which quickly grew to embrace work in the Visiting Nurses Circle, Flower Mission, Working Girls Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association.

The earlier sections of the book contain many photographs of Bacon and her family as well as photos of tenement dwellers in Evansville. These photos of Bacon and her children, when contrasted with photos of a poor woman and her children, clearly show the privilege and class enjoyed by a woman of Bacon's status. They also effectively contrast her life with that of women and children in congested cities (something Bacon herself was fond of doing in her talks). In chapters four and five, Barrows recounts Indiana's legislative battle for the passage of housing and child welfare acts. This tale includes not only Bacon's thoughts, strategies, and efforts but also the political maneuverings and side issues that sometimes hindered and sometimes helped passage of two housing reform acts (1910–1915) and laws for school attendance, child labor, and industrial safety standards (1920s). It was in the battle for housing reform that Bacon discovered the vast resources of clubwomen in the Indiana Federation of Clubs—resources that enabled her successfully to muster forces in cities and towns throughout the state.

I would have liked to know more about Bacon's relationship with her husband. Once, when accused of being a professional lobbyist, Bacon responded that her husband financed her efforts. Bacon wrote prolifically about other aspects of her life but was discreet when it came to talking about her husband and marriage. The parameters of that relationship would have added another interesting dimension to an already well-told story. Nevertheless, the book gives the reader a very personable account of Bacon's life. It is clear the author admires and cares about his subject, and he is able to transmit that to the reader. This biography will lend itself well to use in women's studies and U.S. history courses.

RAE FERGUSON
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SARAH A. LEAVITT. *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 250. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

As a "genealogy of domestic advice" based primarily on manuals and magazines from *Godey's* to *Good Housekeeping*, this work aims to trace how the history of domestic advisors "connected with the important cultural dialogues of their day" (pp. 4, 205). Beginning with a single chapter on the nineteenth century, Sarah A. Leavitt examines domestic advisors' incorporation of middle-class, Christian ideals—virtue, honesty, and frugality—into the advice they provided Victorian housewives. In the five thematically driven (unevenly paced and poorly organized) chapters that follow, Leavitt covers slightly more than the first half of the

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twentieth century. According to the experts who then connected science, Taylorism, and the Arts and Crafts movement to their own advice, the ideal home was to be governed by simplicity, utility, authenticity, and modernity. Simultaneously, domestic advisors sought to "Americanize" immigrant housewives and their daughters by introducing them to the practices of scientific housekeeping. In the decades before World War II, domestic advisors then promoted the use of color in home furnishings that they equated with character development ("personality" and "individuality"). By the 1950s, the "togetherness" ethos shaped housing design as well as domestic advisors' home decoration ideals.

Although Leavitt successfully locates critical cultural themes within domestic advice literature, her all-too-modest argument ultimately undermines rather than underscores domesticity's importance to American culture, gender, women, and girls. The author limits what is significant about domestic advice to cursory illustrations of mainstream historical developments, despite the claim that domesticity transcends historical periods (which accounts for the book's clumsy periodization). That the social context is framed too narrowly is revealed by the short shrift given to changing gender ideals and identities. By drawing insufficiently on the extensive secondary sources in her excellent bibliography, Leavitt does not ground her analysis in a fully developed understanding of the massive changes that transformed American homes and women's lives. For example, the Victorian ideology of domesticity is reduced to "Women who wrote about the home (private sphere) also remained connected to and interested in the social issues of their day (public sphere)" (p. 18).

Nevertheless, embedded in this study are important issues as well as ways of getting at them. For example, Leavitt constructs a creative conceptualization of experts' "domestic fantasies" (which, incidentally, could have made for a better book title). Lacking both cogence and coherence, however, the concept remains more tangential than central to the argument. Advisors' occasional domestic fantasies (and the ones that they authorized for women to dream) remain largely undeveloped, unanalyzed, and unsubstantiated. That is because documentation of advisors' lived experiences goes no deeper than thumbnail sketches, none of which draw on anyone's personal papers. The result is a lack of insight into the forces and factors that shaped advisors' intentions, ideologies, and fantasies. Ultimately, what probably diminished the concept's usefulness was the author's rather prosaic understanding of "fantasy": "Many authors' domestic fantasy was that their books would help all women see the home in the positive way that they themselves did" (p. 20).

Had this study situated domestic advisors within related scholarships on consumer culture, the role of experts, and housework within the field of U.S. women's/gender history, it could have better illuminated the role that advisors have played in shaping household ideals ("taste") and practices. It is not entirely clear who was a domestic advisor and what Leavitt's take on them ultimately is, other than as benevolent teachers who helped women navigate a confusing consumer world and make sense of their belongings. But just how receptive women were to domestic advisors' beneficence remains as obscure as experts' intentions. That is because the desire to shed light on why domestic advice has been so compelling to women is largely satisfied through the lens of cultural ideals, not the prism of lived realities. Interestingly enough, where ordinary women come into view it is not as passive consumers enthralled with domestic advice but as active resistors who contested the cultural authority of domestic experts. In addition to decorating their homes with the carpets and curtains cast out by experts, women also displayed ornaments advisers disparaged as "junk." As one expert explained, "I sometimes wish there was a law against it" (p. 120).

Finally, although this work is richly illustrated, none of the fifty images is keyed to the text. Moreover, explanatory notes are typically lengthy, often descriptive rather than interpretive, and occasionally raise unexamined issues. Despite the author's concluding claim that this study shows how "the home is a place where national ideologies of class, race, and gender are expressed in things," the decoding of material culture artifacts remains as superficial as the interrogation of domestic advisers like Martha Stewart about whom there is next to nothing (despite the title's suggestive scope) (p. 206).

MIRIAM FORMAN-BRUNELL
University of Missouri, Kansas City

JULIANN SIVULKA. *Stronger than Dirt: A Cultural History of Advertising Personal Hygiene in America, 1875–1940* Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books. 2001. Pp. 369. $28.00.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, advertising mass-produced toiletries to a national marketplace became instrumental in effecting new standards of grooming in the United States. Juliann Sivulka has reproduced a representative collection of fascinating ads and intriguing ephemera for selling soaps and bathroom fixtures in this densely illustrated text. Some eighty-seven well-chosen images chronicle the evolution of soap advertising in modern America. Although she writes at length, Sivulka is explicitly demure: "the vision of the present work is to document and piece together the artifacts and activities involved in the social dynamic concerning cleanliness in North American [sic] from 1875 to 1940, not to theorize about it" (p. 310). That caution bears iterating.

Anachronisms abound. "Commercial soapmaking began in the American colonies in 1608," she claims (p. 45). In the nineteenth-century South, outhouses were apparently gendered: a crescent moon carved into a privy door indicated "the 'ladies' room,'"

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whereas a sun-shaped vent "indicated the 'men's room.'" Sivulka explains that "As only a fraction of the people could read or write, these symbols were necessary" (p. 44). The commercial sale of toilet paper that began in 1857 failed originally, she supposes, because in America "mentioning the 'unmentionable' was taboo" (p. 44). Charles Panati (*The Extraordinary Origins of Everyday Things* [1987], p. 205) argues instead that "At the time, the majority of Americans could not comprehend wasting money on perfectly clean paper when their bathrooms and outhouses were adequately stocked with last year's department store catalogues, yesterday's newspapers, and sundry fliers, pamphlets and advertisements." Sivulka paints a very different picture of everyday life "as people crowded together in towns and cities. Before the water closet, the most common place to 'go to the bathroom' was the nearest tree, hole, or river. To solve the cleaning-up problem, people made use of leaves or a clump of hay, grass, or straw, as toilet paper had yet to be invented" (p. 31).

With its 470 citations, this text sometimes seems to be almost obsessively annotated. Yet Sivulka misses a function of endnotes: they direct readers to related lines of argument and analysis in the research of others. For example, Sivulka concludes that in the 1920s, "people increasingly conceived of the details of their personal grooming and that of their home as an index of their true character" (p. 297). She fails to acknowledge, even in an endnote, that she is basically quoting Roland Marchand (*Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* [1985], p. 214), who explained how "people would certainly display more concern for the details of their personal appearance and that of their home" if they could be induced to conceive of it "as an index of their true character." In another instance, Sivulka writes that "By the 1920s, it became not merely fashionable, but also normative for Americans to wash their hands, frequently bathe, and generally use large quantities of soap" (p. 14). Yet she neither notes nor claims to quote Vincent Vinikas (*Soft Soap Hard Sell: American Hygiene in an Age of Advertisement* [1992], p.xi): "In the 1920s, it was becoming not merely fashionable but also normative for Americans to brush their teeth, wash their hands, bathe frequently . . . and generally consume large quantities of toiletries."

Addressing the impact of toiletry advertising on the development of novel conceptions of personal identity in modern America, Sivulka seems to reveal that "It was both cause and effect. Just as advertising originated in the need to persuade more and more purchasers to acquire more and more material goods, it also provided women with a version of reality that" made sense of that behavior (p. 179). She does not indicate in text or notes that in 1992 Vinikas explained "Advertising was both cause and effect. Just as it originated in the need to persuade more and more purchasers to acquire more and more things, it also provided a presentation of reality that suited" that imperative (*Soft Soap*, p. 109). Alluding to that now classic study of American culture, David Reisman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), Sivulka reflects on "a shift from 'inner' to 'other-direction' as Americans participated in the age of consumption by making the approval of others the end-all of their existence" (p. 297). Neither her text nor citations would lead a reader to suspect that Vinikas encapsulated the thesis of *The Lonely Crowd* as "a shift from 'inner-' to 'other-direction' as Americans enured themselves to the age of consumption by making the approval of others the end-all of existence" (*Soft Soap*, p. xix). Other authors may wish to see how their own words have been appropriated here, but students of advertising history and American culture will prefer to read the originals.

Vincent Vinikas
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Ruth Spack. *America's Second Tongue: American Indian Education and the Ownership of English, 1860–1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 231. $45.00.

According to an elder of a Columbia River Plateau Indian nation, a tribal member who does not know the language does not know the culture. This statement has evoked a wide range of responses, but to me, it suggests the many ramifications of what it means to know one's language. Ruth Spack's book opens a discussion on one of the most sensitive but perhaps least understood aspects of colonialism toward American Indians/Alaska Natives: the issue of linguistic imperialism. Although scholars in this field have long known that Euroamerican schools for Indian children tried to eliminate Native languages, almost no one wrote about Indian education until the 1970s. Some thirty years later, about two dozen books have appeared, most focusing on federal Indian boarding schools, which dominated Indian schooling between the 1880s and the 1920s. Their authors invariably mention the issue of linguistic imperialism, but not as a primary focus. Hence, by targeting language as a critical weapon of cultural colonialism, Spack introduces the theme of linguistic violence as integral to understanding Native history.

Spack argues that her story is one "of linguistic ownership" and that "the meaning of [that] ownership keeps shifting, depending on whether one is perceived to own English or to be owned by it" (p. 7). In either case, she alerts us to the story's ambivalence, observing that while "English functioned as a disruptive and destructive instrument of linguistic and cultural control, it was also a generative tool for expressing diverse ways of seeing, saying, and believing" (p. 11). To her credit, Spack relies on a wide range of scholars as well as Native authors who wrote in English at the turn of the twentieth century. Although she limits her discourse by focusing primarily on Dakota Territory and the Yankton Agency, she cites the voices of Native pupils from various boarding schools during this brief

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era. With a deft pen, she contrasts the proclamations of policy makers, who failed to consider "the idea that Native languages could convey intellectual values and morals" (p. 17), with the frustrations of Native students, whose eloquence in their own tongues—often they spoke two or three languages—was quelled by their monolingual teachers.

Spack also illustrates linguistic resistance. Indian students at Hampton Institute (Virginia) who knew sign language communicated with each other without violating regulations. Omaha students, as Francis LaFlesche recalled in *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School* (1900), bestowed graphic Omaha names on their teachers just as their teachers assigned English names to them. Former students, like Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Sioux) or Luther Standing Bear (Lakota) used English to reasssert Native superiority. Standing Bear employed English to reinforce Native values and philosophy and to indict the colonizers for their use of literacy as a tool of distortion and oppression. In one of her most intriguing illustrations, Spack contrasts the widely popular captivity narratives of colonial America with the experiences of Indian children in boarding schools, arguing that in both cases the subjects in question were captured and held prisoner.

This book clarifies the power of the English-only policy through its persistent heritage. Several generations of Indian children lost their birthright because their parents, traumatized by treatment in the federal schools, refused to teach their language to their own children. Empires around the earth have practiced linguistic colonialism. For scholars of American history, Spack's study reminds us that this nation, too, has a strong colonialist heritage not restricted to warfare or theft of land and human lives. Yet it also reminds us that through linguistic resistance, American Indian writers have shaped the English language to their own purposes, as champions of their people.

MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ
University of New Mexico

SUSAN BURCH. *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II.* (The History of Disability Series.) New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 230. $38.00.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed profound changes in the makeup of the American population. Millions of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe crowded the nation's shores from 1900 to 1924. In the Great Migration, thousands of southern African-Americans moved to America's urban core in search of a better life. The Great Depression caused massive numbers of rural midwestern whites to relocate to the West Coast. These population shifts led to battles over what it meant to be an American. Fought in schools, in the workplace, at the ballot box, and even in the home, these struggles between the majority culture and minority groups centered on issues of acculturation, assimilation, and cultural preservation. Susan Burch examines these battles from the perspective of a seemingly anomalous minority group: the American deaf community. Viewing deaf individuals as a minority culture rather than as disabled Americans, Burch attempts to show "the ways deaf people's experiences both resembled and differed from those of other significant minority groups" (p. 5).

The deaf community was a small and self-created minority group. Without ethnic, racial, or religious ties, deaf people organized themselves around a common language (American Sign Language, or ASL) and a culture centered on residential institutions. Deaf people sustained their culture in the face of significant opposition from educators and social workers determined to assimilate deaf individuals into mainstream society by means of oral education and lip reading. Led by Alexander Graham Bell, the oralists saw deaf culture and language as primitive, dangerous, and anti-American. In his *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (1997), Douglas Baynton expertly describes this assault on deaf culture. Burch's work is the perfect counterpoint to Baynton's book, as she weaves a tale of deaf resistance to this attempted cultural destruction. It is a story of the development of Institutions, organizations, and advocacy, all designed by deaf people to improve their lives by preserving deaf culture and providing help and support to individual deaf persons.

For Burch, self-help was key to the sustenance of deaf culture. Advocates especially fought to preserve the teaching of ASL at residential institutions for the deaf. As hearing teachers and administrators replaced deaf educators, supporters of ASL rallied to insure that the language (and by extension, deaf culture) would continue. Even in the face of institutional opposition, informal networks of ASL usage, particularly among residential school students, were crucial to the transmission of deaf culture to the next generation of deaf individuals. Upon leaving residential facilities, deaf persons had to make their way into a hearing world. They utilized the common American form of associationalism to ease that transition and provide a base of support and solidarity. Deaf clubs and organizations proved invaluable to perpetuating deaf culture and making the daily lives of deaf persons easier and more rewarding. Since many deaf individuals had hearing relatives, Burch sees these self-help groups as an extended deaf family. National organizations such as the National Association of the Deaf and the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf worked alongside local and regional associations to provide financial and death benefits, vocational counseling, opportunities for education and athletics, and social contacts. These organizations functioned much like self-help benevolent groups within immigrant and African-American communities, and Burch is quick to point out the similarities between the deaf community and other minority groups. She also shows the deaf community spoke with more than one voice and reflected

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many of the broader society's racial, class, and gender prejudices.

Burch is especially good at showing the deaf community's flexibility in reacting to changing technological and social trends within American society as a whole. Modern marvels such as the telephone, radio, and talking motion pictures, while helping hearing persons to live more enjoyable and fulfilling lives, further marginalized deaf individuals. Through an array of organizations, the deaf coalesced to insure that they would be allowed to operate automobiles, in the face of widespread opposition from hearing individuals and state licensing agencies. Deaf individuals also struggled against advocates of eugenics, who lumped the deaf in with other groups deemed unfit to procreate, such as the feeble minded. Members of the deaf community fought eugenics supporters on two fronts, first denying their similarity with other groups considered "disabled" and, more broadly, attacking the validity of eugenic claims.

Burch does a good job of telling the story of deaf culture from the perspective of deaf individuals. Their organizational strategies helped sustain the deaf community in the face of attack from mainstream culture and advocates. Her description of the eugenics battle shows a lack of nuance concerning the broader issues surrounding the eugenic controversies of the early twentieth century. This is a small quibble, however. Burch's book is another good example of the maturation of disability history (even if deaf advocates would deny that categorization).

Steven Noll
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Emily Thompson. *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–33*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 500. $44.95.

Scholars from a variety of fields and disciplines have studied the history of sound technology and its relationship to broad patterns of social and cultural change. Their studies have yielded insights into a wide range of topics, from the tonality and meaning of village bells in nineteenth-century France to the role of record producers in contemporary American music. Emily Thompson's book is a welcome addition to this growing body of literature. The book shows how American scientists and engineers, in the early twentieth century, developed tools and techniques to measure and control the behavior of sound. As these men gained technological mastery over physical environments, they transformed the nation's aural landscape and brought a new sense of uniformity and efficiency to daily life. Their accomplishments took place within the context of a changing cultural setting, where discriminating consumers shaped the course of events.

The book begins with a biographical sketch of Wallace Sabine, the Harvard physicist who largely founded the field of acoustical science. At the turn of the century, Sabine investigated the behavior of sound waves in a variety of places and spaces and in the process discovered basic principles of sound reverberation. Sabine's reverberation theory had major implications for the future. It spawned a new community of researchers that developed better tools and techniques for measuring and controlling sound and a new language that helped people think and talk about the science of acoustics. It also fueled the rise of the acoustical building industry, which expanded rapidly in the 1920s. By then, the lines between acoustical research and commercial activity had grown blurry, and the "new acousticians" found lucrative jobs in the corporate world.

The middle chapters of the book focus on the sounds of the city and their significance in urban history. Historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have long explained that rapid urbanization created new problems and challenges for city planners, but they generally ignored the "noise problem" that vexed urban communities. Thompson extends our understanding of this issue in significant ways. She explains that the most annoying sounds of the city were machine driven, for example, and shows that even though noise abatement campaigns failed, they heightened the public's interest in the acoustical design of homes and workplaces. In the 1920s, the development of new sound-absorbing materials helped to insulate people from the racket around them. Ironically, workers proved more productive in these "quiet places of refuge."

Thompson's book takes readers through several well-known architectural structures, from New York City skyscrapers to Hollywood soundstages. It closes with a look at New York's Radio City Music Hall, which opened in 1932 with great fanfare. The hall, Thompson explains, represented "the culmination of the modern soundscape" because it generated the kind of sound that audiences came to prefer: exceptionally clear, electrically driven, and well-directed. Unfortunately, at a time when the country was in the throes of the Great Depression, few people could afford to hear this modern sound. In 1933, the shrinking size of audiences at the hall encouraged its owners to turn the place into a movie palace. The transformation of the hall showed that acoustically designed buildings, despite their architectural magnificence, were essentially commodities in a consumer-oriented society. Through the act of consumption, the public passed judgment on the quality and value of such structures and thus shaped the nation's sonic environment.

Although this book reaches out to scholars in several areas of study, from architecture to urban history, some readers will wish Thompson had asked additional questions. Business and economic historians, for example, will want to know more about the firms and entrepreneurs in the acoustic buildings industry, and in the larger industry of sound reproduction. Thompson embraces a materialist perspective on history but pays little attention to how the fluctuating economy and

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competitive struggles in the marketplace shaped the world of acoustics. In the final analysis, the author attributes the fall of an aural era in American history to cultural rather than economic patterns, and more specifically to the public's loss of enthusiasm for new developments in acoustical science. Historians of popular culture will wish that Thompson had more to say about the music and shows that filled the concert halls, soundstages, and other places under study. The early twentieth century was a remarkable period in the history of American entertainment, which this book never really acknowledges. Even so, the book is a valuable contribution to an exciting and still emerging field; it is well researched and well written, with dozens of useful photographs and diagrams. Anyone interested in the history of modern architecture and the evolution of acoustical technology will love it.

JAMES P. KRAFT
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DOUGLAS CARL ABRAMS. *Selling the Old-Time Religion: American Fundamentalists and Mass Culture, 1920–1940*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 168. $35.00.

Fundamentalists have always been ambivalent toward American society. On the one hand, they derive much of their identity from a full-throated denunciation of popular culture, but, on the other hand, they have eagerly embraced the mechanisms of that culture, especially in mass communications. In so doing, American fundamentalists belie their popular image as backwoods Luddites, a perception that owes more to the distortions of H. L. Mencken than to historical reality.

Douglas Carl Abrams parses out the precarious relationship between fundamentalism and American culture in this book. He finds that "fundamentalists energetically embraced the business ethos with its secular values of organization, efficiency, consumerism, promotionalism, and emphasis on size and numbers" (p. 11). Influenced by such prominent businessmen as J. C. Penney, John Wanamaker, and Arthur and Lewis Tappan (all of whom were sympathetic to fundamentalism), the leaders of fundamentalism eagerly embraced the business ethos and the ideal of efficient organization. "Give me the right sort of organization and there will be no sinner left in a town at the close of one of my campaigns," Bob Jones, Sr., boasted in 1921 (p. 19). Another fundamentalist calculated that it cost him only $1.60 for each soul saved. The relationship between fundamentalism and business, Abrams points out, went both ways. Asa Candler, head of Coca-Cola and a devout Methodist, concluded sales meetings with the collective singing of "Onward, Christian Soldiers."

Fundamentalist attitudes toward media and mass entertainment were more complex. They adopted radio with little ambivalence; by 1940, for example, two years after a survey showed that listening to radio had become Americans' preferred leisure activity, Charles E. Fuller's "Old-Fashioned Revival Hour" reached fifteen to twenty million listeners over 256 stations. By contrast, fundamentalists generally frowned on gambling, cigarettes, alcohol, jazz, dancing, and Sunday newspapers. Some extended their condemnation to cities in general; J. Gresham Machen, for instance, pronounced New York City "magnificently ugly . . . like some weird, tortured imagination of things in another world" (p. 69).

Motion pictures drew more than occasional fire from the fundamentalists, in part because of the supposed Jewish influence in Hollywood (which troubled both Protestants and Catholics) but also because of what one fundamentalist called the "record of marital experiences" on the part of actors (p. 93). Legitimate theater was another matter. Although James O. Buswell, president of Wheaton College, forbade theater productions, and J. C. Massee believed that acting itself represented a violation of the commandment against bearing false witness, Bob Jones College (now University) had—and still maintains—a vigorous theater program. In one of the book's most fascinating passages, Abrams explains that Bob Jones, Sr., the institution's founder, "understood the benefit of refinement, even drama, for a Christian" (p. 82). In its early years Bob Jones College offered only three majors—religion, music, and speech—and by 1930, three years after the school's founding, the Bob Jones Classic Players performed *The Merchant of Venice*. Bob Jones, Jr., was an accomplished thespian who turned down a screen test with Warner Brothers. "My affection for Shakespeare, even his plays," the younger Jones declared, "is second only to my love for the Bible" (p. 84).

Abrams concludes that, in general, fundamentalists embraced the newly emerging marketing strategies to propagate the gospel, but they looked askance at many of the leisure activities that became increasingly popular in the interwar period. "Between the wars, fundamentalists—premillennial in eschatology, pessimistic about the world's course, and willing to abandon it—sought as outsiders to redeem individuals with the gospel," he says. "At the same time, as middle-class Americans, they delighted in the fruits of mass culture, when possible, for religious purposes" (pp. 126–27).

This book makes for lively and informative reading. Abrams captures the ambivalence with which fundamentalists approached American culture between the world wars, and he also demonstrates the diversity of views within fundamentalism, a movement too often viewed as monolithic. Although some topics want for more sustained treatment and historical context—fundamentalist condemnations of the flapper, for instance, belie evangelicals' earlier, nineteenth-century support for women's rights—Abrams has succeeded

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remarkably well in explaining this complex and formative era in American fundamentalism.

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R. DOUGLAS HURT. *Problems of Plenty: The American Farmer in the Twentieth Century.* (The American Ways Series.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2002. Pp. xiii, 192. $24.95.

This book is a fast-paced tour through the history of twentieth-century U.S. agriculture. It is dense with facts of an almost journalistic specificity and provides historical interpretations that are widely shared by scholars of U.S. agriculture: a sensible conflation of what R. Douglas Hurt is likely to have seen in his tenure as editor of *Agricultural History*. Despite anecdotal detail, the use of statistical data is sparing, and the book contains no tables or figures. The scholarly apparatus is light: no footnotes or specific citations for assertions or judgments ventured, just a seven-page general "note on sources" at the end. This makes for easy reading, but if readers want to examine the evidence behind assertions they may find questionable, they get little help.

The book gives relatively heavy coverage to the pre-World War II period, with a thirty-seven-page chapter on 1900–1920, sixty-four pages in two chapters on 1920–1940, twenty-six pages on 1940–1960, and forty-nine pages for the rest of the century. For the first sixty years of the century, the exposition is clear, accurate, and the discussion of issues judicious. Hurt's treatment of recent history is sketchy, probably because there is less scholarly consensus on what the central themes and lessons are. His decision to be concerned "chiefly with farmers who participated in government production control programs" (p. xi) leads to a few questionable conclusions about U.S. agriculture at the end of the century in the book's final chapter.

Longstanding trends of declining farm numbers, increasing scale of farming, and large costs of federal commodity programs are important facts, but Hurt does not give due recognition to evidence of their decreasing salience, especially since 1990. The share of the U.S. agricultural economy accounted for by the traditional program crops had declined to about twenty percent by 2000. And since 1996 the program crops have had production controls and price supports largely replaced by fixed-payment schemes. Hurt recognizes these developments, but the economic situation has changed more substantially than he allows. Were current commodity programs to be abandoned, U.S. taxpayers would save on the order of $15 billion annually, at the primary expense of a decline in returns to cropland ownership (about half of which would be borne by landlords who are not farmers). This would cause painful financial losses for many and bankruptcy for some, with a consequent rearrangement of asset ownership. But farm output and prices, productivity, returns to farm labor, and farm numbers would arguably be about the same in a U.S. agricultural economy absent the programs.

With respect to the overall picture of U.S. agriculture, Hurt omits to mention that since 1990 the decline in farm numbers has slowed and even halted. He cites the 2.19 million farms of 1999. This is actually a slight increase over the number counted in 1990—after declines of twelve percent in the 1980s, seventeen percent in the 1970s, and twenty-six percent in the 1960s. Hurt cites USDA's estimate that in 1999 the average farm had a net income from farm and off-farm sources of $70,000. But he does not give due note to the substantial excess of this figure over the average U.S. household income in that year. Farmers having higher incomes than nonfarm households is a dramatic reversal of a long period of sub-par incomes for farmers during 1920–1970. The key factor is not commodity programs but off-farm income of farm households. The situation of small-scale farmers who rely on off-farm income is perhaps the least well understood aspect of current U.S. agriculture. Two contrasting views are on offer. One sees off-farm work as a strategy of desperation, a painful way to keep farming temporarily, but ultimately unsustainable. The other sees part-time farming as an avocation, a way over the long term to enjoy the amenities of farming and rural living despite meager economic returns. Hurt inclines to the former view, but how widely it applies remains unclear.

This is a fine book for obtaining a quick review of mainstream U.S. farming in the twentieth century, especially of the pre-World War II period. It is less good for recent decades where its pessimistic outlook contains important elements of the situation but scants recent developments that might have suggested a less gloomy bottom line.

BRUCE GARDNER
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DAVID WALBERT. *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 258. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

No region of the United States can compete with Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in its ability to fuel the rural imagination. While the presence of a large Old Order Amish settlement surely contributes to that, the renown of Lancaster County as the "Garden Spot of America" long antedates the celebrity of the Amish. David Walbert utilizes this much-acclaimed region, its inhabitants, and the discussions they have spawned to explore longstanding questions about the nature of rurality and, more specifically, questions about "saving" America's rural life in the face of urban-oriented progress.

The book focuses on the twentieth century: that is, on the years when Lancaster County's residents were

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not only cognizant of their rurality but saw it as a unique and treasured aspect of their identity. This proud identity, however, was constantly accompanied by another cultural inheritance, one that deemed Lancaster County to be a bastion of economic and cultural progress. While the coexistence of rurality and progress was not always problematic in Lancaster County, their easy relationship grew increasingly conflicted as the twentieth century ran its course. Debates over public schooling (particularly one-room education), Amish-themed tourism, suburban development, and farmland preservation revealed deep fissures in how locals conceived of their county's past, present, and future. But while preservationists and progressives often found themselves at loggerheads over specific issues, their arguments, according to Walbert, manifested an ironic similarity: both parties tended to assume that rurality was something "of the past" (p. 10). In making that assumption, they not only justified "the consumption of the country . . . by the city" (p. 10), but they confirmed the suspicions of many Americans, including many historians, that the twin ideals of rurality and progress were hopelessly contradictory.

Walbert himself is loath to make that assumption, and his brief epilogue offers some preliminary suggestions for strengthening America's rural communities. But the problem—which Walbert contends is more cultural than economic in nature—is deeply rooted, and the bulk of his book reveals just how pervasive, if not ultimately intractable, it is. In his most engaging chapter, Walbert explores the portrayal, use, and consumption of Pennsylvania Dutch food to illustrate a shift in focus from production to consumption, a shift that inevitably decreases the cultural value of both the farm and the farmer. The argument is subtle. Who would think that a celebration of hearty Pennsylvania Dutch cuisine would actually minimize a farmer's cultural importance? But here and elsewhere Walbert offers convincing arguments that illustrate how even the residents of America's "Garden Spot" have forsaken their connection to the land, despite the fact that most claim to support farmland preservation.

Walbert's book is well conceived, creatively integrating rural history and cultural studies, and the author's argument, while sometimes sacrificing clarity on the altar of detail, is generally convincing. There are times, however, when Walbert's desire to identify changing patterns in rural consumption leads him to overstate his case, even to the point of contradicting his own evidence. For instance, Walbert contends that "the *first* suggestion that the Amish might fascinate people in a positive way" came in 1935 (p. 62, italics mine); in fact, that suggestion appeared as early as the 1890s. Similarly, it is simply not the case that, prior to the 1970s, "only rarely had [observers] compared the Amish directly to themselves" (p. 157). At these and other points, Walbert succumbs to the historian's temptation to find firsts (or at least sea changes) where they do not exist. This weakness is only exacerbated by the author's exuberant, and sometimes inflated, style of writing, which claims among other things that Wal-Mart's "loudest [pre-construction] opponents . . . can usually be found shopping in those same stores within weeks of their openings" (p. 212).

In addition to interpretive and rhetorical overstatements, the book contains numerous errors of fact. For instance, Old Order farmers who grow tobacco are not prohibited from smoking it, local color novelist Helen Reimensnyder Martin was not Pennsylvania German, and writer-publisher Ammon Monroe Aurand (not Aumand) was born in Pennsylvania's Snyder County, not Lancaster County (in fact, much of Aurand's information about the Amish came not from Lancaster, but from settlements further north). Unfortunately, this abbreviated list of factual errors and name misspellings is only representative, which means Walbert's otherwise helpful book needs to be handled with care.

On many levels, this is an insightful and creative book, demonstrating the broad potential for socially engaged cultural history. One can only hope that further editions, should they appear, will manifest more careful tending and pruning.

DAVID L. WEAVER-ZERCHER
Messiah College

DAVID C. DUKE. *Writers and Miners: Activism and Imagery in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2002. Pp. 275. $45.00.

David C. Duke sets out to document the political and creative relationship between American writer-activists and the coal miners about whom they wrote. The primary thesis of his book is that the texts produced by these writer-activists typically do not accurately represent coal miners as individual personalities; rather, they construct coal miners as one-dimensional, stereotypical characters or cultural "others" who have been dehumanized by their dangerous occupation.

Duke begins by discussing various writers from the first half of the twentieth century and continues in subsequent chapters to contrast these writers with the later, more dialogical writing and activism of Don West and Denise Giardina. These two, along with a few children's writers and the miner-poets published in the *United Mine Workers Journal*, turn out be exceptions to a pattern that Duke repeatedly identifies: most texts about coal mining objectify and stereotype miners.

Chapter one offers Duke's most developed, detailed documentation and analysis. Here he describes the lives and works of Henry Demarest Lloyd, Walter Weyl, Max Eastman, John Reed, George Creel, and Upton Sinclair, who wrote about coal strikes in 1902 (Illinois and Pennsylvania) and the Great Coalfield War of 1913 (Colorado). The 1931–1932 "Coal Wars" in southeastern Kentucky drew the attention of Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Waldo Frank, Edmund Wilson, and Mary Heaton Vorse, among others. Duke makes a convincing case that, regardless of their

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motives and goals, these writers produced texts that objectified and stereotyped miners but did not give voice to them. As Duke puts it, these writers felt free to speak for miners because they did not believe that miners were capable of understanding and articulating their own lives and problems. Although it is obvious that Duke does not condone such nondialogical writing, he does not make it sufficiently clear why these particular writers should be criticized. They did not pose as ethnographers or oral historians, seeking to document the life worlds of striking coal miners. They wrote essays and fiction. They sought to develop their own voices and writing skills and to collect information to be used in arguments against monopoly capitalism. There is nothing inherently wrong with these writing projects or goals.

However, a case could be made for their broader significance in political and cultural discourse, using the theories of Paolo Freire, Richard Rorty, Gayatri Spivak, and Dorothy Smith. The problem is that Duke never sufficiently develops this framework for analyzing the textual constructions of coal miners and, at times, does not seem to understand the implications of the poststructural, postcolonial, and standpoint theories to which he refers. Rather than providing adequate summaries and systematic analysis of selected representative or pivotal texts, demonstrating how they are based on and inform a general cultural discourse on coal mining and miners, and relating this discourse to policies and practices related to mining or workers generally, Duke offers a shallow, sometimes contradictory discussion of a dizzying array of coal mine writing genres, stitched together with a few quotations from social theorists and literary critics. There is no coherent argument here, except for the author's repeated assertion that, with few exceptions, writers tend to objectify coal miners and position them in the role of the cultural "other."

Particularly problematic are the criteria used to declare authors guilty of "othering." Emphasis on the negative aspects of mining, a focus on coal mine accidents, disabilities and strikes, recognition of the constraints on choice faced by miners, and reporting some miners' desire to leave coal mining or to prevent their children from mining coal are all read as signs of textual objectification. According to Duke, such representations encourage the reader to see miners as passive, fatalists, fundamentally irrational, and irrevocably dehumanized by the danger and difficulty of their work. Writers who acknowledge that many miners claim to have chosen their occupations voluntarily acknowledge miners' agency; by concentrating on the positive aspects of "mining culture," rather than highlighting the negative aspects of mining, writers can create a space in which miners appear to be normal people. But what are the political implications of emphasizing the individual agency of miners and the positive aspects of mining? What room does that leave for understanding structural constraint or voicing legitimate criticism of the environmental and health risks posed by coal mining? Is it possible for one to criticize an industry without disdaining its workers? Let us hope so.

There is value in this book, not only for its bibliographic references to fictional and poetic works about coal mining and mine town life but also for its summaries of plots and characters. The author brings significant critical insight to his reading of the texts as well. Regrettably, however, this analysis lacks depth and is sometimes unclear and contradictory.

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PAUL H. MATTINGLY. *Suburban Landscape: Culture and Politics in a New York Metropolitan Community*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 333. $39.95.

Paul H. Mattingly aims to "examine the contrasting viewpoints—call them landscapes—which suburbanites have used to understand and shape their communities" (p. 1). Given the potency of suburban ideology, this aim is a good one, especially as he strives to move past long-held clichés of suburbia as urban escapism, homogeneity realized, and cultural vacuity. Instead, Mattingly finds a suburban landscape that interacted deeply with the city, showed a relaxed acceptance of diversity in its early years, and became culturally rich in its own right. He ultimately sees something positive in suburbia, notably a neighborhood dynamic of civility.

Mattingly focuses on Leonia, New Jersey, a suburb of New York City, from the 1850s to the 1950s to explore these landscapes. Leonia was small, its population never exceeding 8,000 during the years of the book's focus. It became home to a significant artists' colony, providing Mattingly with a rich trove of cultural representations by these suburban-based artists for exploring suburban sensibilities.

Mattingly identifies three distinctive suburban periods in Leonia's history, defined less by transportation (as other scholars of suburbia have emphasized) and more by the community's self-identified landscape. In its first period, Leonia was a "country village" (1850s-1890s) linked by railroad to the city. Surprisingly, suburban land development was spearheaded by families with deep local roots, who "introduced a powerful force of change rather than a defense of tradition" (p. 38). In its second phase as a "country town" (1890s-1920), Leonia was linked by trolley to the city. Local artists like Peter Newell expressed the values of the suburb at this point, such as "benign recognition of ethnic distinctions, tolerance of social class distinctions, dignity of all levels of work, voluntarism over governmental authority, necessary integration of farm values into town life, aspiration of middle-class order and family stability" (p. 61). Mattingly sees the suburban impulse in this phase not as anti-urban but rather as "an alternative brand of community building for

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multiple classes" based on an ethos of voluntarism (p. 111). In its third phase as a "middle class zone" (1920s-1950s), Leonia began to exhibit more predictable suburban traits. In the face of significant population growth, the town began articulating a conscious set of priorities that revolved around stable home values and a residential ethos. This found expression in a local political culture that struggled to reconcile its self-image as a harmonious country town with a more politically contentious present.

The book makes several important arguments that add complexity to the suburban historiography. First, Mattingly shows that the suburban ideal was often an artifact of a fictive local historical memory, sometimes constructed in reaction to contemporary pressures and problems. Second, he shows how the suburban ideal emerged gradually out of very local circumstances and conditions. It was not imposed "from outside" by mass community builders with profit motives but rather sprang from the indigenous evolution of the rural fringe area of a metropolis in a dialectic relationship with urbanization. Third, he finds a high level of socioeconomic diversity in Leonia, correcting long-held stereotypes about suburban homogeneity. From its earliest years, Leonia housed a substantial portion of first and second-generation immigrants, a small coterie of blacks, and a sizeable "manual labor" population. Local tolerance of this diversity defined the suburban landscape up to the 1920s. Finally, he sees the city-suburb divide as symptomatic of a broader cultural divide in the United States: "the suburb laid special claim to a spiritual and cultural measure of domestic and social civility" (p. 241).

While this book delivers well in exploring the cultural and political constructions of a suburban imaginary, it falters in showing how the lived "reality" also shaped it. Demographic data is presented sporadically, making it hard to follow broad trends. Also missing is a simple sense of the texture of lived experience, the rhythms of everyday life. More significantly, while Mattingly emphasizes the social diversity of Leonia in terms of class, ethnicity, and race, we rarely hear the voices or glimpse the experiences of these diverse elements—particularly the working-class immigrants and blacks. We get little sense of their perceived suburban landscape. Finally, while Mattingly took pains to place Leonia's history in national context (identifying key political, economic, and cultural developments), he ignores broader developments in suburban history, leaving Leonia strangely isolated from a national suburban context.

These limitations, however, do not detract from the richness and originality of this work, especially in its nuanced exploration of how a suburban imaginary sprang from local soil but planted itself deeply in the national consciousness.

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CECELIA BUCKI. *Bridgeport's Socialist New Deal, 1915–36.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 289. $35.00.

In this study of Bridgeport's fractious politics between 1915 and 1936, Cecelia Bucki offers an explanation of the rise to power of a Socialist mayor in 1933 and outlines the impact of the Socialist Party (SP) on public policy and the two-party system in Connecticut. She acknowledges the distinctiveness of Bridgeport but insists that its story holds broader insights into working-class political power and third-party movements. Bridgeport, she affirms, "was different but not exceptional" (p. 4). Moreover, the political choices made by Bridgeport workers in the 1930s, according to Bucki, enabled them to shape the local version of the New Deal and to transform permanently the city's machinery of power.

By examining the interaction between labor and business from the war years through the 1920s, Bucki traces the significance of business leaders who organized to shape Bridgeport's public affairs and of workers who unionized in record numbers, striking for shorter work days and calling for industrial democracy. Labor activism produced massive strikes in 1915 and 1919 and, although mostly unsuccessful, offered workers an invaluable lesson: the "turbulent war era bolstered their capacity to mobilize economically and politically" (p. 41).

Labor strife combined with a postwar recession and the political aspirations of business leaders to produce peculiar political developments in the 1920s. Industrialists responded to the downturn by reducing labor costs and demanding tax relief. When they confronted a reluctant Republican Party, they challenged the GOP. City Republicans responded by "champion[ing] democracy, home rule, and working-class interests" (p. 42), a party stance that lasted until 1928. Although repudiated at the polls, the business elite, through state legislative action, took control of Bridgeport's finances and taxing authority. Republicans lost the battle for "home rule," but their anti-industrialist sentiments ensured that in Bridgeport, unlike the nation as a whole, animosity against business remained strong.

For their part, the Democrats embraced business in the struggle over "home rule," and the mostly Irish Democratic Party also refused to share power with Bridgeport's newer immigrant groups. Only the candidacy of Al Smith in the 1928 presidential election, which Bucki fitfully regards as an electoral "revolution" (p. 125), forced the party to become more receptive to newer ethnics. Still, traditional elites retained control, and, by the early 1930s, these newer immigrants had not become loyal Democrats locally.

Hard hit by the Great Depression and confronted with a local administration that preferred fiscal conservatism to providing relief, voters became disillusioned with both major parties—the primary reason,

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Bucki asserts, for the Socialists' success. In the municipal election of 1931, the SP won thirty-five percent of the vote and two years later elected the mayor and twelve of sixteen council members with forty-eight percent of the vote. The new mayor pledged to do what the local Democrats had not: participate more fully in Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. And the Socialist mayor won re-election in 1937 precisely because the Democratic Party remained too "cool toward the New Deal" (p. 192).

To understand the dynamics of working-class politics, Bucki emphasizes the need to analyze "grassroots political structures," correcting, she believes, their neglect by such historians as Lizabeth Cohen, whose "Chicago is a political mystery, with ethnic workers seemingly drawn to the New Deal through FDR's radio voice" (p. 201). But Bucki's own study remains sharply limited by the lack of essential methodological analysis of electoral data, by inadequate attention to women and gender and their political significance, and, most curiously and despite the title, by the absence of a significant discussion of the New Deal itself. This last failure is especially unfortunate, for she contends that the SP limited its effectiveness locally by practicing political "accommodation," leaving it compromised and "captured by city hall" (p. 164). Knowing how the city and the state interacted on such issues as public housing would have been illuminating, for in another Connecticut town, the referendum on public housing, for instance, amounted to "class war," according to the *New Britain Herald*.

Finally, Bucki deserves praise for attempting to unravel the complex connections among trade unions, ethnicity, and the SP, but Bridgeport's distinctiveness requires further explanation to understand those relationships and their consequences as well as the mayor's failure to "encourage unionization" (p. 168) more fully. Still puzzling is why Bridgeport was so "unusual" (p. 146) in providing public-funded relief as early as 1920; Bucki's explanation that it was done to ward off additional labor unrest is not satisfying. After all, many cities had labor strife but did not establish public welfare systems.

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Kathleen A. Brosnan. *Uniting Mountain and Plain: Cities, Law, and Environmental Change along the Front Range*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 276. $29.95.

This excellent book focuses on Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo entrepreneurs and how they worked to control hinterlands, maintain local control over outside investment dollars, regulate social and economic enterprise, and control their physical world. In less than fifty years, Denver emerged, like Chicago, as nature's metropolis controlling transportation, finance, agriculture, smelting, manufacturing, and trade. Tourism defined Colorado Springs, although by 1986 the city was also a financial center and corporate home to many enterprises. Pueblo was a central marketplace for regional interests but became an industrial city in 1882 when Colorado Coal and Iron opened its doors. In the process of economic institution building for personal and municipal empire, few gave the environmental degradation consideration. Fewer still protested the social degradation heaped upon the industrial and mine workers.

Kathleen A. Brosnan goes beyond William Cronon's masterful analysis of the growth of Chicago and Donald Worster's critiques of capitalistic degradation. In particular, she demonstrates how law supported economic growth but frequently benefited local entrepreneurs rather than capitalism in general. Further, each city's entrepreneurs found their own way and molded enterprise differently given environmental factors, financing arrangements, and market conditions. All commodified nature, but not all could sell it the same way nor in the same markets.

Brosnan notes how Denver entrepreneurs boldly used their own money to foster a wide variety of economic enterprises. They built warehouses and wagon roads to the mines by 1859 to become a shipping depot. In 1859 Denver boasted the first regional bank, and five years later, the First National Bank of Denver enabled entrepreneurs to access capital. Local money created the Denver Pacific Railroad to connect the city to Cheyenne, and the Kansas Pacific arrived in town in 1870. Denver was now a transportation hub without paying the typical blackmail demanded by national railways. Gold and silver ores found their way to Denver's smelters, as did sugar beets and other agricultural produce. All this economic activity was accelerated by recruited eastern and foreign capital but directed by local men maintaining control of local knowledge, often to the detriment of out-of-state investors.

Although this story parallels others nationally, Denver's campaign to exterminate the American Indians was extraordinary. Using the power of the press and the levers of government, Denver's elite businessmen worked for the extermination or concentration of many tribes. This enabled the (white) peopling of the plains, irrigation empires, local trade associations, and profits for the Denver entrepreneurs and their sycophants.

Ironically, all of these empire builders lost control in the twentieth century. The Goulds, Guggenheims, and Rockefellers rolled into town, out-skinned the pioneer robber barons, and took control. Even more certainly, the newly displaced could blame the new captains of industry for the marginalization of people and ecology that followed the path they had blazed so well. Brosnan makes clear that the institution builders worked their entrepreneurial magic well, but few thought of the consequences. This provocative and ably re-

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searched book should interest western, urban, and business historians.

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MICHAEL A. AMUNDSON. *Yellowcake Towns: Uranium Mining Communities in the American West*. (Mining the American West.) Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2002. Pp. xxiv, 204. $24.96.

Many authors have explored the atomic age in American history and culture, but few have studied the communities that mined and manufactured the key elements of atomic power. Michael A. Amundson compares the fates of four mining communities—Uravan, Colorado; Moab, Utah; Jeffrey City, Wyoming; and Grants, New Mexico—at the center of the mid-twentieth-century uranium boom. As part of the University Press of Colorado's new "Mining the American West" series, his book adds an important dimension to the familiar story of mining in the region. Uranium towns shared much with other mining communities: isolation, unpredictable markets, cultural identities joined to the industry, corporate consolidation, decline, and a toxic legacy. Yet they were unique in their pursuit of ore steeped in secrecy and potential danger and, Amundson argues, in their dependence on federal policies.

Changing federal policies for the domestic industry led to booms and bust for the uranium industry and its communities. The author focuses on this "colonialist" control rather than any human agency that might have shaped work or community life. He uncritically outlines Cold War demands for atomic ores and shows how, from World War II to the end of the federally subsidized market in 1970, the government controlled the uranium market for national security purposes. Government contracts assured corporate profits, and by 1958 production had expanded across eight western states. When federal supports were curtailed to open supplies to international markets, a short burst of commercial demand in the 1970s came to a dramatic end by the 1980s.

Amundson effectively outlines the external forces that began to undermine 1950s optimism for endless uranium production. Shifts in congressional and Atomic Energy Commission purchasing programs, delays in anticipated nuclear power demand, oil company takeovers, new environmental regulations, the politics of enriching uranium, foreign competition, the Three Mile Island accident, and heightened concerns about nuclear power curtailed demand and contributed to the demise of the uranium communities. Union Carbide closed its mill in 1984 and dismantled Uravan in 1988; Western Nuclear sold Jeffrey City, whose houses were carted off. Communities that could diversify their economies fared better. Moab capitalized on the tourism industry, and Grants benefited from the construction of three state prisons.

The West's mining landscape is littered with tailings and other contaminants and has become home to the nation's largest Superfund sites. The uranium towns in Amundson's study faced an additional problem: radioactive wastes. The federal government and mining companies litigated over responsibility for cleanup, and both spent tens of millions of dollars on remediation, which began in all four communities in the 1980s.

The author notes in his introduction that this work is not "an in-depth social history" (p. xvii). The reflections and sentiments of residents are infrequently invoked. Curiously little is said about workers at the mines and mills, community life, or the human consequences of shutdowns, unemployment, and remediation. While full of details such as population and school enrollment figures and the establishment of churches and municipal services, the three chapters comparing the towns provide few insights into residents' lives. In the descriptions of company towns Uravan and Jeffrey City, for example, little analysis is offered of company-community relations. The author provides a more interesting comparison of Grants and Moab: their transformation into "atom" towns and the attendant problems from rapid growth.

Amundson charts the cultural markers that signified the increasing acceptance of Cold War atomic power in the electronic board game *Uranium Rush*, Hollywood films, literature, and television episodes that embraced the potential for "yellowcake" or uranium concentrate. Business names such as the Uranium Café and town celebrations such as Uranium Days Rodeo reflected support of the industry that fueled community growth. Yet there was at least some ambivalence about this heritage, as symbolized by Moab's ready adoption of "Heart of the Canyonlands" to replace its former "Uranium Capital of the World" slogan as tourism became central to its survival.

Communities seldom reflect on the products and politics of their chief employer. Michael Moore showcases this irony in his recent film, *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), where he interviews a spokesperson from Lockheed Martin, Columbine's largest employer. Flanked by some of his company's missiles, the representative appears genuinely puzzled about youth violence in his Colorado town, failing to connect national military policies to unsettling domestic issues. Because it focuses on the economic impacts of the rise and fall of uranium production, Amundson's book leaves untapped the community attitudes about the end use of that production.

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NICHOLAS DAGEN BLOOM. *Suburban Alchemy: 1960s New Towns and the Transformation of the American Dream*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 333. $27.95.

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Nicholas Dagen Bloom's book joins a growing and important body of literature on the modern suburban community and its place in the American landscape. His study of three communities from the New Towns movement—Reston, Virginia; Columbia, Maryland; and Irvine, California—moves beyond the older suburban analysis, which pitted the suburbs against the traditional urban forms, and examines its subjects on their own terms. Bloom considers both the built environment and the reform ideals that shaped the New Towns. He follows their development over time and grades them not pass/fail but individually, against their own criteria, producing a balanced study of the three towns, which were a response to the critique of the GI Bill suburbs of the 1950s.

After a review of the received wisdom on the American suburb, Bloom explores the planning and design of each of his subject communities. His analysis of the roles of time and class gives a depth to his subject that is lacking in many of the older environmental-determinist studies, which often emphasize the built environment and minimize the impact of class, culture, and time period. This model attributed pathologies, problems, or changes to the suburban environment: conditions that were far more widespread, and that had deeper roots in the culture. Focusing narrowly on the geography and form of the built environment as the source of the civic, cultural, and social lives of the inhabitants, such critiques often failed to distinguish between the suburbs and their time-specific, socioeconomic, and national contexts.

Bloom's detailed study of the plans and execution of the new towns includes a careful evaluation of their successes and failures at achieving their intended goals: civic involvement, social reform, cultural activities, and independence from the personal automobile. In the belief that the communities of the past can be created instantly through design, urban planners have been forming and reforming, critiquing and promoting our built environment for almost two centuries. Beginning with Horace Bushnell, Andrew Jackson Downing, and the Shakers, reformers have tried to construct on a physical level the promise of the metaphorical "City on a Hill." Thus the underlying goal of most of modern America's planned suburbs has been to return to, and improve on, the community life of the traditional—and largely mythic—neighborhoods of nineteenth-century America. A longing for a half-remembered past—the village, the neighborhood, the small town, the city, the golden form—nurtured the best in the American social culture.

Periodically reform developers try to recreate the physical form of traditional places in the belief that the form created the community rather than responding to it. They attempt to ward off the sterility and sprawl of the mass-produced suburbs of the postwar era, creating instant utopias in what are essentially more contemporary subdivisions. In so doing, they overlook the fact that community is a process rather than a product. The goals of the reformers—mixed land use, high culture and education, social equity and community—evolve in traditional ways. Small groups form and pursue special interests in the arts. A house is razed to be replaced by a shop, which, basic or quaint, gravitates to the market. Young people mature; the aged move in with their offspring. Although they may flourish more readily in one environment than another, traditional communities develop over time.

Nevertheless, the idea that the physical environment can create an instant utopia that will counteract the effects of fearsome social and cultural changes has been with us since the rural reform movement of the 1830s. Bloom's study provides a compelling argument for a composite, longitudinal study comparing and contrasting the development of three model communities from different eras, examining them at different points in their history in order to evaluate the effect of the built environment over time. This book is well written and accessible to students—both undergraduates and graduates—as well as to a more general readership. A solid bibliography and copious notes add to its value, although the studious reader would benefit from a more extensive index.

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DONALD E. DAVIS and EUGENE P. TRANI. *The First Cold War: The Legacy of Woodrow Wilson in U.S.-Soviet Relations*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 329. $42.50.

In this careful study of U.S. policy making toward the Russian Revolution, Donald E. Davis and Eugene P. Trani argue that "President Woodrow Wilson's administration initiated a 'cold war' that lasted from 1917 to 1933" (p. xxi). Wilson's legacy in U.S.-Soviet relations, they further contend, provided the precedent for the Cold War from 1946 to 1991, thereby making the Wilsonians "the first cold warriors" (p. 206). The authors develop this thesis by focusing on the U.S. government's search for a policy to deal with revolutionary Russia from 1917 to 1920, but not on what was happening in Russia. They seek to explain U.S. policy making toward "the Russian problem" rather than to examine the problem itself. Although they give some attention to how European governments reacted to revolutionary Russia in the midst of World War I and at the Paris Peace Conference, the authors keep their focus on the United States.

Davis and Trani criticize Wilson for his failure to define a constructive policy. After the March 1917 Russian Revolution, the president sent the Republican elder statesman Elihu Root on a diplomatic mission to Russia, and the engineer John F. Stevens on a technical mission to assist with the operation of the Trans-Siberian railway. These missions and some credits, relief, and propaganda, the authors conclude, were the only "efforts that constituted Wilson's foreign policy toward Russia during the months of the Provisional Government. The Wilson administration was increas-

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ingly aware of the worsening situation, but it failed to act" (p. 55). This was "Wilson's lost opportunity of gargantuan proportions and consequences" (pp. 56–57). Davis and Trani do not, however, address the fundamental question as to whether anything Wilson might have done at this time could have kept the Provisional Government in power and prevented the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917. In other words, by focusing narrowly on U.S. policy making they neglect the broader question as to whether revolutionary Russia was beyond the control of the United States and the Allies. Wilson's handling of the Russian problem might well deserve criticism, but the authors' conclusion that he was responsible for a "lost opportunity" depends on their unexamined assumption that a viable alternative was available.

The Soviet seizure of power, according to Davis and Trani, still did not elicit an adequate response in Washington. Wilson and his secretary of state, Robert Lansing, struggled to find a policy. They did not recognize V. I. Lenin's new regime, but neither did they attempt to overthrow it by intervention. "One can only conclude," the authors judge, "that there was no policy except that of doing nothing—watching and waiting—in the hope that Lenin's government would be overthrown" (p. 73). While seeking victory over imperial Germany on the western front, the president adopted the essentially negative approach of nonrecognition and nonintervention in dealing with the Russian problem on the eastern front. He was, the authors observe, "doing nothing with the Bolsheviks in the hope that democratic forces would soon emerge to overthrow Lenin and carry on the struggle with Germany" (p. 79).

Officially, the Wilson administration supported neither engagement with Lenin's radical government nor counterrevolution against it, although some Americans in Russia advocated and even pursued both alternatives. With the approval of U.S. ambassador David R. Francis, General William V. Judson, chief of the U.S. military mission in Russia, and Colonel Raymond Robins, an American Red Cross official, initiated tentative contacts with the new Soviet regime, notably with its foreign minister Leon Trotsky. Even when Germany resumed war on the eastern front in February 1918, these overtures did not lead to a new U.S.-Soviet relationship. As Davis and Trani note, "Lansing and Wilson closed the door to the Judson-Robins alternative" (p. 89). The authors think this alternative might have prevented Soviet Russia from concluding the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918. "If Robins had succeeded with Washington," they suggest, "then Trotsky's 'no peace, no war' formula might also have succeeded" (p. 115). The Soviets might not have signed the treaty ending the war on the eastern front, the authors conclude, but they offered no evidence to support this speculation.

In 1918, the Allies championed the alternative of intervention, but Wilson still hesitated. According to Davis and Trani, he did not want to violate his principles. "Wilson might intervene," they observe, "but only if it met his 'acid test' of fair play for Russia and Russian sovereignty and self-determination, as he had explained in Point VI of his Fourteen Points address" (p. 127). Eventually, however, Wilson succumbed to British and French requests to intervene in northern Russia and Siberia. "Had there been no Allied pressure," the authors suggest, "there probably would have been no American intervention" (p. 149). The president, in their view, adopted neither a pro nor an anti-Bolshevik policy; in contrast, Lansing was ideologically anti-Bolshevik. Although, as Davis and Trani recount, Wilson approved covert financial assistance to White Russians fighting against the Soviets as well as limited military intervention in Murmansk, Archangel, and Siberia, they still view the president as watching and waiting more than acting.

During the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Wilson tentatively pursued three initiatives to deal with the Russian problem. After the abortive Prinkipo meeting, William C. Bullitt went to Russia to assess the situation and establish contact with Soviet leaders, but the Bullitt mission failed to convince the U.S. and Allied peacemakers to recognize Lenin's government and open a new era in Soviet-Western relations. Without adequately explaining why they think Bullitt's report could had ended the Russian Civil War, Davis and Trani assert that "Bullitt had solved the Bolshevik riddle if the Allies were prepared to act on this document forcefully and not in the way in which they had allowed the Whites, with French support, to wiggle out of Prinkipo" (p. 168). The final initiative for dealing with Russia was Fridtjof Nansen's food-relief plan, but it, too, failed.

After returning home from Paris, Wilson fell back on "an American policy of nonrecognition and quarantine of Soviet Russia" (p. 175). He expressed anti-Bolshevik views during his western tour while advocating U.S. membership in the new League of Nations. His new secretary of state, Bainbridge Colby, elaborated this Wilsonian definition of U.S. policy in his August 9, 1920, note. Davis and Trani studiously trace the origins of this policy, but sometimes without sufficient context to justify their judgments. Oddly, they conclude that, like George F. Kennan after World War II, "Wilson was a 'realist' " (p. 206), despite their criticism of his repeated failures during "the first cold war."

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LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *American Law in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 722. $35.00.

Lawrence M. Friedman sets out an ambitious agenda: to tell the "story of what happened to American law and the American legal system in the century just past; and why it happened as it did" (p. ix). In the book's

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introduction, Friedman points to some general themes: the rise of the welfare regulatory state and the power of judicial review, the shift of power to Washington, D.C., the emergence of the "imperial" presidency, the explosion of "law" and the legal profession, and the globalization of American power (pp. 3–7). Friedman's deeper goal, however, is to explain the complex relationship between American law and the social and cultural milieu within which it is embedded, and from which it draws meaning. Law, Friedman tells us, has "no firm, tight, visible boundaries, and ... social context, and social meaning, are at the heart of the way it lives, breathes, and moves" (p. x). His book attempts to map this complex terrain.

Friedman divides his analysis into three periods: 1900–1932; 1932–1980; and 1980–2000. In part one, "The Old Order," Friedman sketches a time when the American legal profession was elite, white, and male. States and local governments were the primary source of law and regulatory control. Legal procedure was chaotic and antiquated. Criminal law reflected old-fashioned Victorian morality. The U.S. Supreme Court was mired in Lochnerism and Social Darwinism. On the whole, law was parochial, conservative, and oppressive of minorities and dissent.

In part two, "The New Deal and Its Successors," Friedman describes the revolution in American law following the 1930s. The welfare state emerged, economic regulation became ubiquitous, and these required the growth of a massive administrative bureaucracy. Criminal justice was modernized, shedding its Victorian morality, and rights were nationalized under the doctrine of incorporation. Governmental power in general became centralized, as politics shifted out of state capitals and into Washington, D.C. Within the federal government, power also became more centralized in the presidency. Politics became more personalized as well, as radio and television turned politicians into celebrities.

Friedman's argument in this section is that the sweeping changes to the American legal system following the New Deal were mostly the reflections, rather than the causes, of broader transformations in American society and culture. Take the American love affair with the automobile, for example. Not only did the car dramatically affect the mobility of Americans, but it brought about dramatic changes in law and legal institutions. Reams of new traffic laws led to the creation of a whole new level of courts to deal with traffic-related infractions (the most common interaction most Americans have with the legal system). Millions of traffic accidents gave rise to thousands of lawsuits. This, in turn, led to the growth of an auto insurance industry, as well as safety laws and regulations at both the state and federal level. And, of course, cars produced air pollution, which also needed to be controlled by law and lawyers (pp. 549–55).

Friedman shows us how new communication technologies, new transportation technologies, the industrialization and postindustrialization of the economy, and the emergence of new cultural attitudes about rights all lay behind changes to "the law." Yet law and legal culture also changed society. In particular, the emergence of a modern rights culture gave rise to "expressive individualism" (p. 509), "identity politics" (p. 544), and "plural equality" (p. 11–12, 505–10, 542–45). Although none of these terms is systematically defined, Friedman clearly sees them tied up with important social and political movements during the latter half of the twentieth century: the explosion in tort law and the rise of class action suits as mechanisms for social reform; the civil rights movement, which ended the American system of racial apartheid; the feminist movement, which radically transformed the family and the work place; and various lifestyle movements, which gave rise to new social issues such as environmental protection, consumer rights, gay rights, and the rights of the elderly. The case of Jo Carol La Fleur illustrates the trends at work. La Fleur was a teacher in inner-city Cleveland who was terminated from her job when she became pregnant. She sued in 1974 to get her job back. Already sensitized to her "rights" during a dispute over whether women could wear pants at school, La Fleur was not about to take her dismissal laying down, nor was she alone in her battle. She turned to the "institutions of the new culture" for help: her union, the American Civil Liberties Union, and a women's rights group. La Fleur "had become a feminist; she had become an expressive individualist. She had become, in fact, the archetype of the late-twentieth-century litigant," and by winning her suit she transformed American law (pp. 518–19).

The legal profession and legal culture, of course, reflected these changes. Legal education became more professional and routinized within law schools. Legal practice became more uniform (through adoption of codes of practice and procedures) but also more corporatized and bureaucratized. The era of the solo practitioner ended, and law increasingly came to be practiced in large law firms, government agencies, and by the in-house counsels of big corporations. Legal education and the legal profession, however, also became more pluralist, more representative of women and minorities, and more rights conscious (pp. 457–523).

In the third part of the book, "The Way We Live Now," Friedman considers the conservative backlash of the final two decades of the twentieth century. Although Ronald Reagan and George Bush were successful at packing the federal courts with more conservative judges and curbing the rate of growth of government programs, the "counterrevolution" has been actually quite limited. Social welfare spending was trimmed, but major programs—Social Security and Medicare—are alive and well. The Supreme Court revived notions of federalism in cases such as *U.S. v. Lopez* (1995), but its ability to curb federal regulatory power operates only at the margins. Affirmative action has been restricted and English-only laws have been enacted, but "plural equality" is here to stay. Indeed,

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antidiscrimination laws not only survived, but they have expanded to cover new groups such as the disabled. Abortion remains a constitutionally protected right of women. Other groups, such as gays, won important victories in state courts. In fact, Friedman argues, most of the changes to American law and legal institutions are irreversible (p. 525–26). They reflect the modern, complex, pluralist society in which we live, and, as such, they are beyond the reach of mere political choice.

Friedman's book captures brilliantly the broad social sweep of legal change during the twentieth century. It is at its best when the author's inductive, anecdotal approach demonstrates law's everyday social causes and consequences. Stories about ordinary people and everyday life expose the seamless web that connects law to common social attitudes, practices, and habits of thought. Yet, if this book demonstrates how law is deeply embedded in its social and cultural milieu, it will frustrate those seeking explanations about why law evolves and changes. By defining law so broadly and portraying it as so interconnected to society, Friedman's analysis denies the possibility that law has any life of its own. This is not the place to debate law's autonomy, but Friedman's sociological approach shares some of the same difficulties with analytical circularity and determinism as earlier Marxist historicism and the scholarship of the structural-functional school of sociology. For example, aside from a brief discussion of how legal thought influenced the legal academy (pp. 487–504), Friedman barely mentions many of the great twentieth-century debates about legal ideas and legal theory, especially modern American constitutional theory. The likes of Edwin Corwin, Alexander Bickle, James Ely, Bruce Ackerman, and Cass R. Sunstein are not even mentioned, while Learned Hand, Herbert Wechsler, Robert Bork, and Ronald Dworkin are mentioned only in passing (nothing really substantive is said about their ideas). Nor is there much attention paid to the great jurists and great judicial decisions of the twentieth century. Oliver Wendell Holmes's and Louis D. Brandeis's dissents, the debates between Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter over the protection of rights, William J. Brennan's and Antonin Scalia's debates over constitutional interpretation are similarly absent or mentioned only in passing.

Similarly disappointing is the lack of attention given to the causal relationships that exist between law and political structures. Little serious attention is given to how Franklin D. Roosevelt's political agenda required a rethinking of American constitutional theory. No effort is given to explaining how the collapse of the New Deal coalition and the emergence of divided government during the last thirty years dramatically influenced law (shifting politics out of the legislative arena into courts and the administrative bureaucracy, and leading to the legalization of partisan politics). The Supreme Court's growing role in reshaping American electoral politics in the late twentieth century is discussed on a single page. Indeed, the Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), striking down limitations on campaign spending as a violation of the First Amendment, is not even mentioned. Arguably this latter decision is the most important reason for the continued entrenchment of monied interests in the American political system and hence for the failure to expand the scope of the welfare state to include such things as health care.

Ultimately, Friedman's reluctance to treat law as something other than, or separate from, society and culture strips his analysis of any explanatory leverage. Law is at once everything and nothing; it is both cause and effect. To be sure, he recognizes these definitional and analytical problems at the outset (p. x), but he does not adequately deal with them. Everything is connected to everything else, and so legal history to Friedman becomes deterministic, unfathomable, and unpredictable: "there is never any end to the historical process; history is a river that never dries up, it always flows on, and its currents are full of swirls and surprises. Where all the ins and outs, the reactions and counterreactions, will lead is anybody's guess" (p. 12).

It is easy to criticize an author for the book he did not write. What Friedman has produced is masterful, even if it is incomplete in important respects. He weaves a broad survey of business law, property law, family law, the law of estates, tort law, crime, civil rights, civil liberties, and race relations together in a highly readable volume. Moreover, his scholarship is meticulous and thorough. This book is an important addition to the literature and merits the attention of anyone interested in how law was made and remade during the twentieth century.

CORNELL W. CLAYTON
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EDWARD C. LORENZ. *Defining Global Justice: The History of U.S. International Labor Standards Policy*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2001. Pp. x, 318. Cloth $54.95, paper $27.95.

As protestors challenging the form and function of current modes of globalization clash with police around the world, few of them are probably aware that their demands for global labor rights are part of a century-long tradition. A vibrant group of U.S.-based scholars, clergy, union leaders, lawyers, and business leaders had long ago given that stream of policy debate institutional weight when they built the International Labor Organization (ILO) in 1919. Although controversy rages today as to whether that end product is a bureaucratically laden debating society or the organization that has the potential to be the defender of social justice in the global age, the ILO today is clearly at the center of the discussions of international labor rights and standards. As the first complete history of the ILO, this book by Edward C. Lorenz is important for its evidence, clear narrative and, perhaps inadvertently, its theoretical contribution as well. The book

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begins by tracing the rise of the tripartite system of global labor rights based on participation from labor, management, and government, from the early twentieth century through the establishment of the ILO during the Treaty of Versailles. Despite the ILO being the spiritual offspring of the American policy elite, however, the United States rejected it along with the rest of the Versailles-based international arrangements after World War I. Just as the stream of progressive thought on the domestic labor question was brought into the corridors of power during the crisis of the 1930s, however, so did its international twin as the United States finally joined the ILO in 1934. This policy "reversal" toward a pro-labor rights position happened in an absolutely fascinating dialogue with the decline of the New England textile industry in the 1920s and 1930s, which spurred industrialists to see the downside of unrestrained competition on their fortunes and their workers. This thrust a New Hampshire politician named John Winant to the head of the ILO in 1935. As Lorenz argues, "Winant followed the evidence. And, the evidence clearly proceeded from the mills on the Merrimack through the American South and on to Geneva" (p. 81).

The study then proceeds into the postwar era. This period began with the 1944 Declaration of Philadelphia, a document that put social justice squarely at the front of the international order. Unfortunately, the postwar years quickly became defined by waning American interest in international labor rights, except when it came to fighting communism, expanding technocracy, and limiting the ILO's social mission. At the dawn of the new millennium, Lorenz sees reasons for renewal and reaffirmation of the ILO's vision. As the "lawless global economy feared by Woodrow Wilson and James Shotwell in 1919, and by Robert Owen a century earlier" has finally arrived, it is the ILO that again will be able to step in to speak for global justice (p. 220). The question that remains is whether the ILO is up to the immense challenge of inserting the old school progressive vision into the globalization debates, or whether it will only be allowed to tinker around the margins of the world order and serve simply, as *Fortune* magazine once called it, as "Revolution Insurance" for business interests, mobilized only when things get too hot.

While this narrative is reliable and workmanlike, Lorenz's theoretical overlay inadvertently exposes much of the northern arrogance embedded in the global North-South tensions of the contemporary world order. The ILO is an institution that is removed and arcane and bureaucratic to most citizens, one that grants no enforceable rights to anyone, but that the author heralds as a stunning example of the success of the openness of the political process to a substratum of U.S. elite politics. The "exceptional" and "distinctive" (words that appear numerous times throughout the book) process of American interest group politics that he celebrates so blindly, however, is much more complicated than Lorenz's account of these advocates' ability to "win" in the policy arena (p. 224).

The real question is: win what? Here the argument driving Lorenz's otherwise fine research smacks of a nasty imperialism, in which he believes that bringing the beauty and wonder of American civil and political society to the rest of the world is an unmitigated good. Mexicans, he believes, come to the United States because they love the open-ended civil society and the freedom to organize, and the ILO promises to bring that exceptional model to the world. Never mind that Human Rights Watch condemns U.S. labor rights as grossly inadequate or that countless immigration researchers have found the United States a cold and hostile place for immigrants or that the ILO itself is hardly a paragon of participatory democracy. In the end, it is unclear whether Lorenz's triumphant story is making the case for U.S. exceptionalism as he wishes, or a case for ideological imperialism that he seems blind to, or whether he is unconsciously making the case that they are the same thing.

JEFFERSON COWIE
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MARIAN C. MCKENNA. *Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Constitutional War: The Court-Packing Crisis of 1937.* New York: Fordham University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 612. $60.00.

Why have many of the greatest presidents had dramatic confrontations with the Supreme Court? Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt each had a well-publicized dispute that threatened to diminish the judicial branch. Part of the greatness of these presidents was apparently their willingness to exploit the power of the office and push their authority. Perhaps no one went further than Roosevelt with his ill-fated attempt to pack a Court antithetical to his policy designs.

In her book on the Court-packing plan, Marian C. McKenna argues that most analyses of the Supreme Court's devastation of the New Deal and Roosevelt's subsequent battle with the Court have misplaced blame and praise. But if past studies erred in excoriating the Court and exonerating the president, this book errs in the opposite direction. For instance, often the author uses personal papers, biographies, and autobiographies to reveal decisions and tactics, and she is quick to dismiss Roosevelt's and his allies' justifications as disingenuous while accepting the stated motivations of the president's opponents.

The book is meticulously researched and reads like a well-written mystery, but it is not without problems. Indeed, the author does such a good job with the narrative that those unfamiliar with history would be surprised to discover that Roosevelt won re-election twice after this fiasco and is considered a great president. Yet how could such a great leader launch an initiative that was doomed from the outset?

McKenna's narrative does not give enough credence

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to the context. Little attention is directed to the economic ravages that led voters to turn the engines of government over to the Democrats and relegated the Republicans to a faint shadow. The New Deal marked a radical departure in the nature of the presidency and government. Legislation was admittedly experimental and passed hastily to cope with the Great Depression. This political revolution, the very definition of a partisan realignment, was a recipe for institutional conflict. The executive and legislative branches were turned over to the party that had been out of power for a generation, while the judiciary remained in the hands of those who had been turned out of office. As Mr. Dooley noted, "the Supreme Court follows the election returns." The Court cannot long withstand the will of the elected branches.

The author is reluctant to concede that there are legitimate disagreements over the nature of constitutional theory. Questions such as "should the Constitution be adapted to the times" and "what is the appropriate definition of judicial restraint" are enduring. While McKenna argues that this incident created a precedent that such attacks would be futile and would engender public approbation, the Court has hardly been free from attacks on its jurisdiction over the past fifty years.

The author does an excellent job tracing the transformation of the dispute from Roosevelt's attack on the Court to his confrontation with Congress and how the "war" was perpetuated even after the battle had apparently been won. The Court's "retreat," marked most notably by the *NLRB v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Co.* decision (1937), made Roosevelt's attack less necessary. Roosevelt could argue that Justice Owen J. Roberts's change of heart might be ephemeral, and only permanent institutional alterations would insure the results he sought. But once Justice Willis Van Devanter retired, any momentum was gone. Still, Roosevelt continued his quixotic battle against the legislative branch and for control of his party. Roosevelt's contempt for the Court was not satisfied by the Court's retreat or the chance to appoint his own justice. According to Lucas Powe, his first appointee, Hugo Black was nominated to enrage the Senate and diminish the Court (*The Warren Court and American Politics* [2000], p. 5).

McKenna demonstrates that Roberts's supposed "switch in time that saved nine" occurred before blatant pressure from the White House. But Roberts could not fail to understand the tumult surrounding the Court's decisions even in advance of the Court-Packing plan. The apparent switch came a mere month after the 1936 landslide and with the Court already subject to all forms of criticism.

McKenna (p. 435) dismisses the idea that the Court's retreat, whatever the motivations, represented a constitutional revolution. These decisions stood federalism and commerce clause jurisprudence on its head and led to the preferred position doctrine that changed civil rights and individual liberties. What *would* constitute a revolution?

In the end, despite its problems, this is an important study that makes a definitive contribution. But it should be read in conjunction with one of the many studies that takes a more favorable view of Roosevelt as a means of achieving some balance.

RICHARD L. PACELLE, JR.
Georgia Southern University

PAUL C. ROSIER. *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912–1954*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 346. $65.00.

Paul C. Rosier's study of the Blackfeet Nation's acceptance and exercise of the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) illustrates how simplistic has been the general portrayal of the IRA as a failure. Through extensive archival research, personal interviews, and the use of democratic political theory, Rosier brings the agency of Blackfeet political leaders to the fore. The struggles of contending intrareservation groups receive as much attention as their ongoing negotiations with federal administrators. Rosier's verdict that the IRA benefitted the Blackfeet is not born of naïveté.

Rosier broadens the scope of analysis of the IRA from the bleak economic decades preceding its passage in 1934 to 1954, well beyond the traditional stopping point of John Collier's resignation in 1945. This clearly shows not only that Blackfeet political activism cannot have hinged solely on the career of one man in Washington, D.C., but also that successful political organizing preceded both the IRA and the termination era.

Stark poverty on the Blackfeet reservation in the early twentieth century went unrelieved by any policy measures put in place by Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) administrators. This fact underpinned the desires of Blackfeet leaders of all political stripes to wrest some measure of control from the federal government. Most advocated developing their oil reserves in the face of OIA opposition. However, they could seldom concur about the contours of what should take the place of OIA paternalism. Wealthy Blackfeet elite used the Blackfeet Tribal Business Committee (BTBC) to facilitate their own economic interests and those of outside developers, while older, more impoverished residents favored per capita payments to equalize the distribution of tribal revenues. Achieving a meaningful and lasting compromise was an elusive but persistent goal.

The IRA provided useful tools in the form of a democratic political structure and a revolving loan fund to support economic development. Many benefitted, but some fared better than others. The BTBC became a focal point for ongoing political organizing and activism. Older, more collectively oriented residents who were less familiar with the workings of the market economy tended to be frozen out of political

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office, and they distrusted both the more capitalistic BTBC elite and the framework of the IRA itself. At times their concerns were well founded, as elite political leaders exercised poor judgment, partisanship, a lack of moderation, and blatant dishonesty. At other times, these same leaders valued the participation of their elders enough to accord them power over membership decisions and to accede to the necessity of regularizing per capita payments. Rosier argues persuasively that both the successes and shortcomings of Blackfeet utilization of the provisions of the IRA were predictable growing pains in the laudable establishment of participatory democracy on this northern Montana reservation.

Rosier would have strengthened his analysis had he avoided the time-worn "mixed blood" and "full blood" labels that so plague this field. He does not explore how the Blackfeet employed the terms' symbolic content in any systematic way, and utilizing them himself confounds more than it clarifies. For example, early on we learn that Robert J. Hamilton, Sr., "a mixed-blood graduate of Carlisle Indian School" who married "a full-blood woman," was "the leader of a *predominantly* full-blood faction" (italics mine). In this capacity, Hamilton "earned the enmity of wealthy stock owners—white and both mixed-blood and full-blood" (p. 15). Later, when Hamilton exercises more individualistic judgment, he is said to behave more like a mixed blood. All of this accords too much essentialism to an individual's "blood" or birth parents. To buttress his use of the dichotomous labels, Rosier cites a 1984 anthology that asserts that all native factionalism around the turn of the twentieth century broke down along the lines of "mixed bloods" and "full bloods" or "conservatives" and "progressives," but this adds no diagnostic power to the terms. Leaving the labels behind would have forced Rosier to confront more squarely the real social and political dynamics. The best studies today do just that.

Rosier eventually abandons oppositional labels, noting that by the 1940s the Blackfeet Nation resembled American society. Its government was democratic, and its economy was class based and stratified. The elite yearned to throw off both the paternalistic yoke of the federal bureaucracy and the tribal welfare state, while those not so well off lobbied for greater political clout and an equalized distribution of resources. For political leaders, Rosier fleshes out kin networks and other social affiliations, locates their residences, and conveys how they earned a living. This type of analysis tells us far more than measuring "blood" can and would work equally well for other time periods.

Nevertheless, the study is welcome as a long overdue addition to the sparse scholarship on Native political and economic activism in the twentieth century. Painful though the journey was, it is a story of success. Students will recoil from the detailed recounting of political and economic developments, but scholars can make good use of the Blackfeet account.

Melissa L. Meyer
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Beth Tompkins Bates. *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 275. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.95.

The years between the coming of World War I and the closing of World War II were a time of tremendous flux in the tone and tenor of African-American politics. A succession of watershed moments, from the Great Migration and the New Negro to the Great Depression and the New Deal, not to mention the transformative epochs of the wars themselves, opened old established strategies to growing challenge from within black America. For all their ideological diversity, newer voices shared an impulse to enlarge the ranks, broaden the aims, stoke the urgency, and step up the militancy of black political enterprise. Essential to this insurgent outlook was the promotion of unionism as a vehicle for black advancement. In this short yet finely textured study of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), Beth Tompkins Bates recaptures a historic campaign to fuse, to their mutual enrichment, the traditions of organized labor and civil rights protest. In the process, she helps to bridge, to *their* mutual enrichment, the historiographies of black and working-class America.

The story of the BSCP (and of A. Philip Randolph, its renowned national leader) has often been told, but never has it been anchored so effectively in the wider currents of black interwar protest. The book is set chiefly in Chicago, heart of the Pullman Company's fabled dominion and, not coincidentally, of the BSCP drive as well. Nowhere in black America was Pullman's paternal hegemony so broadly enveloping, from the deferential persona that was expected of its locally based porters and maids to the elaborate schemes of patronage and philanthropy that were designed to secure the loyalties of black Chicagoans, both proletarian and bourgeois. It was here that the BSCP focused its first assaults on the classic patterns (as the union saw them) of servility and supplication. Launched in 1925, the BSCP conceived of itself as a crusade to place unionism at the forefront of the black struggle for genuine citizenship, or, as Bates puts it, "to use a labor-based movement as a tool for shaping a protest strategy that sought civil and economic rights" (p. 10).

It was an uphill project, to say the least. From the outset, organizers recognized that success would depend on their capacity to forge community ties no less expansive than those fostered by the Pullman Company. Consulting a wealth of largely untapped manuscript collections, oral histories, and accounts in the black press, Bates reconstructs these efforts in vivid

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detail. The BSCP's gradual inroads into the initially unreceptive middle class of black Chicago owed at once to its broad-gauged, rights-oriented appeals and to a vital network of local sympathizers, spearheaded by a dynamic cadre of clubwomen (including the venerated Ida Wells-Barnett). Among the book's more intriguing features is the clubwomen's demonstrated responsiveness to union invocations of black "manhood": evidence, as Bates shrewdly notes, of that ideal's elastic import and wide resonance in the black protest tradition.

By the early 1930s, the organization figured centrally among a grid of "New-Crowd protest networks" that were bold in temperament, often radical in vision and association, and, whatever their differences, alive to the progressive possibilities of a renascent labor movement. Bates's narrative culminates in the heady days of the National Negro Congress of the late 1930s and the March on Washington Movement of the early 1940s, initiatives that propelled Randolph, the BSCP, and their new-guard politics to the vanguard of national civil rights mobilization. When the dust had settled, Bates observes, the trademark moderation, gentility, and top-down style of the black old guard had in large measure succumbed, if not converted, to the insistent, grassroots activism of the new.

Not unlike the BSCP itself, Bates is keenly attuned to the interplay of conventional assumption and radical reassessment, of mass mobilization and "elite" guidance, of the cause of worker rights and that of black rights. At places, her claims for the scope and depth of the union's popular appeal could use further illustration. Still, this engaging, substantial volume will take its place as our most illuminating study of the BSCP to date.

DANIEL LETWIN
Pennsylvania State University

MARGARET C. RUNG. *Servants of the State: Managing Diversity and Democracy in the Federal Workforce, 1933–1953*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 271. $39.95.

Margaret C. Rung's labor history of U.S. federal employees from 1933 to 1953 illustrates well the complexities and contradictions of policies and practices governing civil service workers. Prodigiously researched, her book presents the federal government as employer through the eyes of U.S. presidents, their professional advisors, personnel managers, rank-and-file civil servants, as well as union and civil rights leaders. During those twenty years, Rung argues, federal employees faced idiosyncratic rules and regulations dictated by their managers. Workers' rights depended on managers' personnel philosophies and practices. For the most part, the federal managers were hostile to union representation for civil servants, even though workers in the private sector were winning collective bargaining rights. Federal managers promoted efficiency, loyalty, and productivity with new human-relations techniques while simultaneously investigating federal employees' political views and affiliations as a national security measure. Rung finds that rigid occupational race and sex segregation in federal jobs belied the civil service rhetoric of individual advancement for meritorious performance.

Rung organizes her story of federal employment both chronologically and thematically. During the 1930s, the appointments of men with elite academic credentials to key federal government posts angered long-term civil service employees, who viewed such appointments as effrontery to the Civil Service Commission's promise to ordinary Americans of an opportunity for unbridled upward mobility based on merit and experience. By bypassing the civil service for many professional positions, the Roosevelt administration created a two-tier career system and triggered tensions between supporters of merit and patronage systems. By granting industrial workers the right to organize independent trade unions, the New Deal sensitized federal employees to the constraints on their particular labor conditions and rights. Federal employee organizations unsuccessfully lobbied Congress to put all federal jobs under the civil service.

Bereft of other means, individual federal employees questioned specific labor conditions and policies at the agency level. Here Rung finds differing managerial practices depending on the agency's manager. Although Rung says that the leaders of the American Federation of Government Employees and the National Federation of Federal Employees, affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, did not challenge "office hierarchies, administrative paternalism, [and] the racial caste system" (p. 62), they can at least be credited with protesting the Economy Act of 1932, whose section 213 barred married persons from both working for the federal government. Their efforts, along with those of high-profile women in the Roosevelt administration and independent feminists, led to the repeal of the clause. Still, prejudice against married women's employment and independent working women persisted unabated during the 1930s, and occupational sex segregation remained untouched.

As for race, Rung demonstrates that white and black liberal activists within the federal government shared the belief that African Americans were members of an inferior subculture because they lacked equal economic opportunity. Such thinking, Rung argues, was consonant with mainstream social science thought of the time. Liberal reformers staunchly defended merit-based hiring and promotion practices, but hard-core racial discrimination eroded slowly. Not until 1941 did the Civil Service Commission end the practice of requiring applicants to submit photographs of themselves.

Rung explores two themes in the remainder of her book: the human-relations techniques used to promote productivity, loyalty, and patriotism and the postwar concern for subversive thought and activity. Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an order making strikes of public

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employees illegal and reinforcing Congressional authority over pay scales. To boost morale among workers in the late 1930s and the 1940s, federal departments were supposed to standardize their grievance procedures. To workers' frustration, that did not uniformly occur. Public service unions struggled for a voice in deliberating workers' grievances but were constrained by the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the Council of Personnel Administration. During the late 1940s and the 1950s the hunt for Communist sympathizers raged through federal agencies, making individual employees vulnerable to dismissal without due process.

Rung appropriately places her story of civil servants within the larger context of twentieth-century labor relations where, as she notes, "capitalist and democratic values" (p. 195) vied for dominance. Managerial power, not participatory democracy, defined workers' opportunities for pay increases, promotions, and the quality of their work environment. By weaving together managerial philosophies and labor practices, union politics, and workers' actions, Rung has produced a well-crafted tapestry of federal employment.

The principal weakness in Rung's account is its time limitation. Since the late 1960s, the federal government has become a major employer of African Americans, other minorities, and women, both in its professional and nonprofessional positions. The past fifty years deserved at least an epilogue.

MAURINE W. GREENWALD
University of Pittsburgh

PETER SCHRIJVERS. *The GI War against Japan: American Soldiers in Asia and the Pacific During World War II.* New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 320. $45.00.

Peter Schrijvers has crafted a unique study of American cultural attitudes regarding different aspects of the Pacific War. Schrijvers's first book, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (1998), was a well-received study of U.S. Army combatants' European experiences. This second volume encompasses attitudes of men and women from all the armed services, who served as support troops or combatants in vastly disparate theaters extending from teeming cities in India to tiny atolls in the central Pacific. In exploring what Americans said about themselves and how they viewed various Asian peoples, the unfamiliar environments in which they lived, and the nature of the enemy, Schrijvers is trying to elucidate not only the story of their victory over the Japanese but "also the tale of the West's defeat in Asia" (p. ix). In his alliterative tripartite division of the book into "Frontier," "Frustration," and "Fury," the author is in many ways more interested in the latter story, which avoids the heavily trod operational approach to the subject. Those looking for yet another triumphalist recapitulation of battles or campaigns will need to go elsewhere.

The thematic structure is straightforward and logical. The first section suggests that in looking to their past as they traveled to the Pacific, Americans saw themselves alternatively as frontier pioneers, romantics, missionaries, and imperialists. Schrijvers argues that their assumptions and goals were defined in terms of racial, spiritual, or technological superiority that virtually ensured their brave-new-world visions could at best be imposed only superficially or temporarily on the Asian lands and peoples they visited. The mix of arrogance, altruism, and naïveté in Americans' observations makes for interesting reading. The second part considers how the environment and the people resisted American efforts to assert their dominance and the physical and psychological toll service personnel suffered. Only the final section, the shortest of the three, examines directly Americans' attitudes and behavior toward their Japanese enemies. In explaining the barbarization of the war, the author maintains "the many frustrations caused by the ecological, demographic, and mental environment of Asia and the Pacific contributed more than their fair share ... however, the rage building in GIs ... was sustained also by hardening hatreds born from multiple sources" (p. 213). This hatred was in turn enabled by the industrial and technological capabilities of the United States.

As a catalog of American attitudes and values, this book makes a valuable contribution to the literature. Schrijvers has consulted the most relevant published primary materials, and, while not exhaustive, his manuscript research includes extensive archival holdings at the Military History Institute and the growing collection of veterans' papers at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The author's demonstrated familiarity with the secondary literature and thorough endnotes provide a useful index for anyone who might want to consider soldiers' attitudes on a very broad range of topics. His method is similar to Gerald F. Linderman's in *The World within War: American Combat Experience in World War II* (1997), but Schrijvers's focus on the Pacific and use of materials from men and women of all the services provides a range of coverage not found elsewhere.

Although the survey of cultural attitudes is the strength of this book, the approach has its limitations. First, the cross section of opinions Schrijvers found in letters or manuscripts is largely stripped of context when laid before the reader. The thematic organization can mean leaping from one paragraph to the next—or sometimes within a single paragraph—from 1941 to 1945, from Burma to Makin, or from an Army medical officer to a Navy yeoman, without any connection other than a specific thematic variable. Second, the author does not establish meaningful parallels among all these very disparate experiences and reactions to support and sustain the line of argument offered in the preface. In particular, combat experiences are underrepresented in the book, both in terms of the importance ascribed to them by veterans and in

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maintaining the comprehensiveness of coverage found in the first two sections.

Schrijvers has made a useful contribution to the literature on the Pacific War with his latest book, which presents in concise form a broad, incisive, and well-written survey of American soldiers' attitudes to a wider range of subjects than can be found anywhere else. If he to some extent sacrifices context and critical development of his findings, he has nonetheless produced a thorough and creative overview on which other social and cultural historians can build.

CRAIG M. CAMERON
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LON KURASHIGE. *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival, 1934–1990.* (American Crossroads.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 274. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

In this book, Lon Kurashige examines the process by which Japanese immigrants and their descendants identified themselves as members of an ethnic group and as individuals within that group. Because outside forces influenced the way they saw and represented themselves, their views of what it meant to be ethnic Japanese changed over time and within different historical contexts.

The author provides few details of the festival called Nisei Week. Instead he uses it as a vehicle with which to explore the ways in which ethnic leaders constructed and reconstructed their ethnic identity in the context of shifting political, economic, and social forces impinging on the Japanese-American community of Los Angeles. In the 1930s, they emphasized the ideal of themselves as bicultural bridges of understanding between the United States and Japan. In the 1940s, they stressed their loyalty to the United States. In the aftermath of World War II and with the opening of job opportunities in sectors previously closed to them, they rejected the ethnic enclave and moved toward racial integration. By the 1970s, however, many were questioning their accommodation to Western standards.

Nisei Week originally focused on the Nisei, children of Japanese immigrants. By 1930, the proportion of Nisei equaled that of their parents. Business owners in "Little Tokyo" sought to capitalize on the potential consumerism of this younger generation, who were buying Western goods outside the immigrant community. With the intent of reversing this trend, merchant groups approached the Los Angeles chapter of the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL), a Nisei organization with sister chapters throughout the West Coast. Placing the JACL at the head of its effort, the immigrant business community organized the first Nisei Week in 1934, welcoming both the Nikkei (ethnic Japanese) as well as the general public.

Both immigrant and JACL leaders sought to have the non-Nikkei public accept their ethnic community. Moreover, they feared the impression of backwardness and ignorance that most immigrants and their children made. Organizers hoped that the Nisei Week festivities would help to socialize their poorer ethnic brethren toward "proper" standards and behaviors. Thus organizers not only believed that the festival would support and increase consumerism in Little Tokyo but also hoped to present a positive public image of their ethnic minority, as well as to inculcate cultural values that would help the younger generation understand their place and their role as representatives of their people.

With the outbreak of war and the forced removal of the Nikkei to concentration camps, many of those from Los Angeles were sent to the Manzanar Relocation Center. The author analyzes the role of the JACL and the controversy over their collaboration with government officials, resulting in a "riot" that claimed the lives of two young Nisei men. Extending his earlier discussion, Kurashige highlights the differences in class backgrounds between JACL members and their unsophisticated and less educated rural counterparts, challenging earlier analyses of other scholars who portrayed the conflict as between those more culturally Japanese and those more Americanized.

In the late 1960s, the few Nikkei who went beyond their ethnic group to support the civil rights movement initiated an ethnic revival within their own group that again helped to redefine the group's identity. This more radical element opposed the group's idealization of white America, symbolized by the swimsuit competition initiated in the 1950s and modeled after the Miss America contest. Furthermore, they challenged the subordinate role of women within the Japanese-American community. As the contesting ideologies struggled for dominance during the 1970s and 1980s, the distinctions among them blurred and what emerged was a less radical notion of cultural pluralism.

This book is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature that recognizes the importance of examining Nikkei life before World War II. Kurashige's work—like John Modell's pathbreaking *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900–1942* (1977) and more recent studies such as my *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (1994), Brian Hayashi's *"For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren": Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism among the Japanese of Los Angeles* (1995), Jere Takahashi's *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (1997), and David Yoo's *Growing Up* Nisei: *Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans, 1924–49* (2000)—demonstrates the importance of analyzing the prewar experiences of the Nikkei in order to understand more fully their lives in the wartime and postwar periods.

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ROBERT WEISBROT. *Maximum Danger: Kennedy, the Missiles, and the Crisis of American Confidence*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2001. Pp. viii, 275. $27.50.

In this work, Robert Weisbrot examines President John F. Kennedy's approach to Fidel Castro and Nikita Khrushchev prior to and during the Cuban missile crisis. This, of course, is a topic that has been examined by a good many scholars over the years, but Weisbrot provides fresh insights in what is a commendable piece of work.

The main thrust of Weisbrot's study is an attempt to contextualize JFK's policies. He takes issue with those who have argued that Kennedy's machismo infused his foreign policy, making it distinctively hardline. In fact, argues Weisbrot, his policies were consonant with the diplomatic approach he inherited from Dwight D. Eisenhower, and with public and congressional opinion. Hence the issues raised by Kennedy during the 1960 presidential campaign, such as the rise of Castro and the "missile gap" between the superpowers, did not suggest an unusually belligerent approach to international affairs but simply reflected general concern in the United States over these matters. His interventionism in Cuba was consistent with traditional U.S. policy in Latin America, what became the Bay of Pigs operation originated in the Eisenhower administration, the premise underpinning the ExComm debate in October 1962—that the missiles had to be removed but without triggering a nuclear war—mirrored public opinion, and Kennedy's secret promise to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey was also in line with domestic political opinion. "The missile crisis, as much as anything," the author concludes, "is the story of how Kennedy faithfully reflected a remarkable consensus in political institutions and public opinion regarding America's role as Free World champion in the nuclear age" (p. 213). JFK comes across as a commendably cautious, moderate leader when put in the context of prevailing attitudes in the United States toward the communist challenge. Weisbrot cogently presents a picture of a president who during the missile crisis itself was strongly committed to bringing a peaceful end to the confrontation.

This lively, engaging study could have been developed further in a number of ways. Although the early part of this work is devoted to the pre-missile crisis period, Operation Mongoose is only briefly mentioned. This is incongruous as, for the best part of a year, from November 1961 to October 1962, this clandestine Central Intelligence Agency initiative was the centerpiece of Kennedy's policy toward Cuba. It could also be argued that the hawkishness displayed by JFK with Mongoose calls into question the general view of him as a restrained foreign policy leader. The Cordier ploy, a plan for the arrangement of a public trade involving the missiles in Turkey and in Cuba, merits much more than the cursory coverage it receives, especially as the Jupiters represent a point of focus for the author. Weisbrot's review of the historiography should have been developed further. The emergence of a third school, eclectic and arguably more evenhanded in interpretation, and exemplified by the work of historians such as Herbert Parmet and James Giglio, should have been discussed in addition to the Camelot and counter-Camelot paradigms examined by Weisbrot. Furthemore, not all would accept what seems to be an assumption of this study that public opinion inevitably sets the parameters for policy makers. It can be argued that exceptional leaders can themselves shape public opinion.

It is worth highlighting, moreover, that although Kennedy was in the mainstream of opinion in the United States among policy makers, Congress, and the public in general, there were plausible alternatives to his foreign policy articulated within the ranks of the Democratic Party, specifically its liberal wing. The likes of Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles recommended a foreign policy based more on negotiations, economic aid, and working through international organizations than on the expansion of American military power and of anticommunist covert activities authorized by Kennedy. JFK faced significant opposition within his own administration to the Bay of Pigs invasion and to the decision made after that operation to continue to push for a quick overthrow of Castro. To be sure, JFK was not out of step with the anticommunist consensus in the United States in the early 1960s, but the spectrum of opinion within his own party and administration suggests that there was nothing inevitable about the policies he carried out.

Nevertheless, Weisbrot has produced a stimulating work that deserves the attention of missile crisis historians. A good deal of recent scholarship has been devoted to perfecting the narrative of the missile crisis, utilizing recently released materials to make sure the details are right. Ultimately, however, all of the new revelations have to be used to develop an engaging overall interpretation of events. Using a strong analytical framework, Weisbrot achieves this. Among the insights he provides is showing the extent to which the idea of blockading Cuba was widespread among American political figures even prior to the onset of the missile crisis. The blockade, therefore, was not an idea miraculously conceived in the midst of the crisis. Weisbrot is also a superb stylist, and that makes this study even more rewarding.

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JOHN A. ANDREW III. *Power to Destroy: The Political Uses of the IRS from Kennedy to Nixon*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2002. Pp. viii, 385. $27.50.

"The power to tax involves the power to destroy," Chief Justice John Marshall famously declared, and John A. Andrew III's posthumously published book demonstrates the truth of that statement. Andrew surveys how three recent presidents used the Internal

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Revenue Service (IRS) to harass their political opponents. Taking advantage of reams of newly released documents, he provides disturbing evidence of the ways that a powerful and secretive state can suppress dissent.

Andrew starts his book with the Kennedy administration's tax investigations of right-wing foundations. Clearly, the federal government did have real concerns that some politically active foundations were misusing their tax-exempt status. But Andrew shows that the administration used the program as a way to badger groups that opposed Kennedy's policies. Through the Freedom of Information Act, Andrew discovered several "smoking gun" memos that prove the IRS targeted groups based on political considerations, not suspected tax violations. During the Kennedy administration, the IRS also agreed to help the Federal Bureau of Investigation disrupt groups that the bureau considered dangerous. The tax investigators rarely collected or even demanded delinquent taxes from these groups; their aim was to intimidate opponents.

The Johnson administration continued the assault on right-wing foundations and broadened the campaign to include left-wing dissenters. In a well-known example, the Central Intelligence Agency in 1967 asked the IRS to investigate the tax returns of the supporters of the antiwar magazine *Ramparts*. President Lyndon B. Johnson also used the IRS to solve the tax problems of some of his supporters.

But the misuse of the IRS did not reach its peak until the Nixon administration. President Richard M. Nixon demonstrated his eagerness to abuse the powers of the tax agency when he listed his criteria for a new IRS commissioner: "I want to be sure he is a ruthless son of a bitch," he told his aides H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, "that he will do what he's told, that every income-tax return I want to see I see, that he will go after our enemies and not go after our friends" (p. 210). In the first year of the new Republican administration, the IRS responded to White House pressure by setting up a new investigatory unit, the Special Service Staff (SSS). The SSS gathered intelligence on thousands of groups and individuals deemed subversive by Nixon aides: religious leaders, civil rights activists, people who hosted cocktail parties for radicals, and even women's liberation supporters. The investigators chose these groups based on their politics, not on any real or perceived tax problems, and proceeded to infiltrate them and audit their returns. Forty-two percent of the groups targeted were African-American. As Nixon aide Tom Huston explained to Haldeman, the IRS program allowed the administration to harass dissenters in ways that "we cannot do in a courtroom via criminal prosecutions" (p. 273)—primarily because there were no criminal violations. A new IRS commissioner formally abolished the SSS in 1973, but Andrew has uncovered documents that show it continued to operate in secret for years afterward. In fact, Andrew argues, many IRS abuses continued into the 1980s and 1990s.

This book is based on prodigious and aggressive research. In an introduction, Andrew explains how he himself faced IRS harassment as he doggedly pursued Freedom of Information Act requests and appeals. He also traveled to archival collections around the country to find documents that could serve as the basis for further requests and appeals. Some of the memos he unearthed are unintentionally amusing, such as the IRS memo on how to spot black power activists by their "African bush" haircuts (p. 254). Others are frightening. Historians of the Nixon administration will benefit from the author's relentless fight to gain the documents, which were deposited at Franklin and Marshall College.

Andrew died suddenly in November 2000 with his book unfinished. His family, friends, and colleagues have done an admirable job of pulling the manuscript together, but the finished product could be more coherent. Much of the book is heavily reliant on document quotations and the details of bureaucratic battles, making it somewhat inaccessible for general readers. Some intriguing points are dropped before they are fully analyzed, such as Andrew's suggestion that the Watergate break-in might be explained by the tax problems of Democratic National Committee chair Lawrence O'Brien. Still, Andrew performed a valuable service for the profession in wresting these files from the secretive IRS, describing these clandestine programs, and revealing their chilling power.

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DEAN W. KOHLHOFF. *Amchitka and the Bomb: Nuclear Testing in Alaska*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. x, 166. $25.00.

Congress sanctioned the use of the Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge for military purposes as early as 1913 but surely never envisioned anything resembling the nuclear weapons testing that in 1965 came to part of the reserve, Amchitka Island. The first of three tests was Long Shot. Developing techniques for detecting underground nuclear explosions, it called for firing an eighty-kiloton device buried 2,300 feet deep. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) managed to defuse growing concerns from conservationists and other opponents of testing in a wildlife refuge. In October 1965, Long Shot went well, fully contained and leaving the wildlife mostly unscathed.

In 1969, a larger test contributed to developing an antiballistic missile warhead. The Milrow test device had a design yield of one megaton and would explode 4,000 feet underground. Public concern had deepened since 1965, and the AEC agreed to work with the Department of the Interior, responsible for the wildlife refuge, and with the State of Alaska to help transplant colonies of sea otters to former coastal habitats. Sea otters were not the only ecological question marks. That a blast so large might trigger earthquakes or

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tsunamis in a region notorious for seismic activity could hardly be ignored. Fortunately such fears proved unwarranted. Seismic effects seemed local only, and the shot was again contained.

Cannikin, two years later, tested another missile warhead, but one with a design yield of five megatons. Although the bioenvironmental questions had not changed, much else had. Members of Congress, state officials, and the public at large all expressed concerns about the planned test. Informal hearings in Juneau and Anchorage did little to allay widespread public concerns. Organized opposition to the test emerged early, culminating in a legal challenge to the AEC's environmental impact statement when it appeared. But the AEC prevailed when the court refused to enjoin the test. On November 6, 1971, it went largely as planned. Although seismic shock appeared to have killed some sea mammals, birds, and fish, nothing like the widespread death and massive damage that critics had feared actually materialized. Radioactivity was also fully contained. Amchitka had served its purpose, and the long-planned restoration of this test site was soon under way.

This, in bare outline, is the story Dean W. Kohlhoff tells. To it he adds substantial material on the earlier history of Amchitka and the wildlife refuge, as well as information about several abortive schemes for nuclear testing in Alaska before 1965. Kohlhoff's sympathies clearly lie with the opponents of testing. His account has a strong environmentalist cast, and the book's subtitle might very well have been expanded to "The Environmental Impact of Nuclear Testing in Alaska." He concludes that the three tests caused environmental damage substantially greater than predicted, although perhaps less from the tests themselves than from their associated activities.

Kohlhoff died before completing final revisions to his manuscript; his wife and a colleague saw it through publication. This may account for some of the book's flaws. The index is sketchy. The Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, for instance, has but one index entry for at least four text appearances. The Military Liaison Committee has one index entry for at least two, and is also misidentified as part of the Atomic Energy Commission rather than the Department of Defense (pp. 28, 33). The Nevada Test Site was not founded solely to show that there was nothing to fear from nuclear testing (p. 28), nor did the Spartan warhead (in the Cannikin test) stretch "the length of a football field and [weigh] 850,000 pounds" (p. 99), although the test apparatus might have. These and other questionable statements, however minor, must leave the knowledgeable reader uneasy.

On the positive side, the book is well written and rests on substantial archival research, supplemented by government documents, contemporary periodicals, and a reasonable selection of secondary sources. Thirty-nine pages of notes support the 117-page text. The book offers full coverage of the arguments of conservationist and other opponents of testing within Alaska. Its greatest strength may lie in its unusually close attention to the impact on the fragile arctic environment of the construction, drilling, and follow-up work associated with conducting nuclear tests. Kohlhoff's account strongly suggests that construction damage substantially exceeded the seismic and other consequences of the three explosions themselves, although he reserves judgment about radioactive contamination, not yet confirmed but of uncertain long-term significance.

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JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN. *Whose America? Culture Wars and the Public Schools*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 307. Cloth $29.95.

Jonathan Zimmerman's well-written book offers a new conceptual framework for analyzing the culture wars perennially fought in American schools. While most authors frame the culture wars as a simple conflict between conservatives and liberals, Zimmerman sets out to analyze them as two separate conflicts: one waged over the inclusion of racial and ethnic groups in the history texts, the other over the place of religion and morality in the classroom. According to Zimmerman, the first conflict has been largely resolved with an ever-expanding canon; the second has not. While textbooks have become more and more multicultural, religion has been progressively banished from the schools.

With impressive documentation gathered from archives across the country, Zimmerman traces these two parallel histories. Part one of his book discusses the history wars, from the 1920s, when Irish and German activists fought the first multicultural battles for a place in the history curriculum, to the late 1970s, when African-American activists finally won a place for their heroes in the pantheon. But Zimmerman notes that although the textbooks were indeed thicker by the late twentieth century, they still presented a triumphalist narrative. He also points out that struggles over race took different courses in the North and South. In the segregated South, blacks sought separate "Negro histories" for black schools, and whites were content with this arrangement as long as they could keep their own "mint julep" versions. In the North, however, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People argued something much more radical: integrated textbooks for integrated schools. By the 1970s, integrated textbooks had won out in both regions.

When discussing the New Deal and the Cold War periods, Zimmerman introduces a new category of analysis that does not figure in his original dualistic conceptual framework. During the 1930s and early 1940s, he notes, anticommunism and a critique of capitalism dominated the debate over textbooks, displacing race and religion as bones of contention. But although he shows that, during the Great Depression,

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a preoccupation with class division eclipsed the issue of ethnic diversity in the textbook wars, I do not think he gives this debate the emphasis it deserves in his conceptual framework or his conclusion. As Zimmerman himself points out, Harold Rugg's attack on capitalism launched one of the most vehement episodes in the entire history of the culture wars. During the Cold War, the attack on communism and the defense of free enterprise intensified, leaving issues of race and religion on the back burner. The author should perhaps have accorded these debates over class division, capitalism, socialism, and communism a more prominent place in his framing argument by making them a third analytical category.

In part two, Zimmerman turns to the more intractable religious wars. Picking up the debate in the late 1940s, he describes how attacks on religion increased as the twentieth century wore on. While schools regularly allowed for religious observance during released time periods in the 1940s and 1950s, from 1948 a series of attacks on religion and prayer began to reach the Supreme Court, which found in favor of them. In *McCollum v. Board of Education* (1948), Justice Hugo Black ruled that Champaign's released-time system breached the First Amendment "wall between Church and state" (p. 136). Invoking Cold War rhetoric, critics condemned this decision as an example of "Godless Communism." In 1963, the *Schempp* case banned prayer in the schools. From this point on, Zimmerman argues, a right-wing populist consensus emerged, linking the ban on school prayer to a decline in morality, rising criminality, and sexual promiscuity. The Moral Majority emerged, defining itself ironically as a victimized minority now that sex education and ethnic studies had apparently replaced religion in the schools.

Zimmerman's conclusion is that the religious fundamentalists only want what ethnic and racial groups had already achieved: a place of their own in the curriculum. "Abandoning their former quest for a 'Christian America,' even self-described evangelicals now ask only that teachers present their culture," he says, "alongside the many others that schools celebrate" (p. 223). He invites us to seize this historic opportunity to engage in a dialogue with the religious fundamentalists and to create a more ecumenical curriculum allowing religion back into classroom discussions. I find it hard to agree that religious fundamentalists have extended this olive branch. Given their aggressive political campaigns in favor of their educational agenda (creationism, school vouchers, home schooling), one wonders if all they really want is equal time. But although I disagree with Zimmerman on this issue, I believe that he has written an important and illuminating study that merits the careful attention of every scholar seeking to untangle the twisted strands that compose the culture wars.

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MICHAEL E. STAUB. *Torn at the Roots: The Crisis of Jewish Liberalism in Postwar America*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. 386. $29.50.

So obvious has been the close connection between liberalism and American Jewry, at least since the New Deal, that the complications of the topic have often eluded historians. If this group is defined in religious terms, then an ancestral allegiance to the biblical prophets—and their cry for social justice—has been invoked as an explanation. If Jews are defined as an ethnic minority, then their experience of marginality has been used to account for their special sensitivity to civil rights and civil liberties, which has characterized liberalism. For at least seven decades, Jews have been not only devotees of the Democratic Party but also willing, despite embourgeoisement, to give more liberal responses to pollsters' questions than any other minority. This combination of affluence and progressivism is anomalous, which is why historians have tended to miss how liberalism managed to produce neither homogeneous politics nor a unified community.

This book by Michael E. Staub therefore constitutes a fine historiographical challenge to the emphasis on Jewish loyalty to the New Deal and its ideological legacy. By starting in the late 1940s but focusing upon a decade that ends in the late 1970s, Staub shows how divisive the interpretations of liberalism could be. Rabbis and other communal leaders, journalists, and academicians could not agree on how to address the demands of black nationalism, for example, or how to reconcile conventional family values (and demographic decline) with feminism and gay rights, or how to advance constructive criticism of an Israel that had occupied the West Bank and Gaza. The liberal creed itself was not transparent enough to determine answers to such questions, and articulate Jews diverged over how to apply their quest for egalitarian inclusiveness and their respect for diversity. Had the author only explored the crisis within liberalism itself, this book would be a solid contribution to the history of American—not just Jewish—public culture.

But Staub has pushed the envelope even further by questioning the Jewish reputation for liberalism. That northern and midwestern urbanites and suburbanites supported racial desegregation far more enthusiastically in the South than in their own neighborhoods and schools is familiar enough. But what he reveals as well is how dismay at the neopagan excesses of the 1960s, plus the communal compulsion to defend an Israel that was itself moving starboard, drove far more American Jews beyond liberal precincts than could be found merely among the neoconservatives of *Commentary*. By carefully examining the editorials and columns in the Jewish press, as well as the official resolutions of a host of religious and other communal organizations, Staub has tracked the momentum of antiliberalism.

To make his case, he gives ample space to the voices

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of the Orthodox, which is a little problematic. In the intensity of their dedication to the Jewish people, and in their organizational cohesiveness, the very observant became active participants in the public life of the community. In upholding an ancient piety that would not have won high approval ratings from the Americans for Democratic Action, the Orthodox tended to belong, in Ralph Waldo Emerson's dichotomy, to the party of memory rather than the party of hope. But in acknowledging their influence, Staub does not make clear that the traditional may have constituted under ten percent of American Jewry, so that in a numerical sense Orthodoxy was hardly representative. His book is not thereby open to charges of political bias, however. Staub is even more reluctant to reveal how few Jews belonged to the leftist groupuscules—from Jews for Urban Justice to Breira—whose brief histories of activism he recounts so attentively.

His book betrays no political partisanship at all and is judicious in its treatment of embattled ideas and opinions. Staub records political and religious passions in a reassuringly dispassionate tone. But the downside is that the author does not disclose what he has learned from the conflicts that pitted Jews against Jews. Surely the depth of his research has earned him the right to ascertain who was right on such issues as whether slumlords should be stigmatized in the synagogues where they prayed, or whether the Jewish Defense League was deplorable in its tactics or its political stances or both, or whether Arthur Waskow's *Haggadah* for a "Freedom Seder" (quoting "rabbis" like Eldridge Cleaver) was a bold act of creative renewal or instead a gesture of exploitative desecration. Readers who admire the book's impartiality may well find themselves frustrated by its analytical absences.

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GORDON E. HARVEY. *A Question of Justice: New South Governors and Education, 1968–1976*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 229. $34.95.

Gordon E. Harvey's book addresses an important and generally neglected subject: the transition in southern politics and policy making during the decade after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. During this period, the South underwent profound change with the end of Jim Crow segregation, the reenfranchisement of thousands of African-American voters, and the demise of one-party political dominance. Harvey focuses on one dimension of this transformation: how what he calls "New South" governors, generally espousing a different politics of race and reform, emerged on the scene in the "watershed" year of 1970 (p. 1). Moderate on race and progressive about education, these leaders emerged just as the base of the Democratic Party was shifting from southern whites to African Americans and before the Republican Party had become a potent and competitive political force. In emphasizing changing southern education, they faced two daunting challenges: responding to the federal mandate to end racial segregation in schools and remaking schools into a "gateway to southern progress" (p. 13).

This new generation of southern governors, a diverse group, included, among others, North Carolina's Jim Hunt, Arkansas's Dale Bumpers, Mississippi's William Winter, and Georgia's Jimmy Carter. Harvey chooses to focus on the careers of three governors: Albert P. Brewer of Alabama, Reuben Askew of Florida, and John C. West of South Carolina. There was much congruity among the three: all were among the first white southerners elected under a biracial electorate, and all achieved office prior to the advent of a truly reinvigorated two-party political system. In addition, all three confronted an acute crisis in the final showdown between federal school desgregators favoring a "unitary" school system and employing busing to achieve it and last-ditch white resisters who offered "freedom of choice" as an alterative.

Although the three governors shared a common faith in education as a key to regional modernization, they diverged in their responses to the crisis of the early 1970s. Brewer, facing acute pressure from George C. Wallace (who defeated him in the gubernatorial primary of 1970), resisted busing vigorously. Although Harvey concludes that Brewer's strong antidesegregation stance had "no simple explanation," his rhetoric unquestionably "sounded indistinguishable from the racist rhetoric of segregationist Alabama citizens and politicians" (pp. 41–42). Brewer did succeed in persuading the Alabama legislature, during a special session in 1969, to enact a major school improvement package. Nonetheless, it remains problematic to characterize Brewer as a moderate: the key criteria of such a term should be the ability to move beyond the segregationist politics of the 1950s and 1960s.

Harvey's two other "New South" governors, West of South Carolina and Askew of Florida, provide better examples. In contrast to Alabama, South Carolina had already quietly accepted school desegregation under the governorship of Ernest Hollings. Nonetheless, West opposed busing: he differed from Brewer chiefly in the low-key manner in which he criticized federally required desegregation. But, like Brewer, West oversaw a significant infusion of state funding into public schools and much expanded commitment to education as the key to social progress. In contrast, Askew was a forthright advocate of change, unlike either Brewer or West. At the height of southern resistance to federally mandated school desegregation, he announced his unequivocal support for busing. Askew also advanced an ambitious agenda designed to refurbish the state's public school system: in 1973, the Florida legislature, at his bequest, enacted major changes in school finance.

This solid study covers in considerable detail an important period in the history of the South. This is a

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strictly institutional and legislative history; readers will gain little sense of developments beyond the governors' mansion and statehouse, and there is only incidental discussion about how external constituencies, such as civil rights groups, shaped developments. More basically, one wonders about the choice of subjects: are these three governors the most important figures exemplifying the changes that Harvey describes? It may be that other governors—or other leaders—better represent the changes affecting race and education. Brewer remains an especially dubious choice. One wonders also about governors not included who seemed more truly to represent the transition to an altered Democratic Party and a reenfranchised black electorate: the most significant omission must surely be Carter, who succeeded Lester Maddox and embodied many of the changes that Harvey is describing.

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PHILIP F. RUBIO. *A History of Affirmative Action: 1619–2000*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2001. Pp. xvi, 327. Cloth $48.00, paper $20.00.

JONATHAN J. BEAN. *Big Government and Affirmative Action: The Scandalous History of the Small Business Administration*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2001. Pp. xii, 224. $29.95.

During the past decade, affirmative action has been debated more hotly than at any time since President Lyndon B. Johnson initiated it through an executive order in 1964. The Supreme Court has recently agreed, moreover, to hear a constitutional challenge to affirmative action in higher education, while the states of California and Florida have formally outlawed the practice and in Texas a ruling by a federal appeals court has ended it. Moreover, as a recent issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* (1996) reminds us, the myths about affirmative action have often got in the way of its reality. Among those myths is the belief that, both in theory and in practice, affirmative action is most closely associated with liberal Democrats. Although the Democrat Johnson gave it formal status in the federal government, Republicans have done their part. Richard M. Nixon significantly expanded it in 1969; Ronald Reagan failed to kill it in the 1980s; and in 1991 George H. W. Bush enthusiastically signed a Civil Rights Act that formally endorsed it. Some commentators have viewed this bipartisan support as a sign of a broad consensus about promoting racial justice. Others view it as American politics at its pragmatic and cynical worst, and still others have concluded that affirmative action promises neither fairness nor equality.

It is in that context that Philip F. Rubio's and Jonathan J. Bean's books take on such importance, not just for what they argue but for showing how scholars of clearly differing persuasions reach fundamentally the same conclusion. Rubio has written a sprawling and ideologically driven history of affirmative action. To some extent, his book's title is a play on words, since much of what he chronicles from the first settlement of the continent to the present is "affirmative action" for whites and the persistent efforts of organized black protest groups to break-up "organized white privilege" (p. 194). "I wanted to look at affirmative action another way," Rubio writes, "as a product of years of black-led protest against what might be called 'white affirmative action' (or better put: 'white-affirmative' action)" (p. xiv). The result is a rich brew of cultural, social, political, labor, and intellectual history. Through this eclectic approach Rubio makes an important contribution. He persuasively argues that affirmative action (to mean assistance for African Americans especially and secondarily for other groups, notably women) stemmed from a fusion of common law traditions, black middle-class uplift ideology, and the well-meaning white liberals who promoted ideas of racial integration, color-blind equality, and equal opportunity. Rubio also gives considerable attention to the black nationalist movement, and one of his important contributions is to link the current demand for reparations for blacks as a result of slavery to earlier efforts to define black nationhood. At its core, however, affirmative action as currently presented falls well short of what Rubio believes it should be: reparations to repay the social, political, and economic "damages" of slavery. The real purpose of affirmative action, according to Rubio, is to redress the simple fact that "whiteness" in America has had a property value, and only by transferring some of that property value to blacks will there be genuine equality. What passes for affirmative action today, Rubio judges, amounts to little more than tokenism, since it fails to address the more demanding task of "abolishing this social club known as the white race with all its 'badges and incidents' that confer privilege" (p. 197). Rubio concludes that "[u]ltimately this is a question of reconstructing 'white people' from 'the special favorite of the laws' into 'mere citizens' " (p. 197).

Bean shares Rubio's hostile view of the role of the federal government (read "big government") in matters of affirmative action. They clearly diverge in ideological terms in general and, although Bean does not address the matter, almost certainly over the question of reparations in particular. Yet in the end, they reach similarly critical conclusions about affirmative action. Where Rubio finds that the government has done too little, Bean concludes, in a tightly focused study of the Small Business Administration (SBA), that government has done too much—way too much. Bean's carefully researched and well-written history of the much-neglected SBA offers not only significant analysis of the rise of big government after World War II but also a sharp commentary on the consequences of affirmative action. Indeed, Bean insists that the idea of preferences and special assistance for minority groups predated Johnson's 1964 executive order; instead, it

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can be traced, at least in the case of the SBA, to the actions of Eugene Foley, a young administrator who took office in the same month that Martin Luther King, Jr., marched on Washington, D.C. in 1963. Under Foley's leadership, the SBA began a program that targeted African-American entrepreneurs for aid that, with that urban riots of the 1960s, was transformed into an emergency strategy "to mollify racial discontent" (p. 2). Bean proceeds to offer a lively account of the development of racial set-aside programs, of instances of fraud and corruption in the SBA's programs, and of the often ferocious debates unleashed inside the administration about these programs. Strikingly, Bean also confirms, probably unwittingly, one of Rubio's insights. The SBA's real affirmative action was not just with racial groups but in support of small, white-owned businesses, which benefitted from government loans and contracts that large corporations condemned as a form of "reverse discrimination." As Bean argues, the SBA never succeeded in developing a meaningful definition of "small," and Congress consistently pushed the administration to make the concept of small ever larger. Bean reminds us that, in light of this kind of affirmative action, it was invariably mid-sized, white businesses that won the greatest advantage and it was sometimes these same businesses that used small, minority-owned firms to front for them in making application to the SBA for loans and contracts for which they could not otherwise have competed.

Bean is a master of administrative history, not just of the SBA but of the tremendous expansion of American government, especially beginning with and then flowing from the New Deal. The SBA grew apace and eventually, Bean shows, mushroomed into a multibillion-dollar entity that had a powerful role in the credit markets. Indeed, it was bankers, Bean argues, that turned out to be the greatest supporters of the SBA. Even President Reagan and his budget director, David Stockman, who were opposed both to quotas and to wasteful government spending, failed to reel in the SBA, in part because the agency had managed, through its affirmative action programs, to build a powerful base of support, one that helped to sustain it even when racial turmoil had cooled.

These two books, written from clearly different perspectives, offer a stark reminder of how deeply conflicted the debate over affirmative action has become. While much of Rubio's book has a polemical cast, as often as not his insights are sustained by Bean's trenchant analysis of the foibles of affirmative action practices in the SBA. Both authors, moreover, embrace the common and seemingly widely shared view that in matters of affirmative action the federal government has been as much a problem as a solution. Where Rubio and Bean clearly divide, however, is what would constitute an appropriate response to the nation's long history of ethnic, racial, and gender inequality. That two such different authors could reach essentially the same conclusion—the bankruptcy of current schemes of affirmative action—is surely a canary in the nation's still incompletely excavated mine of human rights.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

EDWARD BEATTY. *Institutions and Investment: The Political Basis of Industrialization in Mexico before 1911.* (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 296. $55.00.

For a work whose dustjacket proudly proclaims affiliation with the "New Institutional Economics, Edward Beatty's impressively researched book is more "institutional" than "economics," with far less econometrics than one would have expected. This is not a criticism (at least in the eyes of this reviewer). Rather the relative lack of complex mathematics makes this book more broadly accessible than otherwise. For example, one might favorably compare the book's chapter on tariff protection to Graciela Márquez's more technical chapter, "Tariff Protection in Mexico, 1892–1909," in John H. Coatsworth and Alan M. Taylor, eds., *Latin America and the World Economy since 1800* (1998).

Beatty's goal is to explain the process by which the Mexican government of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911) overcame the institutional obstacles to industrialization. Beatty finds that the answer lies "largely in the policy institutions of Mexican government" (p. 2): tariff protection, legal reforms of private property rights (subsoil, land, patents), implementation of uniform commercial codes, and the abolition of internal customs, all designed to reduce the costs of doing business for foreign and domestic investors. While these changes have long been known, Beatty's book reconstructs their origins and implementation in more detail and a different perspective. He disputes those historians who see no method or design in government policy, or who limit such policy to the export sector. Clearly admiring Porfirian bureaucrats, Beatty nonetheless criticizes their failure to create a "truly national industry" (p. 11) and faults the government for miscalculating the disastrous social impact of those reforms. Beatty argues, for example, that protectionism did little to foster the growth of small or mid-sized firms, and that it distorted Mexico's cost structure, thereby increasing the cost of living of the general public.

While tariff protection has been explored by several recent works (John H. Coatsworth and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "The Roots of Latin American Protectionism: Looking Before the Great Depression," Working Paper 8999, *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*, June 2002), Beatty's book is the first to place the role of tariffs in the overall economic policy of the regime, and the only one to argue convincingly (as opposed to Márquez) that the depreciation of silver was not the main stimulus to

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domestic manufacturing that it was once thought to be. Less successful is Beatty's attempt to revise the conventional wisdom that the Díaz government operated as a "good old boys" club, providing favored treatment to the politically well connected. Beatty does a regression analysis on 254 decisions made within the Ministry of Development on exceptions and special privileges, concluding that it was "unlikely" that there existed a "statistically significant relationship between political connections and affirmative decisions" (p. 174). However, because his own statistics show a positive relationship between political connections and favorable decisions (percentages of applicants who were politically connected were greater among the approved applications than in the overall pool of applicants), Beatty is forced to pose a very narrow argument. He maintains that while political connections "were not meaningless" (p. 174), they were "not sufficient to *guarantee* an affirmative answer" (p. 174; my emphasis). Beatty's balancing act is a little disingenuous. Statistics should lead one to the water, not make one drink it.

In the main, however, Beatty's arguments depend more on his adept marshaling of concrete data than on statistical analysis. For example, his meticulously detailed study of patent law reform explores a neglected field, providing insight into its impact on economic development. Beatty believes that patent reform had relatively little role in investors' decisions to invest in Mexican industry and that, overall, it likely had a negative result, retarding real gains to a national economy.

In summary, on the positive side Beatty argues that the Porfirian regime successfully attempted to shift policy "away from special individual privilege toward a more diverse national development" (p. 158), including the development of a much-needed manufacturing sector. But, in the end, Beatty concludes that institutional and economic reforms were still insufficient to broaden participation in the economy or even foster the development of a truly "national" industry, "ultimately ensuring that only the very largest firms and the most wealthy investors" (p. 186) benefitted from economic progress. Therefore, despite the rational, "liberal" vision of a modern Mexican economy, the Porfirian policy makers were unwilling or unable to enact policies that would have led to the "national" economy they said they desired. They failed to encourage needed technologies, Beatty holds, and they failed utterly to develop human capital resources even where such would have fostered the technologies they supposedly held in such high regard.

Beatty has written a modestly useful book, enriching our understanding of the process of policy formation and implementation in Porfirian Mexico without changing significantly the way most Mexicanists view that regime. Even in its strongest suit, ultimately that regime could dictate neither progress nor development, nor in the end prevent its own demise.

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GILBERT M. JOSEPH, ANNE RUBENSTEIN, and ERIC ZOLOV, editors. *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940.* (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 507. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

This is a pathbreaking contribution to the history of modern Mexico. In their introduction, editors Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov argue that, in terms of culture, the period 1940–1968 was a "golden age" to which "Mexico's identity as a modernizing nation was directly tied" (p. 11). Although that identity was in part fashioned by the state, it was also shaped and resisted by demands for inclusion, economic crises, and multinational corporations, so that "lo mexicano [the notion of Mexicanness] came to serve counterhegemonic impulses as well as regime projects" (p. 8). Depicting this period as a golden age is a new departure: due to its economic growth, it is usually labeled the "Mexican Miracle" and portrayed as a time when the revolution as social reform ended and capital accumulation began. The book also adds to a recent trend toward putting the revolution—always before considered *the* critical event of Mexico's twentieth century—slightly to one side.

The golden age is explored in chapters by Jeffrey M. Pilcher, Alex Saragoza, John Mraz, Seth Fein, Rubenstein, Zolov, and Steven J. Bachelor. The chapters that follow, however, by Heather Levi, Rubén Martínez, Omar Hernández and Emile G. McAnany, Alison Greene, and Quetzil E. Castañeda treat more contemporary events. Since the two decades since 1982 have not been golden for anyone but the powerful and corrupt, the decision to include the latter period reflects some conceptual fuzziness.

Among the best chapters covering 1940–1968 are those by Fein, Rubenstein, and Bachelor. Fein's ambitious entry on cinema argues convincingly that the production of Mexican film in the 1940s and 1950s was a transnational endeavor, as Washington learned during World War II to use Mexican films to Latin Americanize its propaganda rather than relying on the blunter tools of Hollywood. The images created, however, "were designed to disguise that international logic" by promoting nationalist sentiment. Since that time, Fein continues, the goals of Mexican elites have combined with "U.S. ideological initiatives and transnationalized media" in "a cultural offensive" against Mexico's masses (pp. 188–89). Fein's assertions concerning the reception of the messages that were generated are not well supported, but his treatment of production is fascinating.

In writing on movie icon Pedro Infante, Rubenstein seeks to explain both the riot that occurred during his

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1957 funeral and his surprising apotheosis thereafter. Infante's posthumous status, she contends, as "perhaps the most important male figure in the iconography of Mexican commercial culture," is due to contradictions in his personal and screen lives that allowed him to personify "several masculine ideals at once." In doing so, she believes, he bridged both class divide and cultural divisions, representing "a living vision of what it might mean to be Mexican" (p. 200). In a nice reading of spatial dynamics, Rubenstein suggests that one reason for the riot was that in 1957 the prosperous were fleeing Mexico City's center for its tonier south, and that the lower-class fans of Infante who remained behind felt the loss keenly when his corpse, which did pass through the city's center, quickly departed for its southern burial.

Bachelor's analysis of working-class culture at Mexico City's General Motors (GM) plant from 1955 to 1968 is more concrete and characterized by an admirable command of detail and telling quotes. He argues that jobs at U.S. firms gave autoworkers the resources to challenge both "state and corporate modernization schemes" (p. 315). GM used good wages, company newsletters, and softball teams to encourage its Mexican employees to see themselves as part of a "transnational family," and for many of those employees it worked. In the early 1960s, however, President Adolfo López Mateos decreed that by 1964 all cars sold in Mexico would have to be manufactured there. As GM retooled, firings without cause, demands for faster production, and various assaults on dignity rendered the transnational family disfunctional. Workers struck in 1965 to secure "what U.S. workers already enjoyed" (p. 315). The strike was unsuccessful, but in first joining the GM family and then rejecting management's version of modernization, these workers formed their own identity, which challenged constructs about "what it meant to be Mexican" (p. 313).

Greene's "Cablevision(nation) in Rural Yucatán" is perhaps the most interesting of the essays on the post-1968 period, although the highlighting of cable in the title is misleading in that this chapter covers the impact of television in general, not cable offerings in particular. Inhabitants of the town of Pustunich, Greene reveals, consider television a source of authority on what is modern and urban, giving it the power to change social practices. Television helps define the nation because watching it is a practice taking place elsewhere in Mexico, because *telenovelas* (soap operas) are understood to be Mexican, and because in Pustunich *lo mexicano* and modernity are conflated. But with the arrival of cable programming, Greene notes, and its greater access to information on Latin America in general, the national identity created by television may be undermined.

Among the other highlights of this book are Martínez's journalistic adventures in Mexican rock 'n' roll and the photographs that grace the essays of Rubenstein, Mraz, and Castañeda. Levi's discussion of how professional wrestling came to represent "urban popular authenticity" is interesting, and Zolov's account of how Mexico became, in U.S. eyes, a country combining folkloric authenticity with cosmopolitan progress is excellent. Less effective is the piece on television by Hernández and McAnany, which suffers from awkward writing and a lack of focus. Nor is this the only chapter that is difficult to read: there is plenty of jargon and clumsy writing here. Fein is sometimes guilty, and Castañeda can be downright oracular.

The editors concede that this is an exploratory foray, and on such excursions there is inevitably some stumbling. Neither Arthur Schmidt's mostly historiographical essay, which follows the introduction, nor Mary Kay Vaughan's conclusion adds much to the volume's goal of assembling its ingredients "within a broader framework of historical analysis." Still, even the stumbling is a stumbling forward. This book will play an important role in orienting a new generation of scholars.

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CINDY FORSTER. *The Time of Freedom: Campesino Workers in Guatemala's October Revolution.* (Pitt Latin American Series.) (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 287. $34.95.

Other books, chief among them Jim Handy's *Revolution in the Countryside: Rural Conflict and Agrarian Reform in Guatemala, 1944–1954* (1994), provide excellent depictions of the political and ideological issues behind the October revolution in Guatemala (1944–1954) led by Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and Juan José Arévalo. Cindy Forster's book provides something new: a full examination of workers' participation in and ideas about the radical agrarian programs undertaken in their name in the October revolution. About two-thirds of the book describes the involvement of (primarily indigenous) workers from the department of San Marcos, and one-third describes the (primarily nonindigenous) workers from Tiquisate, a U.S.-owned banana plantation long considered the center of revolutionary foment. From the San Marcos coverage, we come to understand that revolutionary involvement was much more widespread than previously assumed, and that it included indigenous as much as Ladino workers.

What makes Forster's book exceptional is the fact that it is based on large numbers of oral interviews with former workers, and what makes it especially convincing is that Forster carefully defines terms used very loosely in the Guatemala literature. Both features of this book help the author make her various points in a compelling manner. For example, she argues that *campesino* "transcends a strictly economic translation and operates as well on the plane of ideological loyalties, as a community of interest" (p. 81). In this way she can explain why wage workers were "as interested in obtaining land as [they were] in improv-

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ing labor rights." And for her, a reductionist equation of race with class is blind to the power of ethnicity in defining collective histories of resistance. Thus she is able to show that the permanent plantation workers in San Marcos, long considered a labor aristocracy, were indigenous both in self-conception and in consistent identification with the wage and labor struggles of the less privileged indigenous seasonal workers.

San Marcos is a department little covered in either the historical or the anthropological literature, even though it is the most significant highland department in terms of the sheer numbers of people involved in seasonal labor migration and in the agrarian reform process during 1944–1954. According to Forster, rural demands from the indigenous in San Marcos as well as the workers in Tiquisate forced more sweeping changes than the revolutionary elite would have permitted had they not felt the pressure of the *campesinos* they were supposedly leading. We are fortunate that someone has finally tapped the abundant plantation and legal archives that give us workers' perspective.

San Marcos has a number of unusual features that make it relatively difficult for the historian to access. The department is far from the national capital and poorly covered in roads. Most of its people are indigenous, whether in the highlands or lowlands, and these people mainly earn their living from their own land, although their products are sold in the market as well as consumed locally. Nonetheless, most *campesinos* in San Marcos have long worked at least part time on the coffee *fincas* of the department, traveling on foot or on the occasional truck from their municipal centers. The long border that San Marcos shares with Mexico allows many *campesinos* to complement their subsistence production with contraband trade and, equally important, provides an easily reached refuge for those fleeing prosecution from state or plantation authorities. These features require the researcher of San Marcos to live in the department rather than commuting from relatively more comfortable lodging near the capital.

Forster depicts the social geography of San Marcos as a "species of apartheid, demarcated by coffee." *Finca* workers, municipal officials, and local historians all agree that permanent workers overwhelmingly came from highland (indigenous) San Marcos. (Notably, however, most national histories portray permanent workers as overwhelmingly nonindigenous and argue that the indigenous workers were almost everywhere concentrated in the seasonal coffee workforce.) Forster argues that "racial identity in San Marcos offers the single most important explanation for radical worker consciousness" (p. 45). She backs up the claim with her examination of court records, which reveal a vicious race as well as gender line. On the *fincas*, indigenous workers were regularly discriminated against vis-à-vis Ladino workers, and *finca* bosses assumed the seigneurial prerogative to abuse sexually the Maya women who lived or worked on the coffee *fincas*.

Forster's coverage of sexual and other forms of gender abuse in Guatemala grows out of the materials she gathered from court records, and the situation she portrays is horrifying. Although rape was commonplace, rape charges in the courts were rare, and even more rarely resulted in convictions. While the rape of an "honorable" woman was considered a very serious offense, the honor of a woman who brought charges was invariably questioned. As Forster puts it, "all men could reasonably expect impunity if they chose to behave violently toward lower-class women" (p. 68). And "given the stigma that attached to 'defiled' women, many girls who had experienced sexual assault chose silence" (p. 69). More charges against sexual violence were filed after the agrarian revolution, but a broad battle for gender equality never emerged.

This book is rich in ethnographic detail and covers many aspects of change triggered by the agrarian revolution of 1944–1954. My only caveat is that Forster did not review the literature from regions of Latin America with a more developed historiography on gender and ethnic relations.

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ARTURO J. CRUZ, JR. *Nicaragua's Conservative Republic, 1858–93.* (St. Antony's Series.) New York: Palgrave, with St. Antony's, Oxford. 2002. Pp. xv, 196. $60.00.

The destruction of public archives and the relative inaccessibility of private document collections has limited historians of the Central American states. No adequate history of the United Provinces of Central America (1823–1842) has yet been written, for example, because the archives of that federation perished in the 1889 earthquake and accompanying fire at the National Archives of El Salvador. Similarly, the destruction of the National Archives of Nicaragua by earthquake and fire in Managua in 1931 has precluded the writing of a definitive history of nineteenth-century Nicaragua. These losses, as well as poor organization and indexing in the national archives of Guatemala and Honduras for the postcolonial period, have further handicapped the writing and revision of nineteenth-century Central American history. A lone exception is Costa Rica, where a rich nineteenth-century historiography has emerged. Recently, however, using less obvious sources, a few historians have challenged the sweeping histories written in the Liberal tradition during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although not without some value as reflections of the prevailing economic and political thought of that time, those histories extolled Liberal order and progress while condemning Conservative rule from Guatemala to Costa Rica as retrograde and unworthy of serious study.

In the case of Nicaragua, the need for more careful study of the nineteenth century was particularly acute.

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Nowhere on the isthmus had there been more turmoil and chaos in the early national period. E. Bradford Burns eventually brought some clarity to those years in *Patriarch and Folk: The Emergence of Nicaragua, 1798–1858* (1991). The period culminated with a united Central American army's expulsion of William Walker and his filibusterers, with whom Liberals in Nicaragua had collaborated to wrest control away from the Conservative caudillo, Fruto Chamorro. Chamorro had died before Walker ever arrived, but he laid the foundations for a Conservative Party that would inherit political power in Nicaragua for three decades following Walker's ouster in 1857. These years of Nicaraguan history have been remarkably neglected until now, written off by Liberal historians who turned their attention to the changes that occurred in Nicaragua following the seizure of power by José Santos Zelaya in 1893. Arturo J. Cruz, Jr., has now closed this intellectual gap with a thorough account of Nicaragua from 1858 to 1893, arguing that much of the progress attributed to Zelaya actually began under the Conservative republic.

Cruz has taken extraordinary pains to glean the history of this period from extant sources, utilizing contemporary published government reports, memoirs, newspapers, travelers' accounts, and other works written by participants and eyewitnesses. He tapped the private archives of several prominent Conservative families. These almost exclusively Nicaraguan sources provided rich detail on the families and forces that shaped the Conservative republic. The absence of a bibliography in the book is unfortunate, but Cruz's extensive endnotes reflect the broad array of sources he uncovered.

Cruz himself is the scion of a prominent Conservative family. His father was a leading political figure during the 1980s turmoil in Nicaragua. Despite Cruz's obvious admiration for the nineteenth-century Conservatives and his disdain for Liberals Roberto Sacasa and Zelaya, his work is not the polemical discourse found in so many earlier Nicaraguan histories. Rather, it is a fairly objective narrative of the Conservative republic from its foundations by Chamorro and the establishment of the 1858 constitution, through the rule of the caudillo Tomás Martínez (1857–1867) and the five one-term presidents who followed and provided stable and progressive government. Cruz admits that an oligarchy of Conservative families ruled Nicaragua during this period, but he suggests that the nation followed the successful models of Chile and Costa Rica. He argues convincingly that this oligarchy included in the government Liberals from beyond Granada, establishing an inclusive formula for Nicaraguan democracy, peace, and prosperity. Obviously, Liberals did not fully agree, for when the Liberal Sacasa accidentally came to power in 1889, following the death of President Evaristo Carazo, he moved swiftly to exclude most Conservatives from office and thus returned Nicaragua to the divisiveness that would result in Zelaya's takeover. Cruz details the individuals that made up the Nicaraguan government and the policies they pursued, emphasizing that the political relationships were much more complex than mere ideological or regional differences. In so doing he has made a lasting contribution to Nicaraguan historiography and to our understanding of Central America in the nineteenth century.

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MICHAEL D. GAMBONE. *Capturing the Revolution: The United States, Central America, and Nicaragua, 1961–1972*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2001. Pp. xiv, 274. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.00.

Asserting that historians are too often concerned with either vindicating or criticizing U.S. foreign policies, Michael D. Gambone promises an objective, "holistic" analysis in his study of the United States and Nicaragua during the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon presidencies. Gambone offers a multilayered examination, placing U.S. policies toward Nicaragua within the context of the U.S. approach to the Third World, Latin America, and Central America. He believes that U.S. policy makers were consumed with fears that revolution would engulf Latin America. His task is to assess whether the United States modified, blunted, or "captured" the revolutionary fervor, while avoiding any editorial judgment on U.S. efforts. Of particular interest to the author is the Alliance for Progress, the $20 billion economic aid program designed to create progressive, self-reliant nations in Latin America that were capable of resisting the blandishments of Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Gambone's study is based on extensive work in U.S. archival sources and published Nicaraguan documents.

Gambone's work is essentially a case study of the failure of the Alliance for Progress in Nicaragua. On a macroeconomic level, Nicaragua seemed to be one of the Alliance's few success stories. During the 1960s, Nicaragua enjoyed a steady, impressive increase in per capita income and rapidly expanded its export capacity, particularly in the commercial agricultural fields of cotton production and cattle ranching. The Nicaraguan military or Guardia Nacional, which was dominated by the Somoza family, also effectively repressed the leftist insurgency led by the group popularly known as the Sandinistas. By 1971, there were perhaps only 150 rebels left in the country. Despite these successes, the United States had not made Nicaragua safe from revolutionary nationalism. The Somoza family, especially President Anastasio Somoza Debayle (1967–1979), mocked democratic processes. The family and its greedy supporters also reaped most of the benefits from Nicaragua's new economic efficiency. The Alliance for Progress had promised balanced economic development and social justice. During the Alliance's "decade of development," the majority of Nicaraguans may have grown poorer even as the country ostensibly prospered. Nicaraguans despaired when the Somoza

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regime largely ignored the national plight after an earthquake destroyed the capital city of Managua in December 1972. The Sandinista insurgency rapidly expanded after that national tragedy.

Gambone concludes that the United States failed to achieve its stated goals in Nicaragua because the three presidential administrations placed a greater priority on anticommunism and free trade than they did on democracy, human rights, and social justice. The United States tolerated Nicaragua's poverty and repression because the Somoza family supported U.S. Cold War policies internationally and repressed its leftist opponents at home. Gambone correctly points out, however, that the oligarchs of Nicaragua were capable of resisting U.S. pressure for democratic reform. For example, the Guardia Nacional could readily purchase weapons at the international arms bazaar, if the United States tried to restrict military sales. And so thoroughly did the Somozas and their authoritarian friends dominate the political milieu that the United States would lose all ability to promote change in Nicaragua if U.S. diplomats publicly disdained the Somoza family.

Although Gambone's conclusions are sound and based on solid documentary evidence, this work does not substantially contribute to scholarship on inter-American relations. Before reaching the author's investigation of Nicaragua, readers will falter, peeling through his layers of analysis on U.S. policies toward the world, Latin America, and Central America. Moreover, Gambone's major points on Central America, Nicaragua, and the Alliance for Progress have appeared in other books by Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís (1970), Walter LaFeber (1984), Thomas M. Leonard (1991), and John H. Coatsworth (1994) and in insightful articles by Joseph S. Tulchin (1988, 1994) and William O. Walker III (1994). What Gambone has to say about agrarian change and commercial development in Nicaragua in the 1960s can also be found in articles by Paul J. Dosal in *Inter-American Economic Affairs* (1985) and by John A. Booth in the *Latin American Research Review* (1991) and in the first sections of Laura J. Enríquez's fine book, *Harvesting Change: Labor and Agrarian Reform in Nicaragua, 1979–1990* (1991).

STEPHEN G. RABE
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DARLENE RIVAS. *Missionary Capitalist: Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela*. (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 290. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

As Darlene Rivas argues in this carefully researched, well-written book, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller was no ordinary American capitalist. A man of tremendous energy, optimism, and confidence, he was determined to prove that "socially responsible" private enterprise could promote broad-based, global economic development. Tracing Rockefeller's attempt to spread the gospel of "capitalism with a social objective" in Venezuela from the late 1930s through the early 1950s, Rivas analyzes an ambitious array of programs designed to alleviate poverty, inspire fellow investors, and, at the same time, generate profits. She also builds on the work of scholars like Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Emily S. Rosenberg, and Michael J. Hogan to illuminate an intriguing case of collaboration between government and private enterprise that falls outside the prevailing interpretations of U.S.-Latin American relations. Instead of stressing materialist exploitation or the effects of Cold War obsessions, she focuses on the interaction between American business and a Latin American state to explore the profound contradictions at the heart of Rockefeller's "missionary capitalism." As Rockefeller discovered, the goals of profit and progress were not always readily compatible. "Development" itself, moreover, was an intensely contested concept, one that Venezuelans would define in their own terms and for their own purposes.

Much of Rivas's book illustrates the source and depth of Rockefeller's conviction that wealth brought with it profound social responsibilities. Shaped by his family's Baptist faith and philanthropic endeavors, Rockefeller also accepted the Progressive-era argument that "environmental factors" accounted for the persistence of many social ills. Keenly interested in foreign affairs, his career reflected the widespread view that Americans were called to demonstrate the virtues of their society to those of less fortunate nations. As an investor in the Creole Petroleum Company, the Venezuelan subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Rockefeller took pride in the company's contributions to improved city services, schools, road building, and hospital construction. As the coordinator of inter-American affairs in Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, Rockefeller helped launch the first long-term U.S. foreign aid program: a public health initiative in countries with strategic resources that, he claimed, would contribute to political stability. As chair of Harry S. Truman's International Development Advisory Board, he relentlessly sought to promote business investment in development efforts abroad.

The book's most compelling chapters, however, focus on the complex, problematic interaction between Rockefeller and representatives of Venezuela's democratic Left. Convinced that Venezuelans lacked a spirit of initiative and incentive, Rockefeller created the Venezuelan Basic Economy Corporation (VBEC) and entered into negotiations to secure government support as well as private, local investment. From the start, however, the venture was a center of controversy. While Rockefeller insisted that the state should not infringe on his right to select projects and make unlimited profits, Venezuelan leaders like Rómulo Betancourt rejected unrestricted "free enterprise," defended active state planning, and argued that since

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development was a social imperative, the government should play a leading role. Rivas's narrative details the prolonged negotiations that ensued and vividly illustrates the problems produced by Rockefeller's uneasy attempt to combine profit seeking and benevolence. Although his food, fishing, and farming enterprises introduced new standards of efficiency, created jobs, and helped to diversify the oil-dependent economy, they also provoked intense nationalistic protest as Venezuelans lamented the presence of such a powerful foreign competitor. In the end, disputes erupted within VBEC itself as it staggered toward financial collapse and its staff wrestled over the divergent imperatives of promoting social goals and producing dividends. Rockefeller's separate nonprofit corporation fared better, promoting popular nutrition, agricultural research, and rural credit programs. Yet it, too, struggled to secure capital and, as Rivas suggests, one of Rockefeller's greatest lessons in Venezuela was "a much needed course in humility" (p. 136).

Rivas's work makes a strong contribution to a much needed historicization of development and raises important questions about the way it was contested and negotiated in diverse contexts. One wishes, however, that the book further explored the cultural dynamics involved. The term "missionary," after all, implies conversion as well as faith, and while Rivas certainly explains Rockefeller's gospel clearly, one still wonders how Rockefeller and his American associates understood the Venezuelans in cultural terms. Just why did they think that the "spirit of initiative" was lacking in that country? How did they define, characterize, and understand the world of the rural *conuqueros* (land holders) they so eagerly sought to transform? Rivas's argument is largely one about frustrated altruism, of benevolence stymied by foreign resistance and internal contradiction. Yet her intriguing evidence might also illuminate the varied sources, broad dimensions, and painful consequences of a deeply rooted American paternalism.

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NICHOLAS A. ROBINS. *Genocide and Millenialism in Upper Peru: The Great Rebellion of 1780–1782*. Foreword by ISRAEL W. CHARNY. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xvi, 260. $64.95.

Nicholas A. Robins has written an engaging account of the massive, Indian-based uprising in Upper Peru or Charcas (what became Bolivia) in 1780–1782. He frames his approach in terms of genocide, attempting to contribute to a field of inquiry that is usually restricted to twentieth-century, state-based violence. On the first account—the review of the uprising—he succeeds. On the second, he leaves more questions than he answers and, to my mind, his use of the concept of genocide detracts from his analysis.

Robins begins by reviewing the historiography of the uprising and outlining the nature of tensions in the late eighteenth-century Andes. He then examines the different regional outbursts. In doing so, he probes the limitations of "litigious resistance" (the extensive use of the legal system by indigenous peasants that preceded the Catarista uprising in Chayanta and Yamparaez). In subsequent chapters, he discusses other phases and geographical centers of the rebellion. Robins correctly illustrates the heterogeneity of the causes, platforms, and social bases and thus the diverse nature and outcome of the different regional movements. His final chapters develop some of his key points about messianism, genocide, semiotics, and the tensions and contradictions among rebel forces.

Robins presents a smart, readable account of the uprising. He stresses symbolic elements and provides distressing but illuminating descriptions of the violence employed by both rebels and viceregal forces. For example, his review of how rebels humiliated "Europeans" by forcing them to chew coca leaves, an enduring symbol of "Indianness," is fascinating. Occasionally, declarations such as "scholars must examine rebel actions, not the formal statements of their leaders" (p. 205) fall flat as they point out the accepted norm by scholars. Not only has research on social movements long stressed practice rather than discourse, but the Tupac Katari (and its Andean cousin, Tupac Amaru) uprising did not leave systematic statements or platforms. Nonetheless, readers will find a valuable overview of the rebellion, one that points out its broader tendencies while narrowing in on local specific developments.

Robins attempts to demonstrate that the concept of genocide can help us understand pre-twentieth-century rebellions in places such as Upper Peru and that these uprisings, in turn, can contribute to debates about the concept itself. In his foreword, Israel W. Charny (editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia of Genocide*) agrees. I remain doubtful. Robins provides several definitions of genocide, which generally focus on state-led efforts to exterminate, harm, or exile a national, ethnic/racial, or religious group. I have three reservations. First, he broadens the definition to the point that it loses analytical value. If "several causes," a desire to destroy the enemy, and deep hatred are key variables (p. 159), few rebellions in the early modern period could be excluded from the genocide paradigm. Second, I wanted more deconstruction of the violence. No one can deny the brutality of the uprising on both sides and the level of hatred, particularly (but not solely) along Indian versus "white" or "European" lines. Nonetheless, I wanted more questioning of the accounts of the number of dead and the types of violence. Why did Spaniards cast Indians as bloodthirsty savages? Not only did this demonizing have a propagandistic intent, but it resurrected entrenched historic forms of discourse about Indians. In his otherwise strong sections on symbolic violence, Robins failed to develop these lines of inquiry sufficiently. I do not doubt the brutality of both the rebel and governmental forces, but I still expected a deeper examina-

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tion of the accounts (quantitative and qualitative) of rebel violence. Finally and generally, I think that the term gets in the way of his strong analysis and narrative, particularly his sensitive examination of symbolic violence. Simply put, even if I were more convinced about the validity of the use of the concept of genocide for late colonial Andean uprisings, I do not think it contributes a great deal. I firmly believe that the analysis of eighteenth-century uprisings can shed light on contemporary violence and injustice. I do not think, however, that the genocide framework is a particularly fruitful one.

My doubts about Robins's framework should not overshadow the achievements of the book. It is an accessible account of this fascinating period and contributes to our understanding of violence and anticolonialism in the Andes.

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KIRSTEN SCHULTZ. *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1821*. (New world in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xi, 325. Cloth $85.00, paper $23.95.

Although Brazil was the only nation in South America to consolidate a stable constitutional monarchy following its independence, this exceptional trajectory has long awaited a systematic and detailed historical analysis. The tendency has been to interpret this outcome as an inevitable result of the transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro in 1807. The royal family and its entourage stayed in Brazil for thirteen years, introducing administrative and economic reforms that allowed for a gradual and smooth transition to independence in 1822. Yet the political culture engendered by a long-term resident court has remained unexplored; from a backward-looking perspective, the consequences of its presence appeared self evident.

Kirsten Schultz is not the first scholar to demonstrate that pre- and postindependence Brazil was as potentially fraught by factionalism and political instability as any of its neighboring republics in South America. What sets her study apart is her incorporation of popular politics, her detailed reconstruction of competing definitions of constitutionalism, and the precise positioning of her analysis within the broader geographical frame of the Atlantic world. Perhaps most impressively, she demonstrates how Rio's residents, both natives and newcomers, developed flexible rhetorical categories to interpret the significance of the New World court and to define political and economic opportunities associated with it.

Portuguese exiles attempted to transcend their sense of loss, sacrifice, and alienation by reimagining Rio as a site of political regeneration and moral renewal. Rio, therefore, had to be transformed into a capital that projected an image of stately royal power. New residences built to accommodate Rio's swelling population were constructed according to the most modern architectural styles. By 1815, antipathy toward the French had waned sufficiently to invite a "French cultural mission" of artists and engineers to oversee Rio's makeover.

Attention to aesthetics alone could not disguise Rio's large black population, although some slave owners tried by dressing their domestic servants in ostentatious garb. What could not be concealed could, however, be disciplined. Shortly after the court's arrival, João VI established a police intendant designed to maintain social order in the new capital. Slaves and free persons of color disproportionately felt the weight of his "justice." The intendant also gathered intelligence on potential spies and subversives and served as a royal advisor. Through his policing efforts, Schultz argues, the city became "ordered, decorous, moral, and allegiant" (p. 131).

The intendant during João VI's entire reign, Paulo Fernandes Viana, occupies center stage in this book. At times he comes across as more of a protagonist than the monarch himself. Although locals clearly valued the king's presence and the proximity to royal patronage that it afforded, Viana often mediated access to the king's favor. He determined which petitions the king should grant and set standards of approval that reinforced the status quo of social and gender hierarchies. Schultz relies perhaps a bit too heavily on Viana's writings to reconstruct how the masses experienced the court's presence. Although she also uses material from pamphlets and *pasquinades* (essays) to good effect, Viana's biases tend to predominate in discussions of popular politics and quotidian life.

Schultz really shines in her analysis of political rhetoric. In particular, she shows how flexible rhetorical categories allowed disparate factions to agree by assigning alternative meanings to potentially threatening events and reforms. For example, politically engaged Brazilians could compare the constituent assembly convened in Portugal by liberal rebels in 1820 to the historical Cortes, or parliament, that had been convened by Portuguese kings in the past. Or they could embrace it as a new expression of popular sovereignty. Similarly, backward-looking individuals viewed the opening of Rio's ports to foreign trade as an extension of Portugal's long mercantile history rather than a reflection of economic liberalism.

Schultz concludes with a very detailed analysis of competing definitions of constitutionalism within Brazil and in Portugal. Unfortunately, the book draws to a close with João VI's return to Portugal. A brief epilogue details how his son, Pedro I, led Brazil toward independence. But this outcome was directly related to constitutional debates that continued in Portugal during 1821–1822. Relations ultimately broke down because Portuguese delegates sought to reduce Brazil to its former colonial status within a new constitutional framework, thereby resurrecting Brazil as Portugal's "milch cow." A more complete elucidation of these

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conflicts would have strengthened the impact of Schultz's conclusion. Yet this is a relatively minor quibble in an otherwise fine work that substantively advances our understanding of Brazil's transition from colony to nation.

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RODERICK J. BARMAN. *Princess Isabel of Brazil: Gender and Power in the Nineteenth Century.* (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2002. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth $60.00, paper $19.95.

Princess Isabel of Brazil is best known for signing the "Golden Law" of 1888, abolishing slavery in the last country in the Western Hemisphere to maintain it. Although recent histories of the social and economic dimensions of Brazil's transition to free labor, the abolitionist press, and the roles played by the enslaved in achieving abolition have challenged the heroic image of Isabel as a *redentora* (redeemer), the life and politics of the last heir to the Brazilian Bragança throne have not been the subject of scholarly inquiry. Roderick J. Barman fills the gap with this engaging biography based on extensive archival research in Brazil and Europe, expert knowledge of nineteenth-century Brazilian politics, and unrestricted access to the papers of the royal family. Framed in terms of Isabel's life cycle, the book also offers fascinating forays into the history of elite culture in nineteenth-century Brazil, from the cultivation of intimacy through written correspondence to experiments with dieting (Isabel apparently struggled with her weight and found it difficult, as many others have, to resist Brazilian black bean stew). Above all, this book builds on social and economic histories of women and gender in nineteenth-century Brazil and extends such scholarship within the realm of elite politics.

Princess Isabel, Barman explains, was confronted with a series of roles—daughter, wife, mother—defined in particular ways within elite culture and the royal family. Isabel responded by embracing these roles, although she did not perform them with equal ease. Her role as daughter, defined by her father, the formidable Emperor Dom Pedro II, and his staunch defense of patriarchy, was the most fraught. Isabel sought to exhibit the deference her father demanded but also was disposed "to speak her mind," a trait that rendered her, in her father's eyes, a "little chatterbox." Such a dismissal of a daughter's individuality was, of course, not unusual among the nineteenth-century elite. Yet, Isabel was not just any elite daughter; she was heir to the empire of Brazil. As Barman observes, the sheltered upbringing of Isabel's childhood was strikingly inadequate for one who was to rule. She was not formally instructed in politics, and she never accompanied her father to cabinet meetings.

In contrast to her life as Dom Pedro's daughter, Isabel's roles as wife and mother, although not without tribulations, were fulfilled with remarkable equanimity. Her father arranged her marriage to Gaston d'Orleans, Count d'Eu, grandson of Louis-Philippe of France. Isabel not only embraced her role as wife but also cultivated the ideal of romantic love, and Gaston reciprocated. They loved each other, one physician observed, like "good bourgeois." Isabel's dedication to love and acceptance of a wife's subordination in principle, however, did not imply a passive role in the marriage. Indeed, as Gaston stewed over his futile attempts to participate in imperial politics and withdrew in chronic psychosomatic illness, Isabel managed the household and their public affairs.

Although Isabel and Gaston claimed to share a "horror" of politics, they found themselves at the center of public life as Isabel assumed the regency when the emperor traveled abroad. On these occasions, Isabel sought to fulfill her father's instructions on governance to the letter. Doing so, however, did not mean that her role in politics was extended beyond her father's return. Yet, as was the case in her childhood, Isabel also established positions that, if not at odds with the emperor's own politics, were the product of her own resolve. Most notably, she worked to raise slave emancipation funds and, as regent, signed the free birth law (1871). For Isabel, abolition was a position based on reason, morality, and the will to do "what is best for the nation." For Barman, this singular "exercise of power" produced a paradox: within a year of abolition, the monarchy was overthrown, and Isabel and the royal family retired to private life in Europe. Yet her limited experience in imperial politics and her denial of politics itself may have served her in this case. Because Isabel saw slavery as primarily moral rather than a political problem, she felt she could be uncompromising. Struck, she wrote to her father during her final regency, with a "blind irritation" at the postponement of abolition and the repression of abolitionist protests, she abandoned her customary deference and dismissed the cabinet. Within months she signed the Golden Law.

This book will be of interest to scholars of Brazil and of gender. Transcriptions from Isabel's correspondence ("In Her Own Voice") will facilitate undergraduate discussion.

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STEWART LONE. *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908–1940: Between Samurai and Carnival.* New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 209. $60.00.

Brazil has the largest population of Japanese birth or ancestry (about 1.3 million today) outside of Japan. According to Stewart Lone, Japanese historians have consistently described the experiences of this group, and of Japanese emigrants in general, primarily in terms of misery and alienation. This characterization of Japanese historiography makes it appear surprisingly static. After all, in most of the international scholarship on migration such lachrymose portrayals

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began to be supplanted by more positive depictions of immigrants as active agents rather than victims as far back as the 1960s. Lone does not seem aware of this long trend, but his work clearly fits within it. He does not deny the hardship and prejudice that many newcomers experienced in Brazil. But he accentuates their remarkable adaptability and success and the host society's equally notable openness, particularly when compared to the xenophobia that marked North American and Australasian attitudes and policies toward Asian immigrants.

Like Japanese emigration in general, the flow to Brazil originated mostly in the southwestern prefectures, but it also contained a disproportionately high number of Okinawans, who are not ethnically Japanese and have traditionally endured much discrimination from their conationals. This and the formation of regional associations in the new land lead Lone to question the presumed homogeneity of the Japanese arrivals, their supposed close ties with their home government, and historian Maeyama Takashi's argument that their previously feeble sense of national identity was strengthened by contact with an alien culture that defined them primarily by that marker rather than by social status or local origin. Lone's challenge is less than convincing on the first and last points. Despite the Okinawan presence, the fact remains that the Japanese were less heterogeneous than many other immigrant groups and, at any rate, diversity does not preclude the development of national identities—if it did, nationalism would be restricted to places like San Marino. Despite the existence of regional societies, pan-Japanese associations were more numerous and influential and became more so as time passed. At one point (p. 28), Lone sees the conflicts that surfaced aboard the ship that took the first contingent to Brazil in 1908 as evidence against Maeyama's position. But, clearly, Maeyama could not have argued that a voyage would suddenly turn, to paraphrase Eugen Weber, peasants into Japanese. Lone is more successful in showing that immigrants' institutions were more than mere tools of the Japanese government and that they were characterized more by internal debate and critical attitudes toward authorities than by consensus and docility.

Unlike Hawaiian planters and other consumers of Japanese immigrant labor, who sought mainly young male laborers, Brazilian authorities subsidized only the recruitment of families. This, and the balanced sex ratio it produced, fostered social cohesion among the immigrant generation. Lone argues, this time convincingly, that permanent settlement occurred earlier than it is acknowledged and that this reflected a successful process of adaptation rather than the financial inability to return, as some Japanese historians have posited. Immigrant accounts themselves, the author astutely points out, have contributed to these negative visions by overstating early hardships in order to make eventual triumph, or mere survival, seem more heroic. But life in the coffee plantations was not the nightmare of popular and scholarly lore. The planters themselves had a vested interest in keeping a content and productive workforce, particularly given the endemic shortage of labor. When ineptitude or avarice prevented them from doing so, immigrants themselves took the initiative. Many simply broke their contracts and left. Others organized and defended their rights. Affordable landownership in the coffee frontier of western São Paulo state and the expanding commercial and industrial economy of São Paulo city provided other opportunities, and most immigrants ended up there. Brazil's official vision of itself as a vast land with empty frontiers that needed to be populated and as a racial democracy tended to offset the occasional outbreaks of anti-immigrant and/or anti-Japanese sentiment, facilitating the cultural integration of the arrivals. Lone emphasizes that the Japanese experience in Brazil was characterized not by isolation and alienation but by cosmopolitanism and engagement with Brazilians and other immigrants. The subtitle of the book and its cover, an advertisement in a Japanese-Brazilian newspaper from a German store for Japanese carnival costumes, illustrate the author's point.

Overall, this is a work that does not transcend its specific topic to engage the international literature on migration and ethnicity. Nor does it engage the sizeable Brazilian literature on immigration, including Japanese. Indeed, most of these works, and a good number of English-language studies, are not even mentioned. The book's strength lies in its author's familiarity with Japanese history and historiography and in his extensive use of the Japanese-language immigrant press.

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Seth Garfield. *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937–1988*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 316. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

The consolidation of nation-states has been a long and troubling process in modern Latin America that has defied easy conceptualization. In Brazil, the state and a myriad of ethnic groups all competed for space in the arena of national identity. The vast size of the country further complicated matters by contributing to insecurity in the hinterland and along borders. The historical periodization of nation building is also open to dispute. Seth Garfield takes a fresh approach to these problems by exploring the recent struggle of the Xavante Brazilindians to defend their traditional territory and culture from the incursions of settlers and the central government, including authoritarian regimes. His multifaceted, lively account gives voice and recognition to the natives by emphasizing the dialectical nature of their relationship with the state. The Xavante were not mere pawns in the enterprise of frontier expansion. Indeed, they resisted, accommo-

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dated to, negotiated with, and even manipulated the state in order to preserve their land and ways. In response to ethnocentric attacks, the Xavante learned to become effective lobbyists for their cause and wrested concessions from the state. They also became dependent on Brazil's deeply entrenched system of political patronage.

While clearly sympathetic to the Xavante, Garfield does not fall into a Manichean view of their opponents and oppressors. He recognizes, for instance, the efforts of the usually denigrated Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (SPI, or Indian Protection Service) in the defense of indigenous communities. Surprisingly, it was under the Brazilian military regime (1964–1985) that the Xavante legally reoccupied lands previously gobbled up by speculation and corruption. At the heart of this and other struggles is the attempt to build a new identity forged from the Xavante's contact with the dominant culture and interaction with SPI employees, settlers, businessmen, politicians, and, most recently, the media. Garfield describes the crux of these many interests as "a complex intercultural zone." Thus we learn that cultural "authenticity" does not necessarily reside in tradition (p. 115). It involves the adoption of new strategies for survival that make possible the transition to a new version of native culture.

Specialists in various fields will find Garfield's work useful. It is an important example of cultural history, but it also draws in politics and the larger socioeconomic trends of the era. Garfield displays a masterful command of the historical and theoretical literature, and his particular framework will help to enlighten the course of indigenous struggle in other epochs and regions of Latin America. The book sheds light on the post-1937 period in Brazil, which historians have largely ignored. The discussion of the SPI and its role in Brazil's "March to the West" is particularly vivid. This is also one of the few works that compares the actions of President Getúlio Dornelles Vargas's authoritarian Estado Novo (1937–1945) with those of the post-1964 regime. The book is especially strong on the so-called "Vargas Era" (1930–1964), and it will be required reading for anyone interested in the military regime and contemporary Brazilian issues. As Garfield convincingly illustrates, the pacification and cultural reorganization of the Xavante were part and parcel of Brazilian state formation and the construction of "Brazilianness" (p. 36).

One of the few drawbacks of this work is its failure to question anthropologists' data and motives. Garfield quite critically analyzes the actions of missionaries, for instance, by providing a very effective case study of the Salesian fathers' attempts to control the Xavante. He also notes the Catholic Church's important shift to the defense of the natives during the military dictatorship. But we learn little about the evolution of anthropologists' involvement with the Xavante. Anthropologists for years have stood in the thick of the political struggle over one of Brazil's most famous indigenous peoples, the Yanomami of the northern Amazon, and have actually altered their history. It is not easy for researchers to gain access to Brazilindians, so surely anthropologists' stories in themselves could further illuminate the political and cultural struggles over the Xavante and other indigenous peoples. A general discussion of the plight of the Yanomami and other natives and the impact of anthropologists would have broadened the context of the book.

Nevertheless, Garfield's work is a significant contribution that provides a clearer picture of the formation of ideology and culture in the creation of modern Brazil.

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GABRIELA TÍO VALLEJO. *Antiguo Régimen y liberalismo: Tucumán, 1770–1830.* (Cuadernos de Humanitas, number 62.) San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. 2001. Pp. 403.

The historiography of early Argentina is strewn with deceptively attractive dichotomies: city versus countryside, Unitarian versus Federal, civilization versus barbarism. Whether Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and the other classic proponents of these interpretations realized it or not, they always tailored their analyses of national reality to best fit the Bonaerense case, as if the capital city and its hinterland were the same thing as Argentina. Today this seems a limited perspective in every way. And yet, only recently have scholars pried open the lid on Argentina's period of nation building to ask if broader interpretations could take in more of the country and society. Paradoxically, even these newer studies have taken Buenos Aires as their starting point. Thus, it is a happy day when a sharply written, well-documented account should find attractive historical territory elsewhere, in this case, in the interior city and province of Tucumán.

Gabriela Tío Vallejo contends that the provincial structures—boundaries, trade patterns, identities—usually associated with the mid-1800s in fact date from the previceregal period. This observation is crucial, for it indicates that novel ideologies, especially the liberalism of the Unitarians, was not forced upon a politically immature people in Tucumán. Instead, a people ready to make sober decisions about their future did just that. Tío Vallejo proves this assertion by summoning up a rich array of documentary detail on early election practices. She discusses the nomination of *vecinos* for service on the colonial town councils as well as the choice of junta members in the revolutionary era. In general, she finds more continuities than clear breaks with the past, especially as the all-inclusive notion of citizenship evolved late in Tucumán. Colonial legal frameworks thus tended to reappear under other names (and with many more facets, varieties, and subdivisions).

The militarization that swept over the city and

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province after independence is dealt with shrewdly, although only in passing. Yet even in the era of the caudillos, the author finds continuities. The relations of subordination and military discipline imposed different priorities, but, in the end, they also masked (and reinforced) the traditional clientelism. From the distance of Buenos Aires, then, what might have looked like barbarism turns out to have a consistent, rational, albeit nonprogressive structure.

The clientelism that provided the social glue in Tucumán operated in every sector of society, in both city and province, and over great distances. "No invasion of urban politics from a rural world occurred, for no dichotomy separated city and campo" (p. 373). What did exist was a traditionalist society that after 1817 operated under a relatively open set of election rules. In such an environment, a fundamental break with the past could never happen; instead, the colonial concept of *vecino* gradually broadened its meaning until it more nearly approximated the modern notion of citizen. Gradualism, not revolution, was the key to political success.

Perhaps more than she herself realizes, the Tucumán that Tío Vallejo presents holds many implications for the study of Argentina as a whole. The old dichotomies of Platine historiography should be replaced by broader, more historically determined syntheses. This study started off as a doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Marcello Carmagnani, and it shows his deft hand. But Tío Vallejo stands on her own, and readers would be well advised to give her study their full attention.

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DAVID ROCK. *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860–1916*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. X, 316. $60.00.

This book is a major contribution to nineteenth-century Argentine political history. David Rock established his reputation as a leading scholar in the field some twenty-five years ago with a pathbreaking study on the Argentine Radical Party, 1890–1930. In that book, and in line with analytical perspectives current at the time, Rock depicted the national political system as a polity tightly controlled by the Buenos Aires elite, a situation that, by the turn of the twentieth century, came under fire by the social forces (middle classes in particular) emerging from the process of economic modernization. After long incursions into intellectual history, which kept him busy during the 1980s, Rock has returned to the domain in which he achieved his first great success, producing a fine study that focuses on the emergence, consolidation, and crisis of what he terms the "oligarchic state" from the 1860s to 1916. Rock offers an overarching view of Argentine politics in the second half of the nineteenth century that departs from his earlier contributions in significant ways. He challenges the assumption that the Buenos Aires landowners, the wealthiest segment of the Argentine upper class, formed the core of the republic's ruling elite and seeks more complex explanations of the oligarchic order's dynamic.

Rock's work builds on recent developments in Argentine political history. There are, however, important departures. Research concentrating on political ideas, rhethoric, and elections in the capital city has somewhat distorted our view of nineteenth-century political regimes, as it tends to treat the more "respectable" metropolitan politics as a proxy for national politics in an era when, as this book makes clear, the backward provinces and the countryside were politically as important, if not more than, the large cities. Although the author is not enthusiastic about the politics-from-below approach and remains concerned about analyzing how large economic and social factors shaped the elite's political life, a wider geographical focus and greater attention to developments in the provinces allows him to give the reader a broader and more balanced picture of Argentine politics than is customary in much of the literature.

Rock argues that two large political coalitions shaped the making of the national state after the fall of Juan Manuel de Rosas's regime in 1852. In the early 1860s, Bartolomé Mitre's Liberals defeated the Federal forces in the battlefield of Pavón and gained control of the entire republic. The Liberals never garnered much support in the interior and remained largely dependent on the resources of Buenos Aires and on their influence over the army. Both of these elements weakened in the late 1860s, as the Paraguayan War initiated a process of greater professionalization in the army and Mitre's hold on the capital began to fracture. During the 1870s, a coalition of provincial oligarchs headed by Julio Argentino Roca formed the Partido Autonomista Nacional (National Autonomous party, or PAN). This interior-based force proved much stronger than Mitre's, largely because it achieved ample support among the numerous (and thus politically decisive) provinces of the country's backward regions. In many ways heir to the federalist tradition, but also incorporating elements of the liberal creed, the PAN conquered the structure of the national state founded by Mitre and in the process strengthened it by giving it wider political support. Throughout this period (in which the bases of the state significantly expanded and its structure acquired a more mature form), those who stood at the pinnacle of the economic elite had even less political clout than before.

The major weakness of this political formula was its dependence on Argentina's less dynamic regions. Rapid economic and social development, to which the PAN was thoroughly committed, favored the growth of the more modern regions of the country, thus making the contradiction between the power structure and civil society more manifest. The ruling elite was forced to face the challenge of reform. At this point, Rock parts company with those scholars who see reform

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mainly as a product of pressure from below, arguing instead that it was also driven by the need to give a more powerful political voice to modern Argentina and to put an end to political practices widely regarded as backward and corrupt. The power of the central state was crucial in pressing local oligarchs to accept Argentina's move toward democracy.

The Radicals, rather than the PAN, emerged as the dominant political force after 1912. Their far-superior organization and their willingness to seek the popular vote helped them to draw support from all sectors of society. The legacy of Argentina's earlier, more exclusionary political history was not entirely lost, however. Reform gave greater weight to urban, modern Argentina, but the Radicals knew well that in order to achieve political dominance they had to build political bases in the interior as well, and they eagerly began to integrate many former PAN members into their political machine. Thus, old political habits were given a new life when Argentina entered into the democratic era.

Clear and well written, this book is an excellent overview of nineteenth-century Argentine politics that will be useful for both specialists and nonspecialists in the field. It will be counted among the most important books on the subject for years to come.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM and JUHA SIHVOLA. *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 457. $26.00.

Martha C. Nussbaum and Juha Sihvola have edited a collection of fifteen essays, most of which originated as papers delivered at a conference held at the Finnish Institute at Rome in 1997. Perhaps the most important theme to emerge from the collection is the diversity of erotic experience in ancient Greece and Rome. The point is not original in itself, but the cumulative effect achieved certainly is, contributing a fresh perspective on antiquity and tying the essays together in a manner that the authors and editors themselves do not seem to appreciate fully.

The introduction by Nussbaum and Sihvola argues that philosophy should not be isolated from the study of a series of cultural paradigms embracing history, literature, and the visual arts. David Halperin's (first) essay, "Forgetting Foucault," makes a good point in observing that Michel Foucault's legacy is often misunderstood by those claiming to write under his influence. Nussbaum's (first) essay sets as its problem the apparent contradiction in the Stoic conceit that the passions are noxious but the wise man experiences eros, usually understood as erotic passion. She explains this by tracing the cultural pedigree (for example, in Plato's *Phaedrus*) of the doubleness of eros in a key contrary to Foucault, who stressed the agent and not the partner in sex. Such passion might be good or bad for the latter as well as the former, she argues. Nussbaum seeks to read Greek values in their own cultural context, but with an eye cast on their modern implications.

Generic conventions tend to downplay the representation of desire on the part of Greek married women, but Maarit Kaimio is able to use the idea of the bed in tragedy as a locus of sex to limn the ideal of a wife as loving, loyal, and sexually active. Her discussion of Euripides's *Helen* merits particular attention. Next up is comedy, as Stephen Halliwell argues that, at bottom, the work of Aristophanes represents a sort of "institutionalized shamelessness." A large part of his essay examines the implications of Praxagora's sexual dys/utopia in the *Ecclesiazusae*, an episode that strikes me as the enactment of a brothel fantasy or a parody thereof. He argues that the audience is complicit in old comedy's insistent breach of norms.

In an essay that is in some respects refreshingly old-fashioned in terms of method, David Leitao fairly well demolishes the claim made by some ancient sources that the fourth-century Sacred Band of Thebes was composed exclusively of lovers and their beloveds actively involved with each other. Toward the end, he offers some intriguing comments on eros as a force that binds citizens together, an aspect itself suggestive of the diversity of ancient erotic experience. The next article, by A. W. Price, entitled "Plato, Zeno, and the Object of Love," registers a most courteous dissent with Nussbaum over the interpretation of Plato's *Phaedrus*. Explicit disagreements among the contributors are in fact always expressed politely, while some of the more important receive no notice at all.

Sihvola examines Aristotle's views on sex and love, finding them to be rather unconventional, certainly far removed from the conceptions of the Stoics. Like Nussbaum, he adopts the anti-Foucauldian position that erotic love is a more complex business than hunger and thirst. In the next two essays, by Kenneth Dover and David Halperin, we stumble upon the most pronounced disjuncture in the entire collection. Dover accepts the thesis of Bernadette Brooten that a kind of lesbianism existed in antiquity, while Halperin vigorously rejects it. A discussion follows by Eva Cantarella on marriage and sexuality in republican Rome that focuses on the younger Cato's "sharing" of his wife Martia with his friend Hortensius. There are many good observations, but I wonder whether this behavior was really as normative for the Romans as Cantarella argues it to have been.

In what for my money is the best essay in the set, Nussbaum employs a very modern concept, feminism, to explore the contours of thought about women by the Roman Stoic Musonius Rufus. Here is an excellent example of how a nuanced, moderate constructionist approach can succeed in placing a series of ancient texts firmly within their cultural context. No one should be surprised to learn that Musonius, despite

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considerable promise, does not in the end qualify as a feminist, but never has his position on the status and role of women been as well elucidated as by Nussbaum. J. Samuel Houser has his work cut out for him in accommodating Dio of Prusa to mainstream discourse on same-sex relations, making remarkable headway nonetheless, although I remain inclined to view this author as a radical in sexual matters overall, particularly because of his status as a pupil of Musonius.

Next is David Konstan, who, while accepting that the conventional Foucauldian model of an asymmetrical and hierarchical construction of sexual relations is valid for some texts, argues that for others, such as Lucian and the Greek novel, a different model prevails. This alternative indicates both the coexistence of active and passive roles and the possibility of reciprocal desire. By emphasizing the diversity of ancient erotic experience, Konstan effectively revises Foucault without refuting him. Simon Goldhill, in the penultimate contribution, examines two texts—one from the novelist Achilles Tatius, the other from the Christian Stoic Clement of Alexandria—to show how each understands and exploits the theme of the erotic gaze as a type of sexual experience (the first to revel in this, the second to condemn it). No summary can do justice to the subtle manner in which Goldhill maps out the (dis)continuity between pagan and Christian perspectives, but it is important at least to mention his sensitivity to the existence of differences among the Christians themselves, with Tertullian not suprisingly emerging as more extreme than Clement on this subject. With the final essay by Christopher Faraone we return to the familiar Foucauldian ground of sex/gender hierarchy as he shows how the two types of ancient Greek love charms constructed both their agents and their intended victims as "male" or "female" regardless of their biologically assigned genders.

The theme of the ancient diversity of erotic experience so fundamental to this collection of essays is matched by a potent diversity of modern method. One aspect of this as seen is the variety of scholarly approaches taken to the work of Foucault. Even the most orthodox among these treatments offers a stimulating reappraisal, while the more critical pay homage to Foucault's importance. Perhaps more significant is the advance in method heralded by the deployment of various ways of construing this range of experience, which itself threatens (one can reasonably hope) to eclipse the stale dichotomy of constructionism/essentialism still popular in the scholarship on ancient sexuality. There is reason to regret the long wait of five years for this volume but greater reason to be glad that the essays appear together at last in a whole that is even greater than its very considerable parts.

THOMAS A. J. MCGINN
Vanderbilt University

DANIEL OGDEN. *Greek and Roman Necromancy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xxxii, 313. $47.50.

Magic in the Greek and Roman worlds has in recent years become an increasingly popular field of study. For scholars of an older generation, the notion was unproblematic: magic was whatever they themselves supposed it to be. The present generation of scholars is much more conscious of the difficulties entailed in writing about magic in the ancient world. There are two main lines of approach: that advocated by the Dutch scholar, H. S. Versnel, and that of the Swiss scholar, Fritz Graf. Versnel holds that since it is impossible to get inside the minds of ancient people, we should use our own concept of magic in dealing with ancient texts. Graf attempts to write about magic in the Greek and Roman world from the perspective of the ancients. Daniel Ogden characterizes his approach to the topic as basically a linguistic one (p. xix), which in effect means that he tries to understand necromancy from within as a Greek or Roman would have understood it.

The historian writing about magic in the Greek and Roman worlds does not have access to archives containing records of trials and legal depositions. For the most part, he or she must rely on imaginative literature. This is a particularly acute problem for the student of ancient necromancy who wishes to get beyond literature to a historical reality. Literary accounts of necromancy are highly colored and have a life of their own. Ogden, a historian by profession, confronts the difficulty honestly and does his best to reconstruct what actually went on when the dead were consulted. He argues that ancient necromancy took two main forms: the summoning up of spirits from the underworld to consult them, and the reanimating of corpses to put questions to them.

The settings in which the dead were summoned from the underworld varied. They might be a *nekuomanteion*, a place believed to have direct access to the underworld that was habitually used for necromancy; or any dark spot; or a bowl (lecanomancy) or lamp (lychnomancy) or mirror (catoptromancy) into which a boy medium gazed under the supervision of a magician. In Ogden's view, the inquirer did not have a waking, face-to-face encounter with the summoned spirit in the first two settings but saw it in a dream after going to sleep on the fleece of a sheep that had been sacrificed. He does, nonetheless, acknowledge that literary accounts of such necromancy portray face-to-face meetings. The visions experienced by boy mediums gazing into bowls or lamps were certainly not confined to ghosts. Magical formularies specify that the boy mediums should be sexually undefiled. Ogden takes this to mean that they should not have had sex with a woman, but it is just as likely that the requirement was general. The Greek words at issue were used indifferently to refer to defilement by sexual intercourse, whether heterosexual or homosexual.

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Ogden is inclined to dismiss as literary conceits accounts of corpses revivified and questioned. He believes that the reality was rather less spectacular and that skulls and body parts were used in such necromancy. Talking skulls may well have been one of the tricks in which ancient magicians engaged, but the *Acts of Peter*, a text of the late second or early third century A.D. that purports to describe how the apostle Peter exposed the trickery of Simon Magus, portrays an incident in which Peter forced Simon to move back from a corpse that he was propping up and manipulating (p. 28). That revivifying corpses was one of the tricks magicians performed is also suggested by a polemical treatise of the mid-second century A.D. in which Jesus's raising of the dead is compared to tricks that magicians performed in the marketplace (Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 1.68). The scope of this review precludes my giving a fuller account of the great wealth of material contained in Ogden's book and the many acute insights to be found in it.

M. W. Dickie
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John R. Curran. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 389. $85.00.

In 500, the Ostrogothic King Theoderic celebrated his tricennalia in Rome with a magnificent triumphal procession to the Palatine, extraordinary gifts of grain to the city's poor, and an exhibition of games in the circus. These traditional rites of rulership, nearly a century after the city's sack by the Visigoths, remind us of the deep currents of traditional forms that constituted an irresistible undertow against the political turmoil of late antiquity. John R. Curran provides a lucid and engaging account of Rome's history in the pivotal era between the Tetrarchy and Alaric's siege. In seven tightly argued chapters, he charts the various ways in which the Romans negotiated the transition between a hegemonic pagan culture and a new Christian urban consciousness. The monograph's single greatest virtue is its sensible restoration of Rome to the ranks of other late antique cities that were undergoing similar transformations of their topography and civic identity. The trend in much recent scholarship on Rome has been to move away from religious history, which so often is cast as a bitter team rivalry of pagans versus Christians. Curran boldly engages the hackneyed stereotypes and in so doing crafts a nuanced narrative inhabited by a multiplicity of players representing a full range of religious commitment.

After an introductory chapter surveying imperial building activity and religion in the third century, Curran launches into the book's most valuable section: three stimulating chapters examining Maxentius's lavish attempt to reinvigorate Rome as an imperial capital, Constantine's single-minded drive to obliterate all traces of his defeated rival in the city's topography, and the urban setting of the bitter factionalism that rent the Christian community in the middle decades of the century. Curran's account of the multifaceted use of the urban stage by Maxentius and Constantine to display the symbols of their political legitimacy renders his book a worthy fourth-century successor to Paul Zanker's *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988). A notable feature of Rome's history during the fourth century is the absence of popular religious violence between pagans and Christians. Curran explains this anomaly by pointing to the deft appropriation of traditional forms by a succession of popes, notably Damasus, who transformed Christian saints and martyrs into a new style of Roman hero, thereby effectively Romanizing Christianity. Rome was not violence free, as evidenced by a series of riots spawned by the passions of the hippodrome or by the scarcity of commodities (topics unexplored by Curran). Yet the religious violence that did occur erupted entirely within the Christian community. Curran skillfully disentangles the skein of events relating to the contest for the control of the papacy, first between the partisans of Liberius and Felix, and later between those of Damasus and Ursinus, by judiciously employing extremely tendentious sources, especially the *Collectio Avellana* and the *Liber Pontificalis*, and setting the successive conflicts within the ongoing Christian appropriation of the city's principal sites.

The second part of Curran's book consists of three studies related to religion and society in the later fourth century. Other than situating these chapters within the same city and period, there is little to unite these essays. The most successful is chapter six, which explores the religious nature of civic ceremonies at the Circus Maximus. Here, Curran provides a fuller picture of religious change than the typical emphasis on temples and sacrifice. He sets forth in convincing detail the persistently religious tenor of the *pompa circensis* and the conscious manipulation of traditionally pagan ceremonies by Christian emperors to glorify their regimes. Less helpful are the chapters treating the legal standing of ancient cults in Rome and the dispute over asceticism within Roman aristocratic circles. Their principal weakness is an overreliance on problematic single sources: the pronouncements of the *Codex Theodosianus* and the letters of St. Jerome. Just as the first chapter attends too closely to the *Historia Augusta*, these chapters would benefit from a more thorough integration of the literary sources with the built environment. This is an admittedly difficult standard to achieve, but one that Curran realizes brilliantly in the central chapters of this outstanding work on the *Urbs Aeterna*.

Christopher Haas
Villanova University

Daniel Caner. *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heri-

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tage, number 33.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 325. $65.00.

Constructions of orthodox behavior and practice continue to receive attention from scholars of early Christian history. Daniel Caner offers an exceptional contribution to contemporary research in this area with his study of a form of early Christian monasticism relatively overshadowed in scholarly discourse. Wandering monks, who were prominent during the period 260–451 in the regions of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, maintained a certain esteem within the urban Christian populace due to their material renunciation and charismatic utterance. Given this fact, the actions taken by the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.) to marginalize the practice of wandering monks and to endorse the more novel, sequestered form of monasticism require explanation. Caner assembles and evaluates the sociopolitical factors that prompted the emergence of wandering monasticism and documents how these factors so changed that the practice was later officially denounced. In the process, he addresses a nexus of issues pertaining to the nature of early Christian piety, and he elucidates the complexity of power relations among competing monastic groups and between church officials vying for their political support.

In the opening chapters of his work, Caner treats source material from within the monastic tradition. Consideration of the apparent tension—as it is depicted in traditional sources of the Egyptian desert milieu from the fourth and fifth centuries, such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*—between several forms of monastic practice appears first. The stories of wandering monks and an assessment of the actual practice of desert wandering reveal that, while there was some accommodation for wandering monks, by the fifth century preference was given to the more sedentary model of monasticism that espoused manual labor, sustenance, and communal stability. This discussion is followed by an examination of the evidence for wandering monks in the towns and villages of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia in the third century, with particular attention to the apostolic paradigm for ascetic wandering in *The Acts of Thomas* and the manual for ascetic wanderers in the Pseudo-Clementine *Letters to Virgins*. Both works affirm a tendency to privilege sequestered monastic practice. Reconsideration of the evolution of the "covenanters" of Aphrahat's sixth *Demonstration* during the fourth and fifth centuries in light of this evidence emphasizes the interdependence of this group and the local Christian community.

In chapters three and four, Caner shifts the focus toward evidence for specific efforts to marginalize wandering monasticism. The Messalian controversy of the late fourth and early fifth centuries elucidates further the disparity between church officials and monks over the practice. Caner argues that through their staunch assertion of doctrinal differences, church officials deflected the real, pressing threat posed by the spiritual perfectionism of the Messalian movement: namely, their own inability to live in accordance with strict Gospel principles. Application of this theory is illustrated through a reconstructed depiction of the fifth-century wandering monk, Alexander the Sleepless. Alexander's career furthers the claim that the practice of wandering monasticism was only problematic for the local episcopate and other church leaders when it left the seclusion of the deserts and invaded urban Christian life.

Chapter five bears this out through an exploration of the practice in the late Roman urban environment. Here, Caner exposes the desire for wealthy urban Christians to receive spiritual gifts in their homes from wandering monks as especially vexing to the bishop, John Chrysostom, and the monk, Nilus of Ancyra, and unearths central questions about the nature of monastic patronage. Such questions were answered officially in the Council of Chalcedon, the focus of chapter six, for, as evident in the case of Dalmatius and of Eutyches, by this time the monks' economic interests had become intertwined with those of their new episcopal patrons.

Caner's argument is sound and convincing. Furthermore, his work is strengthened by a keen ability for precision and detail as well as a willingness to engage earlier and contemporary historians of early Christianity.

BERNADETTE MCNARY-ZAK
Rhodes College

CARL I. HAMMER. *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and Their Families in Early Medieval Bavaria*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2002. Pp. xiv, 148. $64.95.

Carl I. Hammer, who has previously published some valuable articles on the peasant society and family in early medieval Bavaria, provides an overall picture of the "slaves" (or rather the "unfree") within the Bavarian seigneurial system. This is in fact the first comprehensive study on this topic since Philippe Dollinger's famous work, *L'Evolution des classes rurales en Bavière, depuis la fin de l'époque carolingienne jusqu'au milieu du XIII^e siècle* (1949). His starting point, however, is Marc Bloch's theory of a development from slaves to tenants. Hammer rightly warns us that slavery is a multifaceted phenomenon.

After an introduction to the historical and social background and the geographical setting, the author first deals with terminology (*servi*) and status designations by emphasizing the fundamental legal difference between free and unfree. Social reality, however, actually shows a lot of differentiations, although it is difficult to define exactly terms such as *barschalken* or *coloni*. In a long chapter on "Institutional Ecology and General Conditions of Slavery," Hammer deals with the seigneurial organization—the bipartite manor system apparently was not introduced to Bavaria until the

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Carolingian annexation after 788—and with the labor services of the dependent people. An essential component is the section on marriage and family, with valubable insights and an interesting "exchange theory" (named "seigneurial life-circle" by Hammer) between tenancies and demesnes according to the age of the dependents. (I do not believe that legitimate marriage was restricted to tenants, and some legal processes, including the status of the children, may be seen here too schematically.) The fact that "slaves" could themselves have "slaves" is significant (and probably not only a consequence of this "life-circle"). Although dependents were generally treated as property and objects, as Hammer rightly emphasizes, it was not impossible for them to possess property of their own. A short passage on "material conditions," particularly pertaining to the house and mainly based on excavations in Kirchheim, closes this chapter.

The next chapter, on sources of slaves, mentions birth (as a primary source), inheritance, punishment, force (this aspect may be underestimated), trade, and warfare, whereas exchange and sale as a further source, strictly speaking, did not alter the state of the dependent. This is followed by short chapters on manumission and freedmen, "ultimate slaves" (in higher offices), and, finally, a quantitative analysis. Early medieval Bavaria, Hammer concludes, was decisively dependent on slavery, most of the slaves being tenants, which was a permanent condition lacking any vestige of honor.

This is a valuable book—the English translations of the primary texts in its second part will be very helpful for students—offering valuable insight into a society about which we still know relatively little. It is praiseworthy that Hammer's argumentation relies strictly on evidence, which is not always the case in the work of social historians. Nevertheless, it is just this method that causes some problems, because the sources do not answer our questions sufficiently. Consequently one may doubt whether Hammer is right when he extends theories instead of "facts." I am hesitant to accept that Bavaria really was a "large-scale slave society"—other early medieval regions were not—where the majority (possibly sixty-five percent or even more) of the seigneurial population was unfree. One problem is that Hammer tends to equate "slave" with "dependent" and to subsume all kinds of serfs under this term, thus neglecting the differences between *servi casati* and *servi non casati*, between free and unfree tenants (and hides) that were regarded as being important in those times. Also, "services" differed in a way that (as we know from Alamannic evidence) "servile services" could threaten (free) people doing servile work with being perceived as (or becoming) unfree. All in all, social mobility exceeded the "life-circle." Another problem arises where (Bavarian) sources remain silent. To cite only one example: "slave" and *servi* are ambiguous terms, and it is therefore necessary to analyze first how their meanings might have changed and then how their social positions altered. For such an evaluation, some remarks on the possible changes of the position of "slaves" are missing; they are decisive for the question of whether "slave" really remains the adequate term for (a variety) of serfs in the seigneurial system. Therefore I do not share Hammer's conclusion (although his view is nowadays widespread) that the end of slavery did not occur until the eleventh century because until then slaves did not have hereditary rights. We know from many sources that they did indeed, if they were tenants, and I see no reason why this should have been different in Bavaria. Thus there remain further questions and the challenge to integrate regional observations into a larger perspective. There is, however, no doubt that Hammer's results and arguments represent an important step in the right direction.

HANS-WERNER GOETZ
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EDWARD GRANT. *God and Reason in the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 397. Cloth $64.95, paper $22.95.

In this study, Edward Grant, a distinguished historian of medieval science, demonstrates the dedication of medieval scholars to rational methods of analysis. He maintains that the Age of Reason that culminated in the eighteenth century began in the Middle Ages. Grant recognizes the irrationality of the Middle Ages, reminding us of the irrationalities of our own era.

In six substantial chapters, Grant's aim is especially to explain the function of reason in medieval intellectual life as it developed within the university. As he sees it, reason "played its most significant role in preparing the way for the establishment of a deep-rooted scientific temperament that was an indispensable prerequisite for the emergence of modern science" (p. 3). Grant describes his study as "an effort to provide evidential support for [Carl] Becker's perceptive insights" (p. 7): namely, that the eighteenth century was an age of faith as well as of reason, and that the thirteenth century was an age of reason as well as of faith. In the universities, reason was used to question and to try to understand the physical world and even the revealed truths of Christianity.

Grant reminds us how serious scholastics were about "critical thinking." Medieval students spent their first year learning logic by means of lectures and exercises, and their subsequent courses applied and reinforced their logical exercises. However sterile and impractical logic may have become, Grant is right to consider the scholastics' high regard for logic as evidence of their commitment to reason. Medieval students learned how to make their arguments logical.

On natural philosophy, Grant emphasizes the rationalist, a priori side of Aristotle's philosophy. Whatever Aristotle's empiricism may have involved, by the Middle Ages the habits of direct observation and measurement became less important than the theoretical dependence on experience as the foundation of

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knowledge. This suggests a deeper problem with medieval empiricism than Grant expresses. Aristotelians assumed that our senses are reliable and that nature reveals itself to us in ways that do not require sophisticated experiments and precisely measured data. They underestimated gross and incorrigible deception about common experience and thus focused too quickly on the causes of motions rather than on their precise description. Even when scholastics raised objections to Aristotle's accounts, which they did frequently, their objections were theoretical, not strictly empirical.

Grant makes a significant observation that scholastics often developed their own views on a topic independently of Aristotle and then proceeded to interpret Aristotle's text accordingly. The departures and deviations from genuine Aristotelianism were frequent and significant. Although their language remained Aristotelian, scholastics transformed its meaning and in the process produced several versions of natural philosophy that some modern thinkers believed could be reconciled even with mechanistic principles.

In the chapter on theology, Grant illustrates the scholastic commitment to rational analysis in theology superbly. Indeed, Grant is so puzzled by scholastic applications of quantitative and analytical methods to theological problems that "how their contributions were meaningful for the faith escapes [his] understanding" (p. 280). These techniques were applied in different ways to examine the articles of faith and the preambles. Only the preambles are subject to demonstration, but even with respect to the articles there can be doctrinal developments. For example, the distinction between God's two powers was used to explore not the unchanging deposit of revelation but human understanding of its meaning, which does change with human experience. Mathematical and analytical techniques served scholastic thinkers in their subtle and sophisticated explication of the mysteries, the virtues, the nature of the church, and accommodations with secular political power. On specific themes I would also add the following: first, Thomas Aquinas's five proofs must be compared with his account of faith. Second, in 1616 the Congregation of the Index did not prohibit Nicolaus Copernicus's book altogether but ordered that it be censored. Why became clear by 1620, when church officials learned that Copernicus did not write the "Letter to the Reader."

The concluding chapters address a scandal: how is it possible, after over a century of expert teaching on the Middle Ages at American colleges, that we continue to encounter the same biases, ignorance, and mistakes as those from the nineteenth century? College graduates repeat the same oversimplifications and even factual errors that we expect education to eradicate. I urge all undergraduates in departments of education to read Grant's book. Aside from correcting errors, it may remind future teachers of our civilization's dependence on rigorous methods of rational thought, methods that we inherited from the Middle Ages.

ANDRÉ GODDU
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CHRISTIANE KLAPISCH-ZUBER. *L'ombre des ancêtres: Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté*. Paris: Fayard. 2000. Pp. 458. FR 175.00.

Christiane Klapisch-Zuber presents a dense and intellectually sophisticated examination of the image of the family tree. Why, when it comes to expressing familial ties, has the metaphor of the tree, replete with family branches and ancestral roots, had such an enduring hold on the Western imagination? Klapisch-Zuber follows the development of genealogical imagery from the architectural motifs of antiquity, through the increasingly verdant and vegetal medieval iconography, to the fully flowering and lush family trees of the Renaissance. Even with the withering of tree imagery in the seventeenth century, the metaphor nevertheless endures in the diagrams and schemata employed by anthropologists and genealogists.

Klapisch-Zuber identifies the challenge that underlies the basis of genealogy and indeed of history itself: how to represent time in spatial terms in order to show relationships between people over time. The Middle Ages inherited from antiquity both visual modes of expression on artifacts and the vocabulary and modes of thought that presented these relationships in hierarchical terms. Moreover, they included both the living and the dead, allowing ancestors and descendants to be linked together in an enduring relationship. But, while the Roman architectural metaphors faded over time, the medieval imagination seized upon the tree metaphor, in part because the living trees that grew all around lent themselves to allegorical and metaphorical interpretation. As a means of sorting, ordering, classifying, and arranging knowledge over time, the tree was a useful image. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, scholastic philosophers employed this motif as a didactic tool for exegesis and memorization in every domain of knowledge. In particular, Peter of Poitiers developed tree diagrams to present parallel synopses of the history of different cultures with remarkable clarity and readability. Thus, trees could provide graphic summaries of movement through time that were much simpler and more readable than narrative versions. Peter of Poitiers's innovation to the Western conceptualization of history was to integrate word and image. Rather than a supplement or graphic addendum, his diagrams provide essential visual support for the commentaries they accompany.

Medieval history writing was preoccupied with issues of continuity through time, oriented to a divine plan. As historians adopted a more secular perspective, they moved away from universal histories to write histories that demonstrated continuities of powers, rights, and the succession of rulers, often enhancing the status of a dynasty by establishing genealogical roots to a Trojan

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hero, a descendant of Aeneas, or even a Germanic god such as Woden. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, genealogies were portrayed as trees, in increasingly naturalized fashion, including roots, leaves, branches, and so on. As this occurred, so did a fundamental directional change in the conceptualization of genealogy from a line of succession to descent groups growing from a common ancestor.

Genealogical trees reflected cultural values. Some, for example, had truncated branches depicting how, when a daughter married, she was pruned and cut off from the trunk. Certainly, by the sixteenth century, Klapisch-Zuber argues, the trees promoted the primacy of the direct and unbroken line. They could be used to demonstrate that legitimate succession was limited to one branch of the family or to promote another branch's claim, as did some trees that promoted the English king's claim to the French throne during the Hundred Years' War. But the use of genealogy was not limited to the ruling elite: the urban bourgeoisie, too, promoted lineage solidarity through the image of the tree, the various collateral branches all being traced back to the common ancestor who formed the trunk of this unified living organism. And there, according to Klapisch-Zuber, lies the strength of the tree metaphor: it stretches and grows from the past to the future, always able to embrace another generation. In that, it is not only a vibrant living image but also an inherently optimistic one.

The depth of thought and prodigious research that imbues this work can scarcely be done justice in a review. This is a dense work, some twenty years in the making. Moreover, Klapisch-Zuber faced significant challenges to find the images that are so central to her analysis (fifty of which appear as black and white plates). These are not easily accessible since they are considered adjuncts to the narrative sources in which they appear. Frequently, they are not indexed or catalogued or even included in edited versions. Yet, as Klapisch-Zuber so ably demonstrates, the words and images were integrated and interdependent, and without due attention to both, much of the resonance of the medieval imagination is lost.

This is an elegant work of historical scholarship that shows the discipline at its best.

JACQUELINE MURRAY
University of Guelph

ROBERTA J. MAGNUSSON. *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks after the Roman Empire.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 238. $38.00.

Water, although often perceived as an essential component of successful town living and order, did not in reality exist in abundance in medieval Europe. That is to say, although wells and more usually rivers were characteristic features, the call for a fuller flowing and piped supply was not always a commonplace. What Roberta J. Magnusson charts in her book is the somewhat piecemeal sequence of adoption and investment in conduits, drains, and fountains, showing that works by, for example, a friary, did not immediately result in additional provisioning elsewhere in a townscape (pp. 37–39). Even if technology and human know-how were available, "progress" was no overnight phenomenon nor one linked simply to demographic pressure (p. 25). The right to carry a conduit over private lands might be gained through pious donation or purchase, but the actual laying out of pipes could take years to complete. At Southampton, a friary gained a spring in 1290 but did not gain the license to lay pipes until 1327, no doubt then needing more years to finish the task itself. These events are among the most illuminating in this volume (see chapter two, "Resource Acquisition"). Hearing of the disputes and bureaucracy in seeking permission to run pipes, of the civic authorities taking heavy-handed measures, of difficulties in procuring quality engineers, of the dangers of open-trench excavation in streets, and of problems of vandalism and repairwork makes the medieval town sound very familiar to modern readers!

Magnusson takes a broad but sometimes scattershot approach in discussing water technology in her book: although there is a logical order in the thematic chapter provision (running from revival, through acquisition, to design, administration, and then users), we are loaded with a flurry of examples, sometimes chronologically and geographically mixed (e.g. in one paragraph from eighth-century Farfa to thirteenth-century Waltham Abbey), which may simultaneously illuminate and confuse. Avoiding a sequential review of water technology across time and place has its logic but this does mean that the text glosses over the relative paucity of textual data for the period "after Rome" extending up to the twelfth century; after all, the majority of the examples cited cluster between A.D. 1200 and 1450. One might therefore quibble with the superfluous subtitle of the book, which implies a critical assessment of loss and then renewal "after Rome"; the first chapter, duly entitled "Survival and Revival," only superficially addresses these, with inadequate consideration of Roman to early medieval water supplies. (For a more complete account, see Paolo Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000* [1998]).

Magnusson is most informative in chapter three ("Design and Construction") detailing the medieval mechanics (technical and human) of storing and directing water, with extant plans for monastic water systems (e.g. Prior Wibert's water system plan for Canterbury of A.D. 1160) and, in particular, a narrative for Waltham Abbey detailing especially the role of Master Laurence of Stratford in 1220–1222 as designer, engineer, and metalworker. Archaeology contributes strongly to understanding the basic fabric of waterworks—build, pipe types, taps, cuttings, renovations—often skimped over by the texts, while iconography helps determine fountain styles. The complexity

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of construction and upkeep is neatly extended in the chapter on "Administration and Finance," showing the problems of patrolling and financing these systems. Private patronage, city funding, extra taxes, and leasing out are all measures attested, echoing the distant Roman past, but, as Magnusson argues in her final chapter, the problem was often convincing the townsfolk of the advantages of these more expensive systems of water supply.

This is a somewhat slim volume (173 pages of text; 40 pages of notes), and there was certainly scope to elaborate on various aspects, notably Roman survivals, water and industry, and the social welfare role of monasteries. Nonetheless, the many examples highlighted do provide a valuable overview of medieval technology and society and their progress to a more complex form of urbanism. The final chapter especially highlights this transition: professional water carriers in fourteenth-century London still mainly used rivers and wells, but conduits and fountains eased access for most residents; queues, jostling, and arguments as well as broken pitchers are all documented to illustrate the popularity of such new sources. Personal hygiene likewise had scope to improve. Alongside this are regulations regarding access to conduits for traders (fishmongers, tanners, etc.) indicating competition and potential pollutive drawbacks; yet the regulations and complaints, combined with attested conveyance of water to industrial zones, reveal a modified civic attitude. As Magnusson notes (p. 160), "The task of diffusing technologically appropriate behavior remained an ongoing challenge," but the "new" water technology by the fourteenth century was actively starting to clean up some of the past.

NEIL CHRISTIE
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ALAN M. STAHL. *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, with The American Numismatic Society, New York. 2000. Pp. xv, 497. $68.00.

In a community of merchants, money matters. This was certainly the case in medieval Venice, an island of capitalism in a feudal world. Venetians cared about money, but they were not chauvinistic about it. They were quite willing to use foreign coins, provided they were of good quality and solid value. Since that was not always possible or convenient, they also produced their own coinage. By the late twelfth century, Venice was minting new coins that would establish it as a center for currency production for centuries to come. The character of that production was crucial to the economic well-being of the republic.

Scholars have long understood the importance of money for the famous "commercial revolution" of the twelfth century. In recent years, Peter Spufford (*Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* [1988]) has examined the problem broadly both across Europe and across the spectrum of exchange. Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller (*Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, Volume 1 [1985]) focused attention on the history of Venice's currencies from mining to coinage and from moneys of account to banking. Building on these foundations, Alan M. Stahl has written a masterful history of medieval Venice's coinage and the mint that produced it.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one provides a straightforward chronological history of Venetian coinage from the ninth to the early fifteenth century. Well written, clear, and learned, this section alone is worth the price of the book. The next two parts look more closely at the mint itself. Part two examines medieval Venetian mint policy, explaining in great detail how and why governmental bodies regulated the production of coinage as well as the complex relationships the mint, the government, and the bullion market. Venetians were concerned not only with making coins but also with their future once they left the mint. Based on coin hordes and other sources, Stahl discusses the circulation of various issues as well as the ever-present problems of culling, clipping, and counterfeiting. Part three goes inside the mint, describing the jobs of mintmasters, moneyers, engravers, and the like. It is here that we see the painstaking (and sometimes smelly) process of refining, striking, weighing, and distribution. Much more completely than Lane and Mueller, Stahl brings the medieval mint to life.

There is no overarching theme or surprising new thesis here. Stahl's purpose is simply to describe the medieval Venetian mint and its coinage as accurately as possible. He succeeds. Almost every page of this groundbreaking work bleeds erudition. This is not the product of a year or two in Venice but of almost two decades of intensive research in archives, museums, and laboratories. Stahl is as much at home discussing X-ray spectroscopy as he is a thirteenth-century *capitolare* manuscript. The sheer number and diversity of sources that he brings to his subject is staggering.

As anyone who has tried to read quarterly investment reports knows, it is difficult to make money an interesting read. At times, however, this book can indeed be quite interesting. There are, for example, the bold innovations of Mintmaster Marco Sanudo (1389–1393), who greatly increased mint efficiency and then resigned, probably because his pay raise was not equally great (pp. 256–57). Or there is the "de Bora affair," a fascinating story of lies, intrigue, and violence with a bit of a surprise ending that illustrates the often complex relationship between silver officials and moneychangers (pp. 154–57). Yet elsewhere, by necessity, the prose approximates that quarterly report. Some of the paragraphs in chapter eight ("The Economics of the *Zecca*") are mathematical formulae interspersed with words. Given the subject, this is probably unavoidable and, for accuracy's sake, a good thing.

One criticism of this book is, in fact, a function of its erudition: it desperately needs a glossary of terms.

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Those trained in numismatics will be fine, but the rest of us will frequently scratch our heads over terminology. Cupellation, for example, is mentioned throughout but only explained in one of the last chapters (pp. 323–26). There are many references to touchstone needles. Indeed, there is even a sixteenth-century engraving of them (p. 148). But it is never made clear how they are used to estimate gold fineness. And what about "coin sweating"? Clearly it has something do with taking precious metal out of a coin, but how was it done? Was it evident afterward? Can I do it at home?

Nit-picking aside, this is a book of enormous importance not only for the history of Venice but also for medieval numismatic history in general.

THOMAS F. MADDEN
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SUSAN TWYMAN. *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century*. (Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Henry Bradshaw Society. 2002. Pp. xii, 251. $70.00.

The emphasis on gestures and ritual in medieval history is fashionable today, and Susan Twyman's volume is a very welcome contribution. Its title is slightly misleading, for the seven chapters focus exclusively on one particular aspect of twelfth-century papal ceremonial: the reception and procession rituals current in Rome at that time, known as *adventus*, or reception ceremonies. Such ceremonies had been known since antiquity and were by no means an invention of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but evidence for earlier centuries is lacking or exists only in outline as in the *Ordines romani*, or in the narratives of the papal lives recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*. This changed in the twelfth century when several important liturgical manuals were compiled. These have been preserved either completely or in fragmentary form, can be dated, and are accessible in excellent editions. Moreover, the century also boasts the work of the papal chamberlain Boso (pp. 38–39) and his continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis* tradition; his vita of Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) included two detailed accounts of *adventus* in honor of this pontiff.

The material is analyzed in detail and with care in chapters four ("Extra-Mural *Adventus* at Rome and Papal Accession"), five ("*Adventus* as an Act of Consent"), and six ("Intra-Mural *Adventus* at Rome"), with a summary of Twyman's main conclusions in chapter seven. The preceding chapters (pp. 1–88) describe the roots and significance of the papal *adventus* ritual, one of the imperial privileges adopted by the papacy, albeit not by the papacy alone. The heightened political ambitions of papal Rome reflected in this *imitatio imperii* are expressed strikingly in the forgery known as the Donation of Constantine, which deserves its prominent place in the author's exposition even though the Donation does not refer to *adventus*, but only lists processional privileges supposedly granted by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester and the clergy in general. Interest in this document, composed at the papal court at Rome in the second half of the eighth century, was pronounced in the second half of the eleventh century and later during the evolution of a centralized papacy and of the corresponding ceremonial activity detailed by Twyman.

The author divides her discussion of *adventus* into extramural and intramural receptions, with several subordinate categories such as the papal Easter Monday procession. The latter is defined as the annual reenactment of the "accession-related intra-mural procession" (p. 214). The intramural procession in turn reflects the extramural *adventus* as it was performed in connection with the accession of a new pontiff. Leaving the city to welcome the pope and then leading him in an elaborate procession to Rome "signalled . . . consent to his rule" (p. 21) by the Romans, including laity as well as clergy. If a pontiff had been expelled from the city but succeeded through negotiations with the population in regaining entry, extramural *adventus* symbolized "resubmission" (p. 22). Twyman argues that extra and intramural reception rituals had much the same meaning until at least June 1120, the date for the festive reception at Rome of Pope Calixtus II, who had been elected four months earlier at Vienne in Burgundy (pp. 92–95). However, once the Roman Commune had established itself in opposition to the temporal lordship of the papacy in the 1140s, a radical shift occurred in the form as well as substance of the *adventus* ceremony. Twyman argues on the basis of Boso's description of the two entry ceremonies for Pope Alexander III in 1165 and 1178 that the Roman clergy by then carried banners instead of thuribles and crosses during the procession, interpreting the change as reducing the spiritual implications of the *adventus* and strengthening its secular elements (pp. 170–72). Fundamentally this change may be traced back to the papal election decree of the Lateran synod of 1059, when the Roman laity as well as the majority of the Roman clergy lost their customary role in papal elections. This implied, as she points out perspicaciously, the separation of the universal and the local role of the pope as head of the church universal on the one hand and as bishop of Rome on the other. It is an irony, although not unexpected for historians of liturgy, that the elaborate twelfth-century *adventus* rituals "as a gesture of spontaneous and freely given consensus" were very much at odds with the political reality when consent came to mean to the Romans a right of acceptance or rejection (p. 219). Perhaps the author could have saved herself from a few infelicities in her narratives if she had conceded more readily throughout the book that liturgical *ordines* reflected most often theories and rarely if ever reality, but this and other minor criticisms do not detract from the overall value of the book.

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FREDERIC L. CHEYETTE. *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 474. $35.00.

Usually scholars are content to be scholarly, going no further than their sources will allow, at most making informed suggestions about a period of documentary obscurity. And yet historians deal with people, and if one has studied certain people long enough, one begins to hear their voices. One then has three choices: abandon what one's colleagues would call history and start writing fiction, wherein the people in the documents can live again; keep calling it history but include guesses that do not sound like guesses (mumbling about anthropology or postmodernism if one's approach is challenged); or make the difficulty of reconstructing past lives from the scraps that survive a central focus of the book.

Frederic L. Cheyette has chosen the third approach. He has been studying Ermengard, viscountess of Narbonne (*ca.* 1130–1196), for years and knows her in ways that will never make appropriate footnotes. But he does not want to write a novel about her, even though he quotes medieval epics that present a lively if fictionalized Ermengard: "Though my hair is grey and white, my heart is bold and thirsts for war" (pp. 1–2). Nor does Cheyette state that she did or said or believed certain things when there is no evidence to support this claim. Instead, he begins by discussing the very difficulty of constructing from the fragmentary records the life of someone who must have been a vibrant and highly energetic woman. Like Thomas N. Bisson, who wrote on Catalan peasants raising complaints against their lords (*Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* [1998]), Cheyette has heard Ermengard's voice clearly enough that he has had to struggle not to write down what that voice has told him.

The result is a book that is both about southwestern France in the twelfth century and also about the challenges of biography. It is a fascinating study, beautifully written. If Ermengard herself, found in no more than sixty-four legal documents from her lifetime, remains somewhat elusive, there is much else of interest. Ermengard's region is best known to medieval literary specialists as the home of the troubadours and to medieval historians as the territory devastated by the Albigensian Crusade, beginning a dozen years after Ermengard's death and treated briefly in Cheyette's epilogue. The book is rooted in a sense of place, illustrated both with the author's photographs and with old engravings that show what the villages and castle ruins looked like before modernization. Numerous maps and family trees make it easy to follow the political struggles and alliances.

Cheyette divides his book into four major sections: the growth of the city, focusing on Narbonne; lordship and serfdom; oaths and fidelity; and dynastic politics. Narbonne, an old Roman provincial capital, was a port city with a wealthy and respected Jewish community, a prize actively sought by powerful lords. Cheyette emphasizes the extent to which the riches of its rulers were built on its vibrant urban economy, as well as how the viscountess, the archbishop, and the merchant elite all competed to be those rulers. His analysis of lordship stresses the necessity of avoiding sweeping definitions or clear categories, for there were many varieties of lordship, and even the obligations of the serfs scattered across the hills of Occitania were always subject to negotiation. (Here his peasants appear very different from Bisson's tormented ones.) He puts oaths of fidelity into the context of ritual, dispute resolution, and the service of love rather than leaving them in the sterile realm of "feudalism." In discussing the wars and treachery that always accompanied dynastic ambitions, he argues that historians' tendency to see such wars as stages in the building of the modern state is always from hindsight—and Ermengard's region never became a state. No section of the book is devoted exclusively to medieval women. Instead, Ermengard and other women appear all the way through: not the passive ladies earlier historians often imagined, but highly active figures who could settle conflicts, lead armies, give justice, and receive oaths of loyalty as well as be celebrated in songs of love. Here as throughout, Cheyette shows a medieval world that differs on most points from the standard picture of the period. He rarely bothers to state with whom he disagrees; other medievalists, who are also shedding the older models, will know who he means, and the broader readership toward whom this book is also directed does not need historiographic debates. This rich and highly rewarding work should find a wide audience: scholars of the Middle Ages, historians who are not medievalists, even advanced undergraduates.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD
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ELIZABETH FREEMAN. *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220*. (Medieval Church Studies, number 2.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2002. Pp. x, 245. €50.00.

A monograph in the true sense of the word, this book applies a variety of critical techniques drawn from "the linguistic turn" to the rather meager corpus of English Cistercian historical writing, excluding hagiography and other sorts of sources. Elizabeth Freeman argues that English Cistercians, who came, like the Normans, from France, participated in the larger historical enterprise of reconceptualizing the English nation after the conquest, stressing continuity with the Anglo-Saxon past while contributing a spiritual dimension peculiar to their sensibilities as an order. Secondly, they contributed to the order's own search for identity in common experiences.

The first and longest section of the book is a refined and sophisticated analysis of two works by Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de standardo* and *Genealogia Regum*

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Anglorum. Highlighting a speech by the founder of Rievaulx, Aelred balanced his own didactic intentions against the interests of both monastic and lay readers. He linked a mythical Norman-English struggle with the Celtic peoples to local skirmishes; he appealed for help to the northern Saxon saints, pinning the Cistercians to their English present rather than their French roots. Study of the manuscript distribution suggests that both northern monks and laymen who used their libraries consulted the *Relatio*. A list of barons present for the battle fit into the contemporary shift to lineage consciousness. Chronicles and genealogies designed to secure family histories associated with land and status in postconquest England strengthened the claims of the new aristocracy to ancient roots reaching back to Bede and even to the Bible.

Aelred's *Genealogia* bypassed the Danish line and the Norman Conquest altogether and traced Henry II's lineage back through the two Mathildas and Margaret of Scotland, linking him directly to Edmund Ironsides. As history, she argues, the *Genealogia* is careless of dating and strict chronology, posing the concept of the nation in the context of timeless moral values represented by the king. The king's body encapsulates the nation. Female imagery in the text expresses the proper relations of church and state. A paragraph comparing Mathilda to Esther conflates feminine and Cistercian virtues. Freeman thus finds in Aelred a "royalist" concept of history akin to that of twelfth-century lay writers combined with a peculiarly Cistercian habit of giving moral advice to princes. However, when she returns to national history in part four, devoted to seeking a coherent Cistercian character in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, she finds it only in marginal oddities.

Part two bridges a significant gap between Aelred and the thirteenth century. Although Cistercians produced no historical work between 1167 and 1200, Freeman shows that their libraries indicate a particular interest in northern English history. This provides a foundation for part three dealing with the foundation histories of Kirkstall and Fountains abbeys. Joining the current discussion of Cistercian self-invention, Freeman notes that her findings tend to confirm Constance Berman's arguments that documents issued or reissued in the 1150s dramatically intensified their sense of identity as an order. The Cistercians were passionately committed to the original Benedictine rule and anxious to justify their own innovations as reinforcements to its observance by the use of common exempla and the encouragement of allegorical interpretation help ease the tension between change and continuity in creating a common past. Freeman acknowledges a certain sleight-of-hand quality to this separation of fact—the somewhat incoherent record of particular events—from meaning as well as to the movement between different literary styles, but she stops short of examining its implications. Her insights into Cistercian attitudes about restoring land to God's intentions are good, but they may also mask a more self-interested intention. The myth of clearing a wilderness unites all Cistercian foundations in a common past, and their claim to inhabiting a desert has spiritual and devotional value. But Freeman does not examine it in the light of Berman's thesis that Cistercians often cleared their land of people rather than wilderness, which is hinted at in the story of the Kirkstall monks' destruction of a parish church. Similarly, the image of the spreading vine is examined imaginatively but not related to filiation and the exclusion of Cistercian nuns, which Berman makes central to the order's formation.

This is a book about Cistercian concepts of history and their use of history to invent identities for their order and for themselves as Englishmen. I am not entirely persuaded that this limited body of material forms a genuinely coherent vision. Nevertheless, Freeman's study is full of interesting insights and ingenious literary analysis of a neglected set of texts.

Jo Ann McNamara
Hunter College

Sharon Farmer. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor.* (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 198. $35.00.

Around 1303, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus wrote his *Life and Miracles of Saint Louis* (King Louis IX of France, 1226–1270, canonized in 1297), in which he included French summaries of the Latin report of an ecclesiastical inquest—now largely lost—regarding sixty-three miracles, mostly of healings at Louis's tomb in the abbey church of St. Denis, near Paris, between 1271 and 1282. Sharon Farmer argues in this short but ambitious book that Guillaume's stories provide unique insight into the lives of the urban poor. Informed by the study of wills, tax surveys, and model sermons of Parisian theologians, Farmer's reading of the miracle stories yields an image of poverty that is as familiar to historians of medieval marginality as it is unsettling.

Farmer's main contention is that two conveyors of difference marked the experience of the poor: namely, gender and social status. Gender was the prime mover, but it was modified by social and economic circumstance, so that "hierarchical 'grids' of difference" (p. 41) were created by which propertied males were (obviously) granted greater regard than were male beggars, but men who worked with their hands, while inferior to those who engaged in intellectual endeavors, always deserved more praise than women, whose labor was primarily reproductive. Among the latter, married women under male guidance were in turn more honorable than single ones. These views typified the patterns of poor relief adopted by the Parisian propertied classes, who tended to support, for instance, institutions that gave shelter to single women and domesticated them, but also affected the behavior of the needy, although Farmer generally imbues the

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latter with greater powers of empathy and even calls them "active agents in the survival of their fellows" (p. 164).

Farmer's microhistorical approach yields numerous attractions but involves tricky methodological problems that are often left unaddressed. When she notes that the *Miracles* stories "point to significant numbers of people whose life cycles differed from that described by [John] Hajnal, [Richard] Smith, and [P. J. P.] Goldberg" (p. 29) and chides these historians of late medieval and early modern demography for overlooking the "more complex pattern" (p. 27; see also pp. 30–31) recorded here, she effectively confuses two kinds of historical evidence. Hajnal attempted to formulate general rules of family structure and life cycles based on administrative records, whereas Guillaume's stories necessarily pertain to a small population group that is almost by definition out of the ordinary. Farmer is too good a historian to ignore the issues of genre and ideological perspective entirely. She agrees that contemporary discussions of poverty are "shaped by cultural assumptions" and states quite reasonably that these "are themselves valuable evidence" (p. 10), but she does not consider how these assumptions must have governed the very selection and elaboration of her main source, the *Miracles* stories. And while those same assumptions "shaped" the lives of the poor in the sense that the latter utterly depended on the "cultural elites" (Farmer's term) who formulated such ideas, one wonders if the poor internalized these messages to such a degree that "the male gender paradigm described in the third chapter of Genesis, which stressed men's role in the productive sphere, exercised a compelling influence on lower-status men, sometimes even driving disabled boys to leave their natal home" (pp. 74–75). Unfortunately, all of us can imagine other reasons why such boys (and girls) would leave their homes.

Efforts to broaden the temporal and geographical scope of these stories are similarly constrained by Farmer's refusal to acknowledge their specificity. Much of the sermon literature invoked here was the product of the Parisian controversy over the new mendicant friars, who eagerly distanced themselves from "ordinary beggars." Changing economic circumstances are at play too, since the *Miracles* coincide with the first signs of economic contraction, hardening latent public sentiment against the poor. Here and there, a lack of first-hand expertise on poor relief elsewhere in Europe weakens Farmer's extrapolations. She cites the "foundation charter" of St. Elizabeth's beguinage in "Gand" (p. 128; this is Ghent, of course) as proof that beguinages were meant to put "poor women" to work, but the document in question postdates the beguinage's establishment by almost a century and refers to women of noble and middle classes who needed support. More importantly, Farmer omits to ask the key question: why is it that thirteenth-century Paris, the largest city in northwestern Europe, did not develop a comprehensive, parish-based system for poverty relief comparable to that of cities of the Low Countries, northern France, and northern Italy? Is it because of its sheer size, the immense pressures of immigration, or the complex interplay among urban, clerical, and royal authorities in the city?

Ultimately, Farmer offers conclusions that few will challenge. Who denies today that gender and social class intersect in history? Who doubts that the upper classes, in the Middle Ages or at any other time, associated commoners with bodily instincts? Yet, despite these reservations, I believe this is an important and valuable book, albeit less for a few grand claims made somewhat impetuously than for the many intimate portraits of poverty rendered tangible. I know of no other work on the medieval poor that presents individual stories so vividly and with such respect for human dignity. But Farmer's book is disturbing too, since it reminds us that, while the poor will always be with us, few of them are ever part of history.

WALTER SIMONS
Dartmouth College

JÜRG SCHMUTZ. *Juristen für das Reich: Die deutschen Rechtsstudenten an der Universität Bologna 1265–1425.* Volume 1, *Text* ; Volume 2, *Personenkatalog.* (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, number 2.) Basel: Schwabe & Co. 2000. Pp. 311; 317–800.

This book by Jürg Schmutz takes as its point of departure Gustav Knod's 1899 work, *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289–1562)*, a biographical index collating information drawn principally from the *Acta* of the German nation at Bologna in the later Middle Ages. Surviving records first mention the *Natio Germanica* in 1265. As Schmutz explains in the excellent essay that makes up the first volume of his study, the German nation was one of thirteen listed in the statutes of 1317 as forming the Ultramontane university in the complicated structure that was the late medieval University of Bologna; it is a mark of the international scope of the *studium* of Bologna that the Ultramontane university included nations at the territorial limits of Latin Christendom, such as Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Portugal. (Three Italian nations made up the separate Cismontane university.) But the German nation also had its own corporate existence with separate statutes, officials, and records. Individual students entered the university by enrolling in the appropriate nation, and the university as a whole was governed by representatives of the nations. Further, since most of the records available for studying the students and their careers were kept by the nations, those units have a special importance to historians.

Naturally enough, an important part of Schmutz's essay is dedicated to summarizing what can be known about the social origins of the students. He notes that students of the German nation did not necessarily come from German-speaking areas, since they included not only individuals from dioceses in the Neth-

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erlands, Scandinavia, and the Baltic but also from Besançon and Toul. Before 1288, enrollments came predominately from western Germany, but during the fourteenth century they came from all over the empire. It is also significant to note that the German presence at Bologna declined markedly after the middle of the fourteenth century, when new universities north of the Alps began to provide alternatives that were less expensive and closer to home than Bologna. Of those 763 students for whom it was possible to determine social class, two-thirds were noble and one-third were from the burger class. Others had their way paid by benefices, and nearly half the total are known to have made ecclesiastical careers—a circumstance also reflected in the heavier emphasis on canon law as compared to civil law as a field of study. Yet the careers available to former students at Bologna were varied. Schmutz discovered that twenty-seven of his subjects reached the office of chancellor for German and Norwegian kings, lords, archbishops, and bishops, with others achieving lesser but still distinguished positions in chanceries and councils. Additional topics discussed include the books owned by these students, the expenses involved in studying at Bologna, the duration of their studies, and their participation in the activities of the German nation.

The second volume of Schmutz's study updates Knod's biographical index. Schmutz's catalog starts slightly earlier than Knod's, drawing on evidence from the period before the surviving *Acta* begin; he also closes his catalog in 1425 rather than 1562, noting the declining attractiveness of Bologna for German students. In fact, although Schmutz deals with only half the period covered by Knod, he has more than 3,500 entries or about eighty percent of Knod's total. Each entry provides information on that person's activities at Bologna, as well as whatever can be learned about his career before and after. At times Schmutz is able to suggest where multiple entries in Knod's register may refer to a single person (a problem often encountered in periods when last names are omitted or used inconsistently). Sometimes he can also add details to Knod's account of his subjects' careers before or after their time in Bologna. A structural difference between the catalogs recognizes recent experience with databases by dividing the pieces of information making up individual entries into precise categories, including the students' activities at Bologna, their family origin and background, their study at other universities, positions held, and works written.

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Mary C. Erler. *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 226. $60.00.

This book addresses subjects that have received considerable attention from historians of late medieval and early Tudor England: the history of the book and reading, the history of popular religion before the break with Rome, and the history of female education, reading, spirituality, religious houses, and friendship. What Mary C. Erler has achieved is to demonstrate how interrelated all the latter aspects of medieval English women's lives were and how elucidating them illuminates the first two, more general topics. The heart of her book consists of six extremely well-researched essays framed by a lucid synthetic introduction and a brief epilogue. Only the essay on the Fettyplace sisters has been published previously.

The introduction sets out Erler's conclusions and places them within current debates in the many fields on which her work touches. In the largest sense she aligns herself with revisionist historians such as Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy, who emphasize the vitality of the church and the active piety of the laity in the two generations before Henry VIII's break with Rome. Within that context, she underscores the permeability of the boundaries between religious and lay spirituality and life, particularly in the case of women. Here she agrees with historians such as Marilyn Oliva, who has made an exhaustive study of convents in the diocese of Norwich. Where Erler blazes new paths is in her use of the circulation of books to document female networks, which are notoriously difficult to trace, and to provide another kind of evidence for the porous boundaries between female spirituality inside and outside the nunnery. Widows who became nuns or took vows of perpetual chastity without joining a religious order play an important part in this story. Some of the vowesses chose to board in convents, others did not.

Many of Erler's conclusions depend on her examination of the books that women owned and circulated. In conjunction with wills, the inscriptions and signatures in books enable her to reconstruct the networks of family and friends, predominantly but not exclusively female, with which she is concerned. Successive autographs also demonstrate the way books moved back and forth between lay owners and convents. To fill out the information she gleans from these two key sources, Erler draws on an enormous amount of primary and secondary material on convents, lay piety, women, reading, and printing, as well as the antiquarian and genealogical material that generations of English scholars have compiled. Occasionally, her insistence on presenting everything she has uncovered about a particular woman's or family's connections makes reading her book slow going, but overall the effect is to make her argument stronger and to supply her readers with suggestions about how to do similar research.

Erler also used her careful examination and knowledge of the books women owned and circulated to consider the substance of female piety. Here she illuminates the common spiritual ground that existed between laywomen and nuns and demonstrates how little difference the introduction of printing made in women's choice of religious books. Most provocative

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and pertinent to revisionist interpretations of late medieval-early modern religion is her demonstration that the evidence of books, wills, and letters makes it difficult to assign unambiguous religious labels to individual women. For example, the library of the orthodox vowess Margery de Nerford, who built a vestry and chapel of Our Lady and St. Anne in the parish church of St. Christopher in London and co-founded a chantry in it with a neighbor, probably included a psalter that has been authoritatively labeled Wycliffite (pp. 60–61). Similarly, the last abbess of Denny, the devout Elizabeth Throckmorton, asked a London merchant, Humphrey Monmouth, for his copy of Erasmus's *Enchiridion*, which was translated into English by none other than William Tyndale. Tyndale lived with Monmouth until he left England for Germany in 1524 (pp. 107–108). Yet, despite her interest in Erasmus, a vituperative critic of the religious life, Throckmorton remained faithful to her vows after the Dissolution, when she and two or three of her nuns retired to her brother's home at Coughton, Warwickshire, to continue the common life and daily routine they had known at Denny.

All in all, this book is a model of interdisciplinary research. It speaks to the central concerns of scholars studying literary, religious, and women's history in late medieval and early Tudor England. It is also feminist in the best sense of the word: Erler is deeply committed to integrating female experience and women's point of view into our picture of the past. Well written, learned, respectful of its subjects and filled with interesting ideas, it will richly reward the reader who gives it the careful attention it deserves.

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KIRSI SALONEN. *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527.* (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, number 313.) Tuusula, Finland: Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ. 2001. Pp. 458.

This book is a welcome contribution to the study of the impact of canon law on the lives of ordinary and not so ordinary people in the late Middle Ages. Kirsi Salonen intends it both as an introduction for the English-speaking world to the study of the recently opened (1983) Registry of the Papal Penitentiary and as a study of the impact of the Penitentiary of Rome on the lives of late medieval Northern Europeans.

The apostolic penitentiary was one of several offices of the papal curia. It had the power to grant absolutions, dispensations, and special licences where irregularities or transgressions were identified in cases of marriage, illegitimacy, promotion, confession, and certain crimes, mainly involving benefit of clergy. Although the penitentiary began in the twelfth century, it is only since 1411 that registers of its decisions have been preserved. The bulk of the material falls in the period from the middle of the fifteenth century to the 1890s. Salonen's book is the first full-length study of the practice of the penitentiary in English in the widest sense, and it aims to compare the rules of canon law to the practical decisions made in the penitentiary and to add to the English-language literature on the procedure and personnel of the papal curia.

The book consists of two sections of roughly equal length. Drawing on material from all over Europe, part one focuses on the institution of the penitentiary and introduces the reader to its history, its place in the church hierarchy, its personnel, the kinds of cases heard, and procedures. A brief, seven-page discussion of previous literature on the subject demonstrates how little we currently know about the penitentiary, but it is clear that Salonen's book is to be considered the first of several studies of the penitentiary that are currently underway across Europe. The first section of Salonen's book places the cases heard by the penitentiary in the context of canon law. This section expands and extends the work of Ludwig Schmugge, particularly his *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren: Päbstliche Dispense von der uneheliche Geburt im Spätmittelalter* (1995), a fact that Salonen is the first to acknowledge. However, Salonen not only conveniently summarizes the results of others but also adds much detailed information about the documents produced and the kinds of cases heard in the penitentiary.

The bulk of the first part of the book consists of a detailed analysis of the penitentiary case load, broken down into individual types of cases. This analysis usefully brings together a discussion of the practice of the courts with references to the canons of law that applied to them. The book also provides a useful bibliography of German-language and (the very few) Scandinavian studies of canon law. Although it would have been fascinating to learn about the development of the canons and the canonistic commentary, Salonen wisely limits her references to the Friedberg edition of the *Corpus juris canonici*. Anything else would have produced a very different, and not necessarily better, book.

Part two narrows the focus of the study and deals in detail with the case load from the archdiocese of Uppsala in present-day Sweden and Finland. An outline map in one of the appendixes drives home the fact that Uppsala was one of the most extensive ecclesiastical provinces in medieval Christendom. However, the same map unfortunately omits many of the names of localities that would be unfamiliar to those not acquainted with the region. A brief outline of the history of each of the constituent parts of the archdiocese follows, together with brief biographical sketches of their bishops. These sketches tantalizingly refer to the complex political situation during the dissolution of the Scandinavian Union, and this becomes the focus of an all-too-brief section on the politics of the period and the relations of the province to the Holy See. The rest of the book is made up of analyses of the subject and procedure of individual Finnish and Swedish cases

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that came before the papal penitentiary in the period up to 1525. Salonen pays particular attention to the individuals that can be identified and tries to flesh out their stories with material from Swedish and Finnish archives whenever possible.

There is much to praise in this volume, but there is also room for improvement. It is in the nature of the penitentiary records that little detail is forthcoming, and the book can be a somewhat dry read on occasion. The technical discussions of the material, both in terms of statistics and of analysis of their canon law content, are not for the faint-hearted either. The statistical analyses are well done, but it would have been an advantage if the principles of the analysis (especially statistical significance tests) were explained at the outset instead of being buried mid-text in a footnote. Salonen has a tendency to concentrate too much on narrow time spans rather than the overall trends in litigation patterns and is perhaps oversensitive to short-term fluctuations in caseloads. The complex and exciting politics of the Scandinavian Union are too briefly explained, and cannot be of any real use to those not already familiar with late medieval Scandinavian politics, and the language suffers from a number of idiosyncrasies that may deter the less-than-dedicated reader. A good English-speaking copy editor with a knowledge of the target readership would have helped the book's commercial success. With the impending publication of the *Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, which will provide much of the background, however, this book may represent the beginning of a trend to make available a wider range of studies in Scandinavian history than has been the case hitherto.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANTHONY LEVI. *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 483. $39.95.

In a wide-ranging introduction, Anthony Levi lays the foundation from which the subsequent chapters arise. He states early on that the subject of his book is the progress "of the endeavour by western Christendom to achieve the acceptance of a new and elevated vision of human nature" (p. 2). Levi concludes that the ultimate success of this endeavor was the most important element of what we refer to as the "renaissance." His understanding of the term turns upside down the views of many scholars. Levi gives short shrift to the monumental work of Paul Oskar Kristeller, for example, and seems to think that the late scholar's interpretation of the period was based mainly on the idea of intellectual concerns of scholarly disciplines. There appears to be a lack of distinction between the understanding of *studia humanitatis* and the meaning of Renaissance as a period carefully defined by Kristeller and others.

The book is divided into three parts: the intellectual problem of the Middle Ages; toward a resolution; schismatic. As one can see from these topics, the work begins and ends with religious and theological problems that, in the author's opinion, were either the cause of the new view of human nature or the result of it. Levi provides a learned and precise overview of what he sees as the intellectual problems from which the crisis of scholasticism developed: the intellectual contradictions in the Latin formulations about the Trinity and the incarnation. The realist view, which posits universal ideas in the mind corresponding to extra-mental reality, led to what the author considers a preposterous conclusion: that all three persons of the Trinity must have been incarnate. He rapidly surveys Constantine, Origen, the Arian controversy, Victorinus, Augustine, Aquinas, Alfarabí, Avicenna, and Averroës. The crisis of scholasticism is delineated with particular emphasis on the Aristotelianism that had taken root in Paris. The crisis followed the "impossibly contradictory theological constraints concerning God's nature and human freedom." From these contradictions came a new vision of man's potential and his experience that the author calls a "new sensibility to ancient aesthetic norms," although he believes that it was essentially a "movement of values." He notes that the religious sensibilities of medieval Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece had as their objects secularizing tendencies and mystical ecstasy, not doctrinal issues like those in Latin Christianity. That the aforementioned countries did not experience a "renaissance," he believes, "confirms what has already been suggested, that what we call the renaissance may largely, if not essentially, have been a way of bypassing the impasses into which late medieval Latin scholasticism, burdened by the categories bequeathed to it by Augustine, was always bound to lead" (p. 79). Levi's view of the "renaissance," which he seems to think is a nonperiod resulting primarily from religious philosophizing, is at loggerheads with the views of Kristeller, Eugenio Garin, and many other great scholars.

Levi sees Francis Petrarch as an innovator who, with Augustine as a guide, restored the "lost message" of antiquity and especially of Rome. In addition to Petrarch there are interesting comments about Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, and also about John Chrysoloras and Greek studies. The author, consistent with his general interpretation of the Renaissance, indicates that the humanists following Petrarch were probably conscious that their views were a repudiation of the Averroistic scholasticism of the *via moderna* of William Ockham. Marsilio Ficino, guided by Augustine and Plato, believed that he was inspired by God, especially in regard to human dignity and Christian perfection. In addition, Levi emphasizes the fact that Ficino's intellectual world allows for Christian behavior to be based on actual experience of "instinct-driven human nature." The author sees this as a radical repudiation of the *via moderna*. Ficino's influence on Jacques Lefèvre D'Étaples moved the

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latter to declare the inherent morality of all religious experience.

Through his insightful discussions of Johannes Reuchlin, Levi demonstrates the influence of the Kabalah on the spiritual thought of the Renaissance. In regard to Martin Luther, the author claims that Luther's rejection of the *via moderna* was grounded in its emphasis on religious experience mediated by faith. Luther held that justification was a human, not a divine, religious experience. Levi's discussion of Luther is one of his most compelling, especially in regard to Desiderius Erasmus, whose criticism of indulgences and the use of spiritual powers for secular purposes he regards as probable reasons for Luther's ninety-five theses.

In his discussion of France under Francis I, the author makes light of the king's real commitment to scholarship or religious reform. He seems unaware, however, of a sixteenth-century source that provides an account of the establishment of the College of the Three Languages: Guillaume Postel wrote that the king's circle of scholars was a bulwark against the influence of the Sorbonne, which upheld the pope's authority above that of the councils (The British Library Sloane ms. 1413, fols. 37–39). Postel also indicated that Francis I wanted Erasmus as director of the college, but he was forced to abandon the project because of other circumstances. According to Postel, who was *lecteur royal* in the king's circle, Francis tried to summon Philip Melanchthon to his court to aid in settling religious discord, but Melanchthon was urged by friends not to go. When Postel warned Francis I to reform his court and all of France, the king was moved to tears, according to Postel, but the "Dame de Poitiers" soon changed his mind. Postel's account sheds light on the question of the king's sincerity in regard to scholarship and to religion. Levi asserts that Francis I's sincere personal Catholicism cannot be doubted, but "he was ready to allow French domestic and foreign policies to diverge from France's fundamentally Catholic politico-religious alignment in the interests of temporary anti-Habsburg expediency" (p. 330).

In the final chapter, the author discusses how divine revelation and divine law were communicated to human beings: that is, whether by an external institution or person or by interior experience. He points out that Luther, John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, Thomas More, and John Fisher still thought that civil authorities should enforce religious conformity, since it was woven into the fabric of society. Although the year 1535 witnessed a schism in England and the birth of Calvinism in France and Switzerland, the author sees no discontinuity in the intellectual and religious history of Europe.

Levi seems to say that "renaissance" resulted from religious tensions dating back to the early Christian and medieval past. He sees cultural values at a profound level increasing spiritual pressure for a more nuanced view of human moral potential. The terms "renaissance" and "reformation" help to define each rather than to present a *contrarietas oppositorum*. One of the strengths of the book is that the reader is required to view both Renaissance and Reformation with lenses different from those customary.

This work is impressive in its command of sources, although its broad focus sometimes makes it difficult to digest. This comment, however, in no way diminishes the book's significance. It is an important work and sets forth new constructs about Renaissance and Reformation that must be considered.

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H. M. SCOTT. *The Emergence of the Eastern Powers, 1756–1775*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 285. $65.00.

Traditional focus on personalities and diplomacy, our recent interest in international history, and the persistence of high-quality scholarship on eighteenth-century Europe converge in H. M. Scott's engaging book. As its title suggests, the issue at hand is not simply the dramatic growth of Prussian and especially Russian power in Europe as a result of the Seven Years' War and Catherine the Great's first Turkish war, but the novel capacity of the St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin regimes to dominate and restructure East-Central Europe without interference from France and Britain. The first partition of Poland, the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji, and Austria's annexation of Bukovina during 1772–1775 show this to be the case.

Scott balances his chapters, giving the regional background and analyzing the diplomacy of three discrete periods in an introduction laying out the basics of Europe's international system, separate chapters on the "domestic legacies" of the Seven Years' War and the peculiarities of Prussian and Russian diplomacy, and a conclusion focusing on Russia's enhanced status after 1775. Widely read and very much up to date in the English, French, and German-language scholarship, he relies chiefly upon the abundant published sources but supplements them with Austrian, Prussian, French, and British manuscripts. The recent English translations of the last six volumes of Sergei Soloviev's monumental *History of Russia* (originally published 1851–1879) afford access to numerous extended quotations from Russian diplomatic sources. Scott's sweep extends to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire, and he utilizes well such recent works as Virginia H. Aksan's archive-mined *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1783* (1995). (An unfortunate omission is Robert Jones's "Runaway Peasants and Russian Motives for the Partitions" in Hugh Ragsdale, ed., *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* [1993], a volume that Scott uses for other matters.)

The thinking of leading personalities looms large for Scott, so his lack of Russian perforce skews his study

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more toward the German powers. Perhaps it is inevitable in a book of this type that Frederick the Great stands out as the most prominent and cited figure, with his genius, tight control of Prussian policy, prolific pen, and searing comments. In contrast, Maria Theresa, Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, and eventually Joseph II share the spotlight on Austria. Here Scott probes further, for example, recounting some observations from the manuscript diary of the financial expert Ludwig Graf Zinzendorf. For Prussia, besides the king, only Frederick's brother Henry receives a nod, and just for his independent initiatives regarding Poland in 1771–1772. Yet as Scott emphasizes and Frederick knew and feared, Russia had become the strongest continental power by about 1764. This makes the author's inability to consult Catherine's unpublished papers or Russia's well-cataloged foreign office, state council, and other such records even more regrettable. To his credit, he singles out the need for new archive-based studies on such topics as the first partition of Poland and Russian-Austrian relations after 1772.

Diplomatic historians might not agree with all of Scott's interpretations. That Austro-Russian cooperation regarding Bukovina in 1775 foreshadowed the alliance of the 1780s makes sense, as does Scott's highlighting the development of European diplomacy as a craft and the influence of J. H. G. von Justi and J. F. von Bielfeld on Frederick's and Kaunitz's approach to the economic underpinnings of state power. However, Scott's crediting of the partition of 1772 to the temporary breakdown of the Franco-Austrian alliance undermines his notion that by this time separate international systems operated in Eastern and Western Europe (which the French-supported restoration of Swedish royal authority that year, and Vienna's continued control of Belgium, flatly contradict).

Furthermore, Scott's intellectual Eurocentrism leads to a neglect of the traditions of Russian international strategy. These are well presented in John LeDonne's *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917: The Geopolitics of Expansioin and Containment* (1997), which Scott uses, and in Alfred J. Rieber's steppe-politics-oriented "Persistent Factors in Russian Foreign Policy: An Interpretive Essay" in the Ragsdale volume. Polite niceties and rituals of diplomacy notwithstanding, Russia did not cease viewing international competition in terms of hegemony networks, near abroads, and local clients. The cynical and usually unceremonious Frederick, who, as Scott presents him, could be a thief, plunderer, kidnapper, extortionist, and counterfeiter, was also an admirer of Peter the Great. Frederick understood well the continuities in Russian diplomacy into the reign of Catherine II, as he did the mercantile sources of Prussia's vital British subsidies, so Scott's essentializing of an ideal European political-diplomatic culture as a prerequisite for great power status may cloud as much as it explains.

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Geoff Eley. *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 698. $35.00.

Geoff Eley's admirable tome on the history of the European Left since 1850 is not easy to categorize. Although the book's coverage is comprehensive and its approach systematic and chronological, it cannot be accurately labeled as a textbook. The narrative assumes a great deal of previous knowledge, and the uninitiated would have a difficult time sorting through the bounty of ideas suffusing Eley's account of the rise and fall of European socialism. More aptly, the book can be described as an interconnected series of extended historical essays that are lucid, erudite, and provocative. The book is also thoroughly documented and footnoted, with a bibliography that can profitably be used by anyone seeking the best work in English on the history of European socialism. There are a number of very useful tables to help the reader wade through the bewildering number of parties and movements that make up the narrative of the European Left. As a consequence, scholars and graduate students will find Eley's work a welcome addition to their reference shelf of standard works on European history.

Eley's treatment of the history of the Left is characterized by a profound respect for his subject. This is a refreshing and even exhilarating approach in a period in which the history and historiography of socialism is rent with post-1989 triumphalism on the part of advocates of the "free market" and classic forms of democracy on the one hand, and a heavy-handed teleological condemnation of socialists, socialist movements, and their theories on the other. Eley is far from blind to the shortcomings of the Left in general and the terrible excesses of Stalinism in particular, which he says "spreads like a noxious and indelible stain across a significant part of this [the Left's] history" (p. 12). Yet there will be some historians who will object to his much more positive portrait of the Bolsheviks and especially of V. I. Lenin. To be sure, Eley does not go as far as Antonio Gramsci, who described Lenin as "the master of life, the stirrer of consciences, the awakener of sleeping souls" (p. 152). Eley observes that the "dictatorship of the proletariat," put into place by the Bolsheviks, was "ominous sounding" (p. 151). But it was much more than that; it brought to an end the chances for democracy in Russia for over seven decades. Eley has a thoroughly unromantic view of the relationship of European Communist parties in the 1920s and 1930s to the Comintern. It cannot "be said too strongly," he notes, that the individual trajectories of these parties are too often idealized by national historians, tending to obscure the reality that they were "ciphers of interests and policies originating elsewhere, in the apparatus of Comintern and the power centers of Moscow" (p. 257). One might add that this is as true for postwar Europe, in the era of the Cominform, as in the interwar period.

Eley also focuses sharply on European socialism's

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well-known failures to respond to the war fever of 1914, protect republican Spain, and prevent the rise of fascism. In his judgment, socialism also did poorly in facing up to the great injustices of colonialism and race politics, a problem that continues to this day. But his basic argument—that the dynamism of the leftist challenge served as a motor for the democratization of society and polity in Europe—is made with a forceful combination of conviction and nuance. Democracy, he states (in the fashion of Karl Marx), is not a "given" or "granted." "It requires *conflict*" and develops "because masses of people organized collectively to demand it" (p. 4). To his credit, Eley strikes a near-perfect balance between analyzing the Left as a movement made up of political parties, labor unions, strikes, social initiatives, and ideologies and viewing the Left as comprised of individuals torn between party loyalties and local priorities, family obligations and community initiatives, even between personal hopes and desires and social ones. (In Eley's analysis, the Left is defined as a larger movement of people and parties at the core of which are socialism and communism.) Consequently, the book brims with intriguing portraits of individual working-class socialist activists, of intellectuals, and of party leaders, admirable and not.

The book is also unusual in its geographical breadth. More than any other general history of socialism I have seen, this volume moves easily between Eastern and Western Europe, including unusually strong narratives on the history of Italy, Scandinavia, Poland, Spain, and Great Britain. Unlike many "Europeanists," Eley is very well versed in the history and historiography of the Russian Left and Soviet socialism. This gives the book a genuinely pan-European dimension befitting both the nature of the subject and the times in which it was written. Every historian will note the absence of this or that group or party important to his or her specialty; in my case, I wanted much more consideration of the Jewish socialism of the Bund in the Russian Empire and interwar Poland. But Eley has done as well as anyone could with the enormous diversity and complexity of socialist movements over the past 150 years.

Eley's book is thoroughly steeped in the interests and concerns of post-1968 Europe, both in his analysis of this period, which takes up about a quarter of the text, and, even more uniquely, in the ways the concerns of post-1968 Europe are telescoped back into the history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, Eley's interest in feminism and feminist movements infuses his treatment of the history of the socialist labor movement, its accomplishments, and, more insistently, its failures. Moreover, he sees feminism as central to the recent history of the Left, providing the kind of continuing challenge to unequal and repressive social and political arrangements in ostensibly democratic European societies as militant labor did in the past. Along with this attention to feminism, Eley explores the development of the Green movements, first as alternatives to middle-class lifestyles and conventional politics in post-1968 Europe but also as institutionalized parties in "post-materialist" Europe. In his account of this period, Eley focuses on such topics as gay rights, "do it yourself" politics, and various social movements produced by what he calls the "post-Fordist transition" in Europe. Whether elements of this New Left have the same ability as the old to challenge ossified social and political hierarchies and build upon the accomplishments of democratization remains to be seen. The book is explicitly "*not* an epitaph" and, in the author's view, some socialist traditions, especially in the absence of dogmatic anticommunism, will survive and flourish (p. 503). Eley's book is essential reading for evaluating this issue, both as a problem of contemporary politics and as a product of the European past.

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MARGO TODD. *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 450. $40.00.

The Scottish Reformation accomplished a uniquely thorough and successful transformation of national culture, "that accumulation of values, meanings, and ways of expressing and transmitting them that distinguishes a particular people from others" (p. 402). Margo Todd's eloquent, richly textured, and thought-provoking study focuses on the principal agent of that transformation, the kirk session, "the real hallmark of the Reformed church in Scotland," the most local of its church courts (p. 8). Ministers, many of them men of great sanctity, prophetic authority, and charisma, worked to further reformation along with one or two dozen lay elders drawn from the upper and middling ranks of the community whose spiritual responsibilities gave them "an at least semi-clerical status" (p. 370). Todd's account of the sessions is principally based on their remaining minute books. Hardly any pre-1640 books survive from the Highlands or islands, few from Galloway and the southwestern borders. This is therefore a book concerned above all with the crescent between Fraserburgh in the northeast and Ayr in the southwest, an area that "experienced as remarkably successful a Reformation as anywhere in Western Europe" (p. 15).

Abundant and detailed, sessions' records are nevertheless insufficiently consistent in their format to lend themselves readily to statistical analysis. Todd relies instead upon a host of vivid, telling, and carefully marshalled examples. Each chapter illustrates a key element of Scottish Protestant culture. The word of God was inculcated by means of hour-long sermons, Bible reading, psalm singing, and catechizing. Examination of faith was one element of careful preparation of participants in communion (usually annual, at most quarterly). The solemnity of participation in the Lord's Supper was also underlined by prior fasting, repentance, and reconciliation. Individual sins called

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throughout the year for the imposition of penances, dramatic ritual performances with their own special "choreography," "script," and dress, whose publicity and elaboration varied according to the seriousness of the offense to God and the congregation. Sessions sought to achieve reconciliation between parties to verbal disputes and thus forestall violence: here, too, solemn rituals were involved. The work of reconciliation extended to quarrels between family members, especially spouses. This was only part of a close supervision of family life that also included the surveillance of courting couples and punishment of parents who neglected or maltreated their children. The paramount objective was to make the family a more effective seminary of the church. Reformed Scotland had its own sacred spaces (kirk and kirkyard) and times (Sabbaths, fasts, and feasts). In principle, rejection of the old holy days and the profane revelry associated with many of them was exceptionally thoroughgoing. In practice, some such days remained occasions for traditional conviviality, as did rites of passage.

Some important reasons for the Scottish Reformation's exceptional success appear as recurrent themes in Todd's account. The kirk "waged an unremitting campaign to provide an educated clergy and to establish a literate and theologically informed laity" (p. 22). It nevertheless also adapted, rather than completely rejected, some key rituals, thus preserving a sometimes overlooked element of continuity with the past. Reformed discipline was made more acceptable by the fact that it sought to meet important and tangible social needs: pacification, domestic harmony, education, and poor relief. The laity, especially middling landholders, also enjoyed more active roles and fuller participation in the new kirk than the old. Kirk sessions, Todd repeatedly emphasizes, were uniquely effective precisely because they were *local* agencies with intimate knowledge of the problems and challenges they faced. The devolution of so much responsibility to the lowest level made the precise demarcation of the roles of bishops and presbyteries less important.

The successes of the Scottish reformers were the envy of English Puritans. The most important single difference between the English and Scottish Reformations lay in the part played by the crown in each country. Todd also recognizes that in England, where "power had been effectively centralised for centuries" (p. 408) and the justices of the peace stood ready to assume a whole range of new statutory responsibilities, "it was less clear that there was a vacant slot for the sessions to fill." Arguably, too, the English church courts were more efficient than Todd suggests. There were many similarities between the rituals of penance in England and Scotland. Peaceful settlement of defamation cases was more common in English church court cases than Todd allows. Todd nevertheless produces ample evidence that the kirk sessions exercised a supervision closer, better informed, more sustained, more flexible, and more effective than that accomplished by most English church courts. This magnificently thorough and compelling account of the sessions' achievements will be seen as a classic among books on Scottish history.

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PETER LAKE and MICHAEL QUESTIER. *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 731. $45.00.

This book returns to the terrain that Peter Lake has done so much to reconfigure: the relationship between "hot Protestantism" and the question of how Catholicism was present in culture after the English Reformation (or rather, as Christopher Haigh has argued, reformations). One of the questions with which the book begins is where the English Reformation left those not engaged "hotly" on either side. The material it examines, including murder pamphlets, moralizing literature, plays, antitheatrical tracts and scaffold speeches, leads in three directions at least: toward the question of the moralizing of narrative (plays, pamphlets, performances, and religion), toward the question of the exciting, titillating, and topsy-turvey world in which audiences and readers or hearers were invited to participate imaginatively, and toward the money that was to be made from print and entertainment. For 700 or so pages, this book goes in all three directions and more. It connects early modern genres and late modern disciplines that are usually held apart. And it ends, in some ways, back where it began, with the question of pleasure and order and the way in which the representational strategies of post-Reformation culture—meaning both the markets and, in different ways, the readers—remade its own crises with frightening and comic frisson. How did the texts involved in dramatizing and, perhaps, moralizing the fascinating inverted world they present set the conditions of their own reproduction, given the intense incoherence of some of their ideological messages?

Lake and Michael Questier attempt nothing less than to reconstruct the contradictory world imagined by their texts. They work outward from dense, close, and precise analyses of particular murder pamphlets and plays to their immediate world and, ultimately, to a socially and religiously as well as politically grounded understanding of their content. If this is a long study, it is because the authors take texts that have been treated, by both historians and literary critics at times, as repositories of typical or less typical attitudes or grotesque details and give them the "both/and" reading treatment.

Moving from the tracing of narratives (prose and drama) written by "various sorts of Protestants," the book's second section, by Questier and Lake, gives the same detailed consideration to the world of the papists. The centrality of prison to Catholic self-under-

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standing and the representation of Catholicism is followed up through the pamphlet depictions of the terrible metamorphoses of identity whereby, in the chaos of prison, men are shipwrecked, in hell, the living dead. Exploring the building of the legend of Protestant cruelty from the stuff of prison life, Questier and Lake also examine the torture and, at times, laxity that Catholics might experience in prisons to make the point that prison life was saturated with representation and performance. They note, too, that although the prisoners suffered they were, by their enemies, brought together into close and demarcated association, and that prison offered a theatrical location for the conversion of felons, a perfect and powerful scene for propaganda circulation. If prison was a powerful experience, it generated scenes and incidents that might indeed become rich sources of "spiritual power"—most dramatically the execution—as they were told and retold for the world beyond.

It is intriguing to see texts usually read by literary critics in Lake's hands and related to the murder pamphlets on something like equal terms. The material on *Arden of Faversham* takes the reader on brilliant voyages around and around the text, relentlessly probing the reciprocities and fissures in the moral universe the play both invokes and questions. Lake illuminatingly describes the writing of murder, in plays and in pamphlets, as demanding that a reader recognize "lust and avarice, the domestic and the socio-economic realms, were twisted and intertwined into convoluted chains of sins and plot, each paralleling and commenting on and judging the other" (p. 103). As the chapter on *Arden*, later work on *Macbeth* as a murder pamphlet, and the discussion of comedy make clear, this book is a disciplinary raid of the best kind. The borders that Lake wants to break down are within history; his is a contribution to a politicized cultural and social history. The result of having texts deeply embedded in the canon and curriculum read as the building blocks of the conflicts of the English reformations is fascinating. And literary criticism, including some of the critics he quotes, has something to contribute. As Lake emphasizes, if *Macbeth* has the shape of a murder pamphlet, it is also a tragedy (p. 378). And, as he acutely observes, how deeply engaged "you" might be in comedy would absolutely depend on how deeply attached the audience members were to the "norms and forms" being subverted. Genre has a part to play in organizing the depth and nature of such involvement. Lake's sensitivity to the emotional dynamic shaping a reader's or an audience's response to a text might lead him to foreground the work of genre in shaping material, particularly tragedy, where the pleasure and horror of inversion both are, and are not, reshaped by (moral?) closure.

Simultaneously engagingly written and combative, lucid and sophisticated, this large and richly dialectical study offers a model and methods of reading. Lake—and in their shared section Lake and Questier—illuminate the way representational strategies allow us to trace early modern culture's fissures and show us the stakes in interpreting the "reformations."

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D. Alan Orr. *Treason and the State: Law, Politics, and Ideology in the English Civil War.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 229. $55.00.

D. Alan Orr presents a lucid and interesting account of the ideological and political contexts that shaped the interpretation and application of treason law during the English Civil War. By the early Stuart period, treason was not simply an act against the king's person but also "the unlawful seizure of sovereign or state power" (p. 2). Just what "sovereignty" meant to jurists before 1640 is crucial to Orr's thesis, and he clarifies the complex idea by evaluating both modern historiography and political theories extant in early Stuart England. Jean Bodin, for example, provided educated Englishmen with a descriptive list of the "marks of sovereignty" (p. 35). The learned jurists, however, were apt to contest these characteristics of sovereign power. Bodin's "purely impersonal" state conflicted with the medieval concept of the king's two bodies that suggested a "suprapersonal" state. According to Orr, defining the positive powers of the state created as much tension as fighting for control of those sovereign powers.

Having established that "treason against the state" was not an uncommon notion, Orr proceeds to analyze four famous state trials: Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford (1641); William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury (1644); Connor Lord Maguire, second baron of Enniskillen (1645); and Charles Stuart, king of England (1649). The trial manuscripts and related printed sources are "ideological statements," and Orr thus addresses treason as a "political and juristic concept" (p. 58). Expanding on historian Conrad Russell's earlier conclusions about Strafford's trial, Orr methodically explains each article against Strafford to illustrate how prosecutors utilized an accepted language of necessity and incorporated preexisting ideas concerning public authority. Strafford's impeachment was not an illegal trial but rather a state occasion when common "political vocabularies were exploited to legitimize an extreme course of political action" (p. 100). Orr's thoughts on the constitutional relationship between Ireland and England crystallize when he explores the case of Maguire. Orr explicates the two divergent ideologies: "exceptionalist" versus "constitutionalist." The exceptionalist position declared Ireland a separate kingdom with unique customs. The constitutionalist stance presumed a shared legal heritage between the two kingdoms. In Strafford's trial, the prosecution appealed to the constitutionalist position to prove Strafford had usurped royal power in Ireland, but in Maguire's trial prosecutors claimed an exceptionalist position to prevent Maguire from claiming

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privilege of peerage. Orr impressively demonstrates the jurists' strategic agility while also revealing the ambiguous legal ties between Ireland and England.

Similar to Strafford, prosecutors charged Laud with illicitly procuring his position and committing a crime against proper jurisdiction. Laud's policies, however, potentially created an "ecclesiastical state within a state" by threatening the king's authority in Parliament to govern the church (p. 133). The parliamentary Erastians who believed religion was the proper provenance of the state conflated praemunire with treason and saw Laud's use of ecclesiastical courts as usurping a mark of sovereignty. Orr points out that both Laud and the prosecutors argued from a shared theory of descending sovereign power and thus represented either side of Calvin's Case (1608). Prosecutors emphasized loyalty owed to the king's corporate political body, while Laud appealed to the loyalty given to the divine right monarch. Ultimately prosecutors separated the ancient and fundamental law of the land from the king's person and reconstituted Charles Stuart as an "inferior magistrate" who had obtained his office by consent of "the state." Orr cautions, however, that even after the king's execution sovereignty rested in the body politic, and the corporate nature of the state prevented it from becoming "a modern abstract state."

Perhaps owing to the unfortunate lag time between research and publication, Orr could not address the thesis of John Barrell's recent book, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796* (2000). A detailed examination of how English jurists interpreted "compassing and imagining" before the 1640s would certainly be helpful. Moreover, Orr might consider traditional terms such as "crown" and "commonwealth" in his quest to understand why Englishmen accepted that treason protected more than the king's person. Orr has successfully revised an intelligent and well-written dissertation into a book that should appeal to all historians interested in the challenge of defining a British state.

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Charles Ivar McGrath. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 314. $50.00.

For Irish historians, the decades following the Glorious Revolution were once "the age of Molyneux and Swift." Superficially at least, the dominant theme of the period appeared to be the rise of Protestant resentment at Ireland's increasing subordination to England, or what we used to call "colonial nationalism." It has been accepted for some time, however, that this picture is misleading in several ways. We now know that that the controversial prohibition of Irish woollen exports in 1699 originated with the "Country" party opposition and did not reflect any systematic government policy. Similarly, the Declaratory Act of 1720 has been explained as a response to an *English* parliamentary crisis. Meanwhile, it has become clear that William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England* (1698), revered by later generations of Irish patriots, was initially regarded as a foolish, counterproductive work.

Beneath the rhetorical extremism that marked this period there lay a pragmatic understanding of the mutually dependent relationship between the London administration and the Protestant "political nation" in Ireland. As David Hayton, James Maguire and others have shown, Irish politicians may have been humiliated by the sporadic interventions of the Westminster Parliament, but they were able to carve out for themselves a parliamentary constitution within the wider state-system centered on London. A key part of this relationship, the evolution of a stable system of parliamentary supply, is the subject of Charles Ivar McGrath's meticulous and exhaustively documented study. To begin with, as McGrath demonstrates, the English chief governor was forced to concede the right of the Irish Commons to initiate revenue legislation by drawing up the "heads" of bills. The principle of regular parliaments was then secured by the voting of short-term "additional duties" on a two-year basis. Finally, a series of committees enabled the Commons to set the amount of supply or "quantum" and to examine the state revenue papers. This is a highly specialized study, as the chapter headings suggest: "The Revenue Branches," "Income and Expenditure," "Arrears and Errors, 1696–9." It nevertheless demonstrates that in Ireland, as in England, the eighteenth-century constitution owed less to the revolutionary settlement than to the inexorable financial needs created by war with Louis XIV's France.

Although this book will be indispensable for historians of eighteenth-century Irish politics, it is regrettable that McGrath does not venture into wider historiographical debates. The years between 1688 and 1714 saw English political life transformed by the creation of what John Brewer has called the fiscal-military state. England acquired a professional standing army and an expanded navy, which enabled it to play a major role in continental affairs for the first time. Brewer's *Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (1989) describes how conflicting interests first sought to reverse bureaucratic expansion, the growth of the armed forces, and high taxes and then began to colonize the fiscal-military state, directing it toward their own priorities. Brewer seems to offer a more helpful framework for postrevolutionary Ireland than the model of colonial nationalism mentioned above. It reminds us, for example, that the revenue system was not just a branch of the administration but also the most rapidly expanding department of state, employing several hundred officers at a cost of almost £50,000 a year. It is no coincidence that the Revenue Board formed the power base of William Conolly, the first of

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the great "Undertakers" who came to dominate Irish parliamentary life.

McGrath is surely right to stress the haphazard, trial-and-error development of Anglo-Irish finances. But his work also has the unintended benefit of revealing the importance of parliamentary principles, crystalized in opposition to seventeenth-century Stuart absolutism and upheld by Country, Whig, and on occasion Tory politicians. Most fundamental of all, of course, was the insistence that taxes could not be imposed without the agreement of Parliament. In the making of an Irish constitution, this assumption, inserted in the abortive Irish bill of rights drawn up in 1695, was just as important as procedural innovations. And on this issue at least, Molyneux and Swift seem to have been in line with the beliefs of their fellow countrymen.

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STEPHEN BRUMWELL. *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 349. $34.95.

The stereotypical impression of the British soldier during the Seven Years' War is one of a low-born, resentful, downtrodden military automaton, not especially well led by his officers, and barely kept in line by a harsh code of capricious justice. One only need recall the portrayal of British soldiery in recent films such as *The Patriot* (2000) or *Last of the Mohicans* (1992) to understand how these negative stereotypes have survived to the present era. Stephen Brumwell means to change the commonly held perception that the world of the redcoated British soldier was "nasty, brutish, and short." This perception, according to Brumwell, has been so thoroughly ingrained in historical memory that ultimate British success in North America during the Seven Years' War "continues to be attributed to anything but the prowess of the British Army."

Brumwell's main argument is that the experience of the British soldier in North America was much more complex than has been previously supposed. In fact, this book makes an excellent supporting companion to Fred Anderson's more comprehensive *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America* (2000). In nine succinct chapters, Brumwell traces the evolution of redcoats' experience in North America and reveals that they played a very direct and effective role in winning a North American empire for the crown.

As have other historians, Brumwell sees the Seven Years' War as Britain's first "Great War for Empire," and in this endeavor the British soldier was the principle agent in securing empire for the crown. Initial British military attempts proved considerably less than auspicious. Brumwell sees this aspect of the conflict as particularly instructive, for soon after Major General Edward Braddock's catastrophic defeat near Fort Dusquesne, the crown rapidly increased the size of its forces. Further, in a "novel move," it raised two battalions of Scottish Highlanders "specifically for American service." Brumwell notes that, by the autumn of 1758, there were twenty-one battalions and seven independent companies of regulars on the American continent: a total of 20,268 officers and men. Finally, although British arms were still spectacularly unsuccessful on the battlefield, officials had done much "to create the administrative and logistical basis for future success." Brumwell effectively argues that, far from being the myopic leaders that they have been portrayed, British imperial officials and military officers clearly recognized the gravity of such a struggle for empire and spared no expense in this regard, either in their intense devotion to the effort or in the quality of manpower mobilized for such an undertaking.

Brumwell's first chapter on the war in America is perhaps his best. It does not attempt to be a comprehensive history of the British army experience in North America but instead sets the parameters for follow-on chapters that more directly focus on what it meant to be a soldier during this critical phase of British imperial development. Indeed, from chapter two on, Brumwell thoroughly researches the experiential aspects of a redcoated soldier in the eighteenth-century British army. His research reveals that, far from representing only the lowest rung of British society, the army's officers and men were much more socially diverse than "deep-rooted stereotypes suggest." Many British officers received their commissions in recognition of superior service as noncommissioned officers. One significant flaw in Brumwell's research is that he has a tendency to extrapolate his assertions from a rather shallow base of notoriously inaccurate and biased soldiers' journals and diaries; his argument would have been much more persuasive if he had included more demographic data. Nonetheless, the research that Brumwell does draw on gives these former "faceless automatons" a more human form. In fact, Brumwell's chapter on the response of the soldiery to the harsh military discipline further underscores the fact that soldiers were acutely aware of their status with the British imperial hierarchy and were determined to prove that they had some value in this regard. Thus, they resisted what they believed were unfair army practices and, on occasion, stood up to abusive officers and administrative policies by refusing orders (a very dangerous recourse for any eighteenth-century soldier since "mutiny" or mutinous expressions were punishable by death).

Brumwell's most interesting chapter is on the Highland battalions in the Americas, whose members saw harder service and suffered greater casualties than most other Seven Years' War regiments and established a military reputation for effectiveness and ferocity that extends down to even the present day. Given the fact that these same Highlanders had fought violently against the British at Culloden in 1745, their American achievements and filial loyalty seen all the

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more extraordinary. Their Seven Years' War service did much to cement them to their English counterparts within the British army, especially after the war for empire had been won. Brumwell clearly intends this chapter to prove that the British soldier, whether Highlander or English, was much more professional, effective, and better behaved than has been previously supposed. He sees the addition of the loyal and militarily successful Highlanders to the fight for empire as evidence of the growing professionalism of British arms—a professionalism that portended future battlefield success.

In sum, Brumwell's book makes a very good addition to the historiography of eighteenth-century soldiers in the British army and goes far toward correcting the notion that such soldiers were unwilling and unmotivated participants in a struggle that gained the British crown an empire. Moreover, Brumwell sees the British experience in North America as providing a basis for the further professionalization of the army, an army that would garrison and effectively police much of the world in the 150 years after General Wolfe's spectacular victory at Quebec.

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NAOMI TADMOR. *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 312. $60.00.

The reader of this stimulating and original book finds herself nodding in recognition as various pieces of eighteenth-century society fall into place: it is hard to imagine why no one had written such a work before. Naomi Tadmor makes the first significant advance in the history of the English family in more than twenty years, with a strong argument for the centrality of family history to the history of early modern Europe.

The study of early modern history has been defined by debates in the 1970s between those who argued for long-term continuity of family structure and those who argued for the significance of change, particularly in the role of sentiment and the nuclear unit. Both approaches were unsatisfying, but no one succeeded in shifting the debate, and family history became a dead end. Tadmor rejects the paralyzing dichotomies of the debate through careful attention to language, showing that the family was simultaneously nuclear and extended, affective and instrumental. Her conclusions are based on systematic study of several sources: the diary of Thomas Turner, the Sussex shopkeeper; Eliza Haywood's novel, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), and her advice manual, *A Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743), and Samuel Richardson's novels *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748) and his advice manual, *The Apprentice's Vade mecum* (1739). She asks what each meant by the words "family," or "friends," or "kin." Tadmor also draws on a wide variety of other historical and literary sources as she builds her argument. Her reading provides a salutary reminder that the same words do not always have the same meaning.

Tadmor finds that "family" was used in three ways. Most often, it referred to a residential unit, the "household-family." It was flexible and accommodated change; its boundaries were defined not by blood or marriage but by authority. Such a family only needed a head—an authority—and at least two dependents. Advice manuals distinguished between the "family" in which a servant or apprentice worked and "parents," "friends," and "relations." "Family" could also refer to the lineage family focused on ancestry, a usage most common in relation to the aristocracy. In fiction, Tadmor notes, the lineage family was used to establish social standing, but the claims of lineage were never uncontested. Finally, "family" was used as we use it today, to refer to the "kinship family." The language of kinship was loose and imprecise, incorporating a wide range of people with similar terms, but rather than demonstrating the irrelevance of kinship, this language shows how kinship facilitated multiple transactions in eighteenth-century society. Historians have frequently indicated the multiple meanings of "friends" in family, sociability, and politics. Tadmor shows that all these usages of "friends" entailed similar obligations: they may have been used for a variety of relationships, but they were not used loosely. Friendship was also gendered: husbands and wives were "friends," but nonrelated men and women were not. Tadmor also suggests that the business dimensions of friendships between men were less likely in friendships between women. By understanding the meanings of "friendship" within families and chosen friends, the nature of political "friends" becomes more evident. Throughout, Tadmor rejects the dichotomies that have frequently been posited about the family: it was both affective and instrumental, and both elements were central to its significance in eighteenth century society and culture. She also convincingly demonstrates the benefits to be gained by paying attention not just to words but to what writers meant by those words.

Inevitably, there are caveats. Tadmor's methodical approach to her subject leads to some repetition, and her prose is pedestrian: this is not a book that will be read for pleasure. The selection of key texts—the only diary by a man, and the novels all with female protagonists—makes one wonder whether the analysis of friendship in particular might shift with a broader selection. But this is a breathtaking performance, both methodologically and interpretively. While many historians have approached particular elements of this analysis, Tadmor's scope and interpretive rigor will provide an important framework for all future explorations of the range of personal connections so critical in holding eighteenth-century society together.

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LAWRENCE GOLDMAN. *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association 1857–*

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1886. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 430. $70.00.

Lawrence Goldman's long-awaited study of Victorian social science brings together a number of threads in mid-Victorian sensibility: the idea of social science itself, the cause of social reform in relation to a wide variety of policy issues, the place of informed, middle-class pressure in shaping those issues, and the seeming unwillingness of Victorian intellectual culture to absorb sociology in the way that American and German society found possible. On each of these topics Goldman makes penetrating remarks, and his combined attack on tired thinking in these areas has produced an important monograph that specialists in mid-Victorian Britain will need to address.

Goldman's arguments are woven around a single institution, formed in 1857. He sees the Social Science Association (SSA) as more than an isolated pressure group, however: indeed he wants to claim that, during its heyday in the 1860s and 1870s it acted as an alternative parliament with around 1,000 members, sufficient money to support publication of its transactions (and other publications), an annual congress that lasted for a week, and platforms that could attract major names, at least in the early years. More than this, he thinks the SSA offers in cameo a sense of how mid-Victorian "equipoise" worked in the special circumstances surrounding the defeat of "pressure from without" and during a time when Parliament and government bureaucracy had not yet developed their policy-making functions to the levels they would attain after 1880. Goldman insists that we have to think in terms of "a new structure of politics," one that "has a social dimension as politics reached out from the closed worlds of Westminster and the 'power houses' of the landed classes to reach the provinces and their prosperous cities. In this way politics were 'nationalized'" (p. 72).

Goldman organizes the volume as a series of case studies in SSA influence on policy—penal, medical, industrial, educational—and embeds that discussion within more conceptual chapters about the nature of science and its organic relationship with social reform. In the latter stages of the book, he widens his discussion to include the relationship between a body such as the SSA and the state and concludes that the particular nature of that relationship in the British case helps explain why the social and intellectual space occupied by the SSA shrank and its role eventually became untenable. The SSA left no archive, and Goldman is obliged to put his story together from newspaper accounts of SSA meetings and the personal archives of the many reformers, civil servants, and politicians who gave time to this strange organization.

The positive side of Goldman's account has to be set beside three historiographical targets. He is against Philip Abrams's account of the relationship between science and reform; he is against the "Tory" model of administrative reform; and he is against "high politics" as a mode of explanation. All these targets date from the 1960s (reminding us that this is in some ways a poststructural account), and not all of Goldman's attacks succeed.

Abrams is seen as a preserver of vertical divisions between the worlds of science and that of Victorian reformers, thus "fail[ing] to appreciate a distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth-century social-scientific tradition" (p. 319). A corollary of Abrams's position is his insistence that the SSA impeded real social science rather than advanced it, whereas Goldman sees the SSA as a crucial substitute, at a transitional moment, for what would become sociology in Britain. This analysis sits comfortably with the work of other scholars seeking to blend intellectual domains—Frank M. Turner comes at once to mind—and offers an important insight. The "Tory" model of administrative reform (contending that social reform proceeded empirically through response to discerned problems) offends Goldman because it neglects the element of negotiation between intellectual pressure groups such as the SSA and the bureaucracy. "Our models of administrative change must encompass extra-governmental activists and opinion-formers." This widening of the base in analysis of reform is persuasive within limits, but of course the limits are set by whether one accepts Goldman's account of the significance of the SSA in the first place.

As for the "high politics" method of approaching nineteenth-century government, of which Goldman takes the present writer to be an avatar, there is both persuasion and confusion. In emphasizing that policy cannot be explained through the beliefs and actions of a small elite of politicians, Goldman pushes at an open door, since the high-political school of historians had little interest in policy. On the contrary, the criticism usually mounted against them is that they saw policy in instrumental terms and stressed the boredom and inadequacy of politicians when faced with departmental and legislative detail, which they were happy to leave to others. Bones can be removed from the structural understanding of the 1960s, but doing so requires that the critic show how extraparliamentary activity conditioned not policy but *politics*: the contested evaluation of options among those who directed political parties in a nondemocratic environment. This is where José Harris's view of "the transition to high *politics*" (p. 83) in social policy makes more sense than Goldman's predating of that elision to the times of the SSA. As Goldman himself demonstrates, when social policy became a matter of high politics (as over trade union legislation in the 1870s), the SSA lost its teeth. Curiously, Goldman quotes *The Times* when it complemented the SSA for taking up problems "scarcely within the domain of politics" (p. 83). That is perhaps the point.

These criticisms should not detract from a wide-ranging and beautifully researched study. The book is too long, and a thinning of the central material would have helped the reader through to the more important

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contentions in the last few chapters. It also shows signs of age in deeming recent some controversies of thirty years ago. Yet Goldman brings together a range of arguments in favor of thinking more broadly about the nature and context of the British state between 1860 and 1880 and in ways beyond the purview of the SSA. Although the association played its part in that nexus, after all, it remains hard to shed J. M. F. Ludlow's perception of its strength in "the truly British power of boring & being bored" (p. 101) and J. H. Bridges's vision of its specialities as "the construction of drains and chimney-pots" (p. 364).

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JOY DIXON. *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England.* (Studies in Historical and Political Science, 119th series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 293. $46.00.

The Theosophical Society (TS)—its motto "There is no religion higher than truth"—was founded in India and England in 1875 by Helena Blavatsky, a Russian-born American mystic and seer, and by Henry Steel Olcott, an American lawyer, businessman, and occultist. Its aim, as Joy Dixon shows, was to unite East and West, science and the spiritual, masculine and feminine in a new religion commensurate with the post-Darwinian "crisis of faith," one that would make good the spiritual losses of an advanced materialist civilization. One way to read the appeal of the TS, Dixon argues, is to regard it as an assertion of feminine and Eastern authority in a Victorian culture of masculine reason and Western science that "systematically degraded them." Certainly theosophy spent much of its energy defending itself against rational enquiry. The society's progress was propelled by fraud, schism, and scandal.

Believers subscribed to a range of doctrines, from reincarnation to the Second Coming, from "immamentism" to the "New Age." Blavatsky's remarkably tenacious authority derived from ancient spiritual teachings transmitted by an occult brotherhood, the Mahatmas, who lived in the "trans-Himalayan fastness of Tibet." Their manuscripts were transmitted by occult means from Tibet to India at the speed of electricity. Blavatsky, in whose presence "the very air teemed with mystery," who "hung like a nightmare" on the elbows of the Anglo-Indian ruling class, and who was described by an admirer as "the last of the mammoths," claimed to have studied the occult for several years in a Tibetan monastery, and before that among Russia's Kalmuck Bhuddists when her father was governor of their region. Sometimes Blavatsky's powers took the form of astral bells, falling tea cups, or ectoplasm emanating from the body: signs and manifestations of the occult world that excited the prestigious Society for Psychical Research's (SPR) first lengthy investigation. The SPR's 1885 report concluded that Blavatsky was "one of the most accomplished, ingenious and interesting imposters in history." The Mahatma Letters, placed in the British Library's rare manuscripts room in 1939, were also investigated by the SPR.

Dixon divides the British society's history into three phases. Phase one, dominated by Blavatsky and her teachings, recruited more men than women. From the mid-1880s, under the presidency of G. W. Mead, the society took on the characteristics of a respectable gentlemen's club run by an efficient staff, with an expanding library and its own printing press (which employed only lady compositors). It issued and distributed free of charge an inventive literature (a mix of scholarship and speculation) about cosmic forces, relations between the astral and psychic planes, chakras, and so on. Annie Besant's presidency (1907 until her death in 1933) and that of her close associate, the infamous C. R. Leadbeater, soon eliminated the society's male bias. "Loyalty to the truth" was a feminine capacity, Besant argued. A militant if disputed eagerness for a feminine and feeling mysticism rather than the masculine wisdom of the occult strengthened as women recruits began to outnumber men in the early 1900s.

A "new age" inaugurated by women became an apocalyptic vision during World War I. Dixon explains this shift in gender orientation in a subtle analysis of female culture and theosophist belief in the second part of her book. Theosophy's beliefs in the divine hermaphrodite, the female messiah, and its emphasis on motherhood as a sacred state of being (or sometimes thought-form) echoed the suffragists' elevation of similar themes. Charlotte Despard, Eva Gore-Booth, and Elizabeth Blackwell were among those who joined the TS.

Dixon shows how sexology (Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter) established an intimacy between sexual desire and religious ecstacy, thus muddying the waters between enlightenment and sexual indulgence. Leadbeater, whose lessons in sex education got him accused of obscenity and worse on four continents between 1906 and the early 1920s, defended himself by claiming that masturbation, or "associative" relief was better than resort to prostitution; paradoxically, the "Social Purity" movement of the 1890s, Dixon argues, was the conduit into theosophy for many feminists.

Although membership was only five thousand plus in the 1920s, when the movement was at its height, thousands more passed through the TS. Antivivisectionists, feminists, haberdashers, beauticians, organists, men of science, and Anglican priests met with "motherly old ladies" in Manchester, Sheffield, and elsewhere to search for truth, to listen to their inner ears, and, much more rarely, to set up creches, or mothers' clubs, or—in India where women organized separately from men until the 1920s—schools open to all castes. Theosophy was one response to an imperial world of racial encounters and confrontations, in which feminism, technology, and the death of men in

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war were forcing change and the radical realignment of public opinions. The doctrines of higher thought and reincarnation, augmented by the languages of evolutionary science and eugenics, endorsed racial and sexual hierarchies and at the same time offered hope of future lives.

Unlike the plebian spiritualists of Logie Barrow's classic study, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebians, 1850–1910* (1986), these believers were not epistemological democrats. Nor were they the uncertain mediums of Jenny Hazelgrove's 1920s Britain (*Spiritualism and British Society between the Wars* [2000]). "High adepts" in the esoteric section of the TS kept its secrets mysterious. And in spite of the intermittent engagement with Indian nationalism, or social reform, theosophical ideals engaged less with the real than the metaphysical world and engendered fascist as well as socialist utopias. Dixon suggests that the emphasis on fluid incarnations and transmutable and unbounded bodies challenged the bounded individuals of liberalism. But theosophy's belief in—as Blavatsky put it—a "Universal Divine Principle, the root of ALL, from which all proceeds, and within which all shall be absorbed at the end of the cycle of Being" came closer to Sigmund Freud's "oceanic feeling" than to any political impulse.

Reading this book renewed my understanding of those "socialist militants," in George Bernard Shaw's phrase, who broke with the theosophically sympathetic Fellowship of the New Life in 1884 because the need to remedy poverty and social injustice struck them as much more urgent—and realizable—than the palliatives of the "inner life."

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NICOLETTA F. GULLACE. *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. 284. $39.95.

Nicoletta F. Gullace's book is a valuable addition to the cultural and political history of Britain during World War I. Her focus is the extent to which people came to be perceived as citizens in terms of their service in the war effort, rather than by class or gender.

Gullace elaborates on the gendered images of propaganda, with their chivalric representation of the chaste Allied soldier as riding to the defence of both the metaphorically violated "little Belgium" and of British womanhood, massively threatened by rape by the stereotypical (and masculine) Hun. With this went the elevation of motherhood, in which women were revered for their supposedly willing sacrifices as the wives and mothers not only of soldiers currently fighting and dying but also of the soldiers who would die in the next war (a macabre twist, one might think, at odds with the argument that this was the war to end war).

The section on "Shaming Rituals and Sexual Identity" deals with a separation of what was seen as admirable in masculinity from actual sexual identity, so that women who served the war effort were seen as more a part of the nation than men who, for whatever reason, failed to do so. Contempt for the shirker and for the conscientious objector are examined, together with the awareness of suffragists that war provided an opportunity to demonstrate their right to be full citizens. A fascinating chapter details the "white feather" campaign, drawing extensively both on contemporary material and on reminiscences sought in 1964 by the BBC, a search that found many male respondents who had been handed white feathers (often in error, since they were serving or wounded soldiers out of uniform) but only two women who admitted to having handed them out.

Gullace depicts a wartime culture hardening into an oversimplified ideology by which no value counted more than that of patriotism. Although she documents her argument from an impressive number of contemporary and secondary sources, some caveat is needed. Cultural history tends to be painted with a broad brush, but even in wartime, Britain was a complex of cultures, not a unified, single-minded entity. Gullace's evaluation depends heavily on right-wing press and government sources; she has consulted others but found less to quote from them. Moderate voices are muted in wartime and suffered in particular in World War I from the happenstance that the Liberals were in power at the outset; for the government and the Liberal press, it became a political imperative to try to prove to their constituency that this was indeed a righteous war. Meanwhile, and throughout the war, Gullace's favored sources—*The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Daily Express*, not to mention the notorious *John Bull*—were all promoting the militaristic Tory agenda, as they long had.

In the book's final section, Gullace develops the ideological connection between the enfranchisement of (some) women in 1917 and the cultural shift she has depicted. She argues that women's role in wartime made for an altered perception of "the parameters of citizenship" (p. 194) and claims that it was this that led to the enfranchisement of women. Gullace's study of the passage of the Reform Bill is thorough, and here she makes the political connections more transparent. Women's suffrage was, after all, only part of the bill, which had evolved painfully from the need to revise the electoral register to ensure that service with the armed services did not inadvertently result in disfranchisement. As this broadened into the concept of votes for all serving men, and (a little-known and telling point) for those few women officially in the armed services, it strengthened the claims of long-time suffragists, helped by official and public commendation of women's conspicuous service and suffering during the war. The disfranchisement of conscientious objectors that formed part of the same act completes the neat picture of service as the basis for possession of the franchise—marred only, as Gullace admits, by the

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denial of the vote to women below the age of thirty, which excluded the bulk of women munition workers and others active in war work.

The argument that the climate of war provided a useful language for the claim for women's suffrage is valid; we may question whether it was, as Gullace seems to suggest, the decisive factor without which suffrage would not have been won. All such rivers of change are fed by a number of tributaries. To make the changing perception in wartime the overriding factor is to shortchange the prewar work of suffragists and to ignore the shift in opinion and even in political strategy that had already taken place by 1914. But Gullace's work is of great interest in showing how wartime militarism disarmed much of just that sector of political opinion that had previously been most hostile to women's enfranchisement.

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Peter Leese. *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2002. Pp. xi, 229. $49.95.

"Fear eats the soul," the German filmmaker Rainer Werner Fassbinder tells us; no wonder then that the trauma of combat so profoundly scars warriors' spirits. No doubt, the awful disorders engendered by the shock of battle—nightmares, insomnia, tics, fits, guilt, fear, depression, even psychosis—now categorized as "post-traumatic stress disorder" are as old as war itself. It was only with World War I, though, that this experience was named "shell shock." Oddly enough, the vast literature on the Great War, and the smaller but rapidly growing literature on the physical and psychological costs of war, has had little to say about shell shock until now. Peter Leese's fine study of shell shock explores the frightening world of traumatic neurosis in compelling detail.

Leese explains in his preface that he hopes his book will contribute to "what it meant to live a life in the modern age [and] how historical changes registered in mental states which had personal, bodily, and cultural implications" (p. ix). To be sure, Leese does not tell us everything we might wish to know about shell shock. His book focuses on British soldiers (although there are intriguing comparisons to other combatant nations' experiences). Leese concentrates on the Great War (he does use some medical studies from World War II). Yet what Leese does tell us, he tells us clearly and intelligently, in a tightly focused work rooted in extensive and exhaustive research.

Leese structures his account into three parts. Part one, "Discoveries," offers us a genealogy of traumatic neurosis, which became real both for physicians and for the wider public only in the late nineteenth century, when the rapid changes associated with modernization triggered a widespread and much commented on nervousness. Modern technology—trains, for instance—seemed to bring with them their distinctive catastrophes. Train wreck survivors sometimes appeared to be healthy enough physically but seemed psychically shattered; Victorian train wreck victims were the psychiatric precursors of the Great War's shell-shocked soldiers.

Part two, "Wartime," traces the complex career of shell shock. Given the horrors of the Great War, it is surprising that most soldiers were not shell shocked, at least in a disabling way. At the same time, the fact that around 120,000 shell-shocked British soldiers were declared eligible for disability pensions (some fifteen percent of all claims), demonstrates the scale of the problem. Naming the phenomenon, treating it, and sorting those who suffered it (by rank, by degree of injury) all proved contentious. Generals, doctors, soldiers, and the public competed to control shell shock. The military, for instance, initially insisted that shell shock was a disciplinary, not a medical matter; it was "funking" and no wound. Gradually, the military acknowledged that shell shock was analogous to physical injury and then attempted to use shell shock treatment to show how well the military cared for its own and to rally support for the war. But shell shock proved to be protean and elusive. No one could name it precisely, harness it to other ends, or cure it completely.

Part three, "Legacies," tracks shell shock after the war. Leese follows the injury through the labyrinth of pension boards and government ministries. Most intriguingly, Leese demonstrates that shell shock became something of a metaphor for the Great War itself. Shell shock seemed to accumulate meanings as later generations used it to comprehend the experiences of their ancestors. Leese demonstrates, for example, that Pat Barker's *Regeneration Trilogy* (1998), a fictional exploration of World War I, includes a serious investigation of shell shock. Indeed, as Leese points out, both fictional and historical interrogations of World War I sooner rather than later identify shell shock as the metaphorical key to experience of the war.

All good history generates more questions than answers, and certainly this is true of Leese's work. Anyone interested in the issue longs for comparative studies. Did shell shock vary from nation to nation? (Leese suggests that there might be significant cultural variations.) Leese's prelude and postlude are as fascinating as his discussion of the war itself. How did the fin-de-siècle "nervousness" shape soldiers' and doctors' understandings of psychic phenomena? If shell shock became a metaphor for the Great War, did other wounds come to symbolize other conflicts; indeed, could one do a kind of taxonomy of wars and their metaphorical wounds? Leese's discussion of all this will whet many a historical appetite. Wherever such future explorations might go, however, they will rely heavily on this thoughtful, finely crafted, and rigorously researched study.

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DAN STONE. *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain*. (Studies in Social and Political Thought.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 197. $52.95.

Why was Britain almost alone in Europe in resisting fascist or totalitarian government in the first part of the twentieth century? Given Britain's imperial context, endemic fears of alien infiltration, and profound and politicized anxieties about demographic decline and Anglo-Saxon racial degeneracy, why were the radical right, racial theorists, and eugenicists marginalized and their ideas never institutionalized along the same lines as in Nazi Germany? The former question has been assessed by political historians, and thus the consistently buoyant field of British fascist studies remains largely motivated by the underlying need to solve the puzzle of the British extreme right's political or electoral failure. In the past few decades, others have sought solutions to the latter conundrum, and historians of ideas, of science, and of race and ethnicity have looked beyond the handful of formal political movements in order to discern more profound cultural similarities between Britain and its European counterparts. These include Richard Griffiths (*Fellow Travelers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1922–29* [1980]) and Elazar Barkan (*The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* [1992]), as well as Colin Holmes, David Cesarani, and Tony Kushner. Nonetheless, the most familiar narrative is of the extreme right's eccentricity and aberrant views, ultimately unsuited to a liberal polity that was overwhelmingly cynical about continental ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and cultural pessimism.

By merging the two questions in this original and provocative study of Nietzscheans working in Britain, Dan Stone posits a far more extreme explanation. He identifies a more often than not coherent thread of modern "illiberalism" running through the literary production of the British intelligentsia and traces what he calls a discourse of "extremes of Englishness" from the Edwardian period to the postwar period. These extremes of Englishness were not themselves counternormative but rather built on mainstream traditions. Stone pays particularly attention to the German-born Oscar Levy and the virulent antisemite and antifeminist Anthony M. Ludovici, as well as to the leading figures and ideologues in the Edwardian popular leagues, the eugenics movement, and the under-studied English Array of the interwar years. While in dialogue with Friedrich Nietzsche's admirers in Germany or Russia, British Nietzscheans were reflecting the peculiarly British concerns of their times: the enfranchisement of women, labor unrest, migration within the empire, Jewish immigration, and the new science of sex. Nor does Stone consider only these less canonical figures or relatively unknown associations; he demonstrates the intellectual, rhetorical, and actual links between them and left-wingers, Fabians, and sexologists such as George Bernard Shaw, the Webbs, and Havelock Ellis.

Stone thus rejects any optimistic or self-satisfied appraisals of a British immunity to political and philosophical extremism. He argues that "in Britain the ideas existed without the movement, even before the rise of fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany" (p. 4). Stone forcefully posits that the writers he is investigating "indicate channels of thinking that, when combined, add up to an indigenous proto-fascism" (p. 3). In the direction of his argument, Stone offers further substantiation for John Carey's claims, in *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (1992), that the British intelligentsia was inherently antidemocratic and unrelentingly elitist due to its alarm at the rise of the masses.

The strengths of this insightful, well-researched, and ambitious monograph are many, and Stone outstrips his forerunners in the history of extremist ideas by being explicit about the contemporary resonances of these British Nietzschean and eugenic discourses. In the later chapters, he breaks the temporal parameters set out in the title and emphasizes that "Nietzsche's influence over eugenics has become contemporary once again" (p. 135), noting the continued sway of biological determinism, genetics, and scientific racism. Unfortunately, then, from the vantage point of our own times, this is "usable history."

But does Stone overstate his case? Some of his arguments are clearly vulnerable to flights of the author's own imagination, best exemplified in his chapter on "The 'Lethal Chamber' in Eugenic Thought." Here Stone wonders: "since the field of eugenics was established in Britain, and was eagerly taken on board by German scientists, might it not also be the case that the notion of the 'lethal chamber,' which had existed in British literature on eugenics since the turn of the century, also fed into the fantasies which eventually led to the gas chambers?" (p. 132). This appears to be a leap of logic. Surely, just because the techniques of Nazi genocide were imagined in Britain in no way indicates that British eugenicists were responsible for the German gas chambers. In *Brave New World* (1931), for example, Aldous Huxley parodied a futuristic world not unlike totalitarian states that some of his contemporaries in his own circles may have welcomed, and in the distopian *Swastika Night* (1937), the staunchly antifascist Katherine Burdekin prophesied the Nazi concentration camps. However, prophecy and literary fantasy hardly equal shared culpability or political collusion.

Structurally this is an uneven book. A coherent chronological narrative or a consecutive set of case studies is sacrificed, and instead the chapters are organized to reflect the author's own philosophical speculation and syncretic themes. At times, this approach bears fruit and pushes the debate many stages further. At other times, the haphazard structure and the evidence are not wholly convincing.

However, we should still celebrate when young scholars take these intellectual and formal risks. Stone

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has made a very welcome contribution to both the history of ideas and the history of the British extreme right. Elegantly written and demonstrating a unique gift at rendering complex philosophical concepts accessible and relevant to a wide readership, his book engages with a number of topical debates about Britain's similarity or "otherness" in the context of European intellectual history in the age of extremes.

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KLAUS LARRES. *Churchill's Cold War: The Politics of Personal Diplomacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 583. $40.00.

Klaus Larres here presents a brilliant and scholarly defense of Winston Churchill's effort in the early Cold War to promote a kind of proto-détente between the superpowers. In this reading, the later Churchill was neither the entirely infirm toper of legend nor a one-dimensional Cold Warrior. Larres points out that the Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 called for negotiation as well as firmness of purpose. At Fulton, Churchill declared his repulsion at "the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent." Churchill did "not believe that Soviet Russia desires war" (p. 124). In direct contrast to conventional stereotypes of the man and his opinions, Churchill had, by 1950, come to support both "the defense of the European continent with the help of German soldiers and an international summit meeting with the Soviet Union" (p. 125). In 1953, ailing Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden advised Anthony Nutting, his parliamentary undersecretary, to be wary of Churchill's accommodationism: "Don't let the old man appease the Bear too much in my absence" (p. 199).

Where Larres does agree with popular interpretations of Churchill is in ascribing centrality to his commitment to traditionally defined British interests. Churchill felt in the early Cold War years that British economic interests required a long period of peace and relative international stability. Churchill is widely regarded, of course, as the champion of the US-UK "special relationship." Indeed, John Charmley, with whom Larres engages directly in his introduction, has described Churchill as "fugleman and midwife" for the Anglo-American alliance (*Churchill's Grand Alliance: The Anglo-American Special Relationship 1940–1957* [1995], p. 3). Larres's interpretation of Churchill's stance on the "special relationship" is more nuanced. His concern was consistently to achieve a relationship that strengthened, rather than surrendered, British financial and military independence. Larres has excellent sections on the personal relationships between Churchill and leading Americans. The British leader's attitude toward both Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower veered toward the contemptuous. John Foster Dulles alone was "clever enough to be stupid on a rather large scale" (p. 285). Besides issues of personality, many of these transatlantic tensions derived from London's commitment to spheres of influence coming into conflict with Washington's increasingly sharp advocacy of global containment. Larres, in direct contrast to the interpretation offered by Charmley, sees the British position as more realistic. Presidents after Eisenhower had, according to Larres, "no choice but to accept the division of the world into an eastern and a western sphere of influence, abandon the American dream of political warfare, and embark on a policy of detente, as had long been advocated by Churchill and others" (p. 166).

The Truman and Eisenhower administrations were also suspicious of, and irritated by, Churchill's long-held commitment to personal summitry. At perhaps excessive length, Larres documents this commitment, not only in terms of the summit diplomacy of World War II but also in relation to Churchill's efforts, following his appointment in 1911 as first lord of the admiralty, to advance personal diplomacy with representatives of the German Empire. It is this constant quest for diplomatic summitry that draws Larres's account of Churchill's career together. Churchill's preference was consistently, so Larres argues, for a commitment both to high-level negotiating and to military preparedness.

Not surprisingly, Larres expends a considerable degree of energy in dealing with charges of inconsistency and unrealism in Churchill's positions. While seeing Churchill's personal diplomacy, from 1917 onward, "as an imaginative and perhaps even visionary" (p. xx) attempt to advance British interests, Larres wisely does not attempt to defend Churchill in all his policy guises. Churchill was certainly not always realistic. In some of his pronouncements on European integration, especially when he seemed to be arguing that Britain should somehow lead Europe from the outside, Churchill clearly was not advancing a viable position. Larres condemns Churchill's idea, expressed in May 1953, that Britain become a guarantor power of a settlement between Germany and the USSR as "not very realistic" (p. 385). He also admits that Churchill "not least in the years after 1945, must bear some responsibility for prolonging Britain's failure to accept political realities" (p. 390). Churchill, as most authorities argue, was simply unable to accept anything less for Britain than a major global role. London must not accept a "tame and minor role in the world" (p. 390). In his final chapter, Larres discusses Churchill's undying commitment to a global British role in a passage that invokes Prime Minister Tony Blair's "global" shuttle diplomacy in the efforts to fight international terrorism (p. 390).

This is an excellent book. Its research, conducted at a variety of archives in the U.S. and various European countries, is meticulous and path breaking. It will become a standard work.

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LUIS R. CORTEGUERA. *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580–1640*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 231. $32.95.

The author of this slim monograph mentions over fifty leading historians in his list of acknowledgments, but this unusual appeal to the support of authority is scarcely necessary, since Luis R. Corteguera has produced an accomplished and carefully researched study that stands on its own merits. His main theme is the role of artisans and their confraternities in the life of Barcelona in the two generations prior to the Catalan revolt of 1640; he defines their numbers, their work, their position, and above all their traditional privileges. "By 1580," he says, "the challenge was how to maintain their privileges" (p. 15). This takes him into the argument of his exposition: how the artisans attempted to make an impact on the politics of the city. He makes use of the notion of "popular politics," about which concept other scholars have written in diverse contexts but which he develops with the intention of clarifying its meaning. At various points, most notably in his conclusion, he emphasizes the relevance of the notion in the abstract ("an understanding of popular politics is essential to political history"; p. 197), but he appears to be defining "popular" specifically in terms of confraternities rather in terms of the populace. When he ventures more widely than this, he comes up against the problem that all historians have struggled with: about how to analyze the popular element in history. Corteguera offers a good discussion of the matter, but it is not clear whether his treatment is very different from that of previous scholars.

The author is on far surer ground when he gets down to an examination of the evolution of specific issues within the context of Barcelona politics. In chapter two, for example, he has a fine account of the battle of artisans against the practice of hoarding food, which they considered to be against the "common good." Corteguera explains: "the claim to act for the common good of Barcelona was at the heart of their activities, and also became crucial to artisans' participation in politics" (p. 37). This book is at its most effective when it actually defines "popular politics" according to the issue in dispute, whether food hoarding, or opposition to the way the royal courts dispensed justice, or resistance to military service. The author recounts the conflicts, the mechanisms of protest, and the relationship between artisans and other sectors of the privileged elite of Barcelona. These questions are examined in detail in the context of the final years of the reign of Philip II, after which the scenario jumps to the eve of the outbreak of the Catalan revolt of 1640. Perhaps the most important issue over which artisans clashed with authorities in 1640 was royal justice, and Corteguera demonstrates convincingly that the murder of judges in that year was a direct consequence of popular dissatisfaction. In sum, this is a finely researched, closely argued, and well-presented study that illuminates many aspects of the role of artisans in Barcelona during a period of crisis. It presents a perspective on the city's problems that historians have hitherto tended to neglect in favor of the central areas of dispute.

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BRIGITTE JOURNEAU. *Église et état en Espagne au XIX^e siècle: Les enjeux du concordat de 1851*. (Histoire et civilizations.) Hexham: Septentrion. 2002. Pp. 486. €27.44.

In 1851, the conservative liberal government of the Moderate Party and Pope Pius IX concluded an agreement that would govern civil-ecclesiastical relations in Spain until 1931, save for two brief periods. Vestiges of it appeared in the 1953 papal concordat with the Franco regime and even in the diplomatic agreements of 1979 between the government of democratic Spain and the Holy See. This solidly researched study, based on Spanish, Vatican, and French archives as well as the Spanish press of the day, is a definitive treatment not only of the concordat and its terms but also of the development of church-state relations in Spain between 1850 and 1860.

For both the papacy and the government of the Moderates, the concordat offered the prospect of stability in civil-ecclesiastical relations that had been deeply troubled since the triumph of liberalism over absolute monarchy in 1834. The suppression of the regular clergy and the sale of its property during the mid-1830s and a drastic reform of the tithe supporting the secular clergy at the end of the decade left the church in a precarious financial position. The Espartero Regency (1840–1843), dominated by the Progressive Party, put the property of the diocesan clergy on the block and proposed a radical organizational reform of dioceses and parishes aimed at creating a national church subject to the pope only in ceremonial terms. Following the revolution of 1843, successive Moderate governments sought to reach an agreement with the papacy recognizing the property rights of purchasers of church lands. For his part, Pius IX saw an opportunity to bring to an end years of turbulence in civil-ecclesiastical relations that had left the church impoverished and its clergy in disarray.

Brigitte Journeau provides a detailed account of the sometimes tortuous negotiations of the terms of the concordat. Her interpretation of the motivations of each of the parties involved is sound. The concordat represented a compromise, often an ambiguous one, between a papacy intent on achieving stability in civil-ecclesiastical relations that would allow the church to function effectively and a Moderate government that saw the agreement as a means of buttressing its political position by eliminating the danger still posed by Carlist supporters of absolute monarchy and by reducing the divisive effects of the issue of the church among liberals.

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The author emphasizes that on many issues there was common ground between the parties. Pius IX, for example, sought an agreement that would allow for important changes in ecclesiastical organization, such as a thorough reform of a largely broken-down system of seminary education. This objective was shared by the Moderate government, which was willing to finance such a reform (although with strings attached). The government also agreed to recognize Catholicism as the official religion of the state and to introduce a new system of financing for clerical salaries and the maintenance of church fabrics, although here, too, there were differences of interpretation about the practical application of the new system. Journeau also notes that there was a certain common ground between a Moderate government that saw the church as a useful ally in the maintenance of a conservative, bourgeois social order and a church ever more fearful of social revolution.

The Moderate government secured substantial advantages from the concordat. It accepted the legitimacy of the sales of church property carried out until that time, thereby easing the apprehension of the regime's supporters who had purchased ecclesiastical lands. It also served to undercut to a limited degree the hostility of Progressives toward the new agreement. Although willing to strike a deal, the Moderates by no means abandoned the regalist tradition that Spanish liberals had inherited from the eighteenth-century monarchy. The concordat, for example, confirmed the historic patronage rights of the crown in the appointment of bishops. For its part, the church secured stable financial support for the clergy and recognition of Catholicism as the official and exclusive religion of the state.

One of the merits of this study is that it calls attention to the ambiguity running through many of the concordat's terms. The author notes that the concordat broke with liberal tradition by authorizing the introduction of three religious orders, two of which were identified, the Vincentians and the Oratorians. The identity of the third was left unspecified, a circumstance that would produce ongoing controversy particularly after the massive expansion of the orders allowed by the Cánovas government in the late 1870s. Debate over the legal status of the orders became a stock-in-trade of political debate and anticlericalism well into the twentieth century. Journeau observes that the ambiguity of the concordat was deliberate. It was designed to satisfy the church with a limited concession while the government retained the right to decide which order would receive the third authorization, a decision never made.

The author concludes that the 1851 concordat was probably the best that could have been managed, for all its ambiguities, given the political circumstances of the time. Although the concordat governed civil-ecclesiastical relations for decades to come, it was always controversial. The Progressive Party remained hostile believing that it had conceded too much to the church. Indeed, the Progressives abandoned the concordat following the revolution of 1854 and resumed the sale of church property. Some Progressives committed to the introduction of religious liberty rejected the concordat's affirmation of Catholicism's exclusive status as the religion of the state, a concern that later generations of intellectuals took up with enthusiasm, as did a revived republicanism after the turn of the century. Liberal Party governments after 1900 also wished to renegotiate the concordat, but all such efforts failed. It fell to the Second Republic of the 1930s to carry out the separation of church and state for the first time in the nation's history.

Journeau has made an important contribution to the study of civil-ecclesiastical relations in modern Spain and to their political context within nineteenth-century liberal Spain. She has written the best and most detailed account of the concordat and its effects yet published.

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WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN. *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1998*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2000. pp. xvi, 695. $49.95.

This is a magnificent book. It maintains a commanding view of the Spanish church in its relations with the *res publica*, with the Vatican, and with society, while at the same time evaluating the different currents within the ranks of clergy and laity. The impressive depth of scholarly analysis is matched by the elegance of William J. Callahan's writing. It is also a long book (643 closely argued pages and a cornucopia of footnotes). With sufficient stamina, readers can accompany Callahan's broad-visioned sweep right through, or they could pause for reflection at the end of chapter eleven, before resuming at the Second Republic (1931–1936). All the seeds of modern church-state-society relations are already there or foretold, starting with the hierarchy's uneasy involvement in the tangled nineteenth-century politics of liberalism, "Glorious Revolution," First Republic, and Restoration.

The church would, as ever, seek alliances with the powerful to protect its interests and privileges. New forms of anticlericalism arose, while various attempts to unite Catholics as a single effective force in defense of church interests foundered on the rocks of dynastic and ideological divisions. The last pre-1931 chapters turn to various aspects of the organization and condition of the "established church," including the status of the hierarchy, the numbers (with maps and tables) of the secular clergy and religious orders, and, finally and insightfully, the overall state of health of Spanish Catholicism up to 1930. A similar technique is used later for the post-Civil War period ("The Church Restored" and "Religious Reconquest," chapters seventeen and eighteen) and for the church after the Second Vatican Council (chapter twenty-three).

Resuming the chronological thread at the Second

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Republic, the author banishes any misinterpretation of Manuel Azaña's famous claim that "Spain has ceased to be Catholic" (p. 290). Callahan examines whether the term "persecution" between 1931 and 1933 can be justified (p. 291) and works his carefully nuanced way through the labyrinth of disestablishment, loss of privilege, church burning, clampdown on religious orders, extremists, and propaganda battles on both sides. With civil war looming, he ends this section quoting a priest whose words imply that it "was, therefore, inevitable and in a sense to be welcomed" (p. 342). This may be Callahan's own view, as he does not gainsay it.

Convincing evidence is given of a dependent church uncomfortable, even at an early stage, in its position vis-à-vis Francisco Franco's "New Spain" despite the throne-altar rhetoric and its restored privileges. An interesting discussion of the origins and nature of National Catholicism is followed up in footnotes (pp. 382–83), as is the case with the 1937 Collective Letter (pp. 356–57), controversy over attitudes toward the Falange (pp. 390–92), diplomatic wheeling and dealing over the 1953 Concordat (pp. 408–11) and the Partial Agreements that replaced it (see chapters twenty and twenty-one), and the role of Opus Dei (pp. 425–32). As there were always cross currents in the body ecclesiastic, no unequivocal Catholic stance was possible. Divisions within the church would deepen, together with its awareness of the need to adapt to dramatic sociopolitical changes, particularly following Vatican II. A sentence on the seismic effect the Council had on the whole Catholic Church at the time would have been welcome. The shock to the system was, of course, particularly traumatic for most of the Spanish church; we are shown the painful route to its near break, never quite a *ruptura* with the regime and a different, painful encounter with democratic pluralism. The church was front-page news then. But times they were a-changing, in Spanish society as elsewhere. Today the Spanish church has to develop a new pastoral strategy in the face of indifference, and the challenges are "fully as serious as those it encountered in the past" (p. 643).

A few quibbles. There is a certain lack of consistency in the footnotes as to whether to repeat the full reference to a title; despite the spelling on its cover, *El postconcilio en España* is by Laboa, not Loboa; the sentence referring to Castiella and patronage (p. 409) is ambiguous; predictions concerning the year 2000 (p. 614) should not be in the present tense; surely it cannot be that "by the early 1950s" the regime was becoming less heavy-handedly repressive (p. 434), especially when the very opposite is detailed on the next page regarding the 1960s; there are many more than "even some" practicing Catholics who disagree with aspects of the church's moral teachings (p. 640); and can it really be said that there exists even a "lingering" dream of a Catholic Spain (p. 643) in these secularized times?

But these are minor cavils and do not detract from a superb achievement. Although he does not claim to have said the last word, and the years of relations with the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party governments are still too close for full historical evaluation, Callahan has given us a magisterial survey of the church in contemporary Spain.

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PILAR ORTUÑO ANAYA. *European Socialists and Spain: The Transition to Democracy, 1959–77.* (St. Antony's Series.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiii, 258. $65.00.

This is a straightforward book with a straightforward goal: Pilar Ortuño Anaya seeks to show that European Socialists and trade unionists played "a more relevant and crucial role" in the Spanish transition from Francoism to democracy "than has usually been acknowledged" (pp. 17, 188). In each chapter, Ortuño Anaya discusses a different European socialist organization: the Socialist International, the International Confederation of Federal Trade Unions, the British Labour movement, the French Socialists, and the German Socialists. Within each chapter, the author follows the same strict chronological framework, moving from 1959–1960 to 1977. Ortuño Anaya maintains that these various European socialist organizations abetted the Spanish democratic transition in two basic ways: they provided the technical, financial, and moral support essential to the survival of Spanish socialist opposition groups, and they provided direct and public criticism of Francisco Franco that helped delegitimize the authoritarian regime (p. 186).

While offering much in the way of organizational detail, this book will most likely prove difficult to follow for those unfamiliar with either European socialist organizations or the Spanish democratic transition. The assumption seems to be that a wealth of information about European socialist activities from 1959 to 1977 both "speaks for itself" and is sufficiently interesting in and of itself to entertain the reader. Compounding the pitfalls of such a presentation, the introductory and concluding chapters are both short and uninspiring, as they do not provide a framework for sorting out the array of historical details.

At the same time, historians well versed in the Spanish democratic transition may find this book a bit unambitious. Ortuño Anaya seeks simply to "support" Charles T. Powell's "positive evaluation" that "external support helped to protect and strengthen the democratic opposition during the last years of the Franco regime and the decisive phase of transition" (pp. 7–8). However, as a quote from Felipe González on the concluding page of the book makes clear, even *during* the transition, Spanish socialists readily acknowledged their debt to their international colleagues (as did virtually all the political parties active in the Spanish transition). Indeed, this "link to Europe" was one of the core themes of the 1977 electoral campaign

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(see my *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco* [1998]). Moreover, many analysts acknowledge (and some even remember) momentous occasions in which prominent leftist European intellectuals, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, publicly spoke out against the Franco regime. (Ortuño Anaya does not mention Sartre at all, presumably because he was an independent socialist and not a member of the French socialist organization she was studying.) Finally, that the "Socialist family was the group that took the most intransigent stand against the non-democratic nature of the Franco regime, compared to the position held by European Christian Democrats and Conservatives" (p. 8) does not seem like a position in need of much "support." Would not European socialists be more outspoken about their disdain for Franco than more conservative European political organizations?

For social scientists, the problem is that Ortuño Anaya does not explicitly address, or even implicitly reveal, how and under what conditions international influence is (or is not) effective. She does not discuss and analyze her hypothesis—"that international actors played a part in the Spanish transition and that particularly the international Socialist family contributed positively to the complex process of delegitimising the Franco regime and consolidating the Socialist opposition" (p. 17)—against competing readings/interpretations/explanations, nor does she discuss the "complex process" of delegitimization at all. This book will also be troubling for those who question whether "facts" "speak for themselves" and those who see "interviews" as revealing not just "facts" but political biases, imperfect memories, and individual interpretation. For instance, Ortuño Anaya asserts that "detailed discussions" with key actors filled "gaps" in the German archives and "helped guard against any possible misinterpretation of the facts" (pp. 15–16), as if "misinterpretation" was just a function of a lack of information.

In sum, this book has serious theoretical and expository pitfalls; nevertheless, it may be useful for analysts seeking detailed information about specific European socialist leaders and organizations from 1959 to 1977.

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JOHN J. HURT. *Louis XIV and the Parlements: The Assertion of Royal Authority*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 217. $74.95.

How absolute was French "absolutism"? Recently, revisionist historians have been reshaping long-held views of absolutism, contending that Louis XIV and his successors governed France with far less discretionary force and unchallenged authority than the mythological representation of power at Versailles would suggest. In reality, argue the revisionists, the centralizing propensities of the monarchy entailed so many bureaucratic contradictions that the crown was obliged to cut deals with local elites and appease legally subordinate political bodies. According to some revisionists, absolutism is no more than a myth.

This book by John J. Hurt calls for a reassessment. In their effort to deflate the "myth" of absolutism, he claims, revisionists have paid insufficient attention to the crown's disempowerment of the *parlements* (sovereign courts), which is the subject of this book. Whereas revisionists discerned a predominating consensus between the king and the *parlements* after the failed revolt of the Fronde, Hurt asserts that an endemic, unresolvable conflict over the "constitutional" rights of the *parlements* underlay their occasionally stormy relationship. To support this contention, Hurt considers two critical moments when the crown harshly disciplined the *parlements*: the onset of Louis XIV's personal reign (1661–1673), and the regency of the duc d'Orléans (1715–1723).

In his account of Louis XIV's early personal reign, Hurt carefully charts the growing friction generated by the crown's efforts to reduce the *parlements*' right to "remonstrate" (protest against) royal edicts prior to "registration" (formal enactment). While not seeking conflict for its own sake, the monarchy, Hurt argues, was sufficiently wary of the *parlements*' capacity to obstruct royal initiatives for it to seek restriction of remonstrance as part of its wider program of judicial reform. When the *parlements* resisted this attack on their prerogatives and the imposition of an uncongenial financial cartel to farm the royal domain, Louis XIV retaliated in 1673 by requiring that registration precede remonstrance. This measure, Hurt insists, not only redefined crown-*parlement* relations for the remainder of the reign but also dispelled illusions concerning the "constitutional" right of the *parlements* to oppose the royal will. In addition, far from demonstrating a tender regard for the magistrates' personal fortunes, the monarchy henceforth increasingly squeezed judicial officeholders for its own financial benefit. It compelled the *parlementaires* to extend to the crown large loans, thereby forcing them to incur sometimes ruinous personal debts, and it sold many new judicial offices, which devalued those already owned by the *parlementaires*. Humiliated, politically disarmed, and financially drained, the kings' magistrates, Hurt concludes, had nearly become an endangered species by 1715.

The crown's victory was, in Hurt's view, consolidated during the Orléans regency. After a brief era of good feeling, relations once again soured, largely because when the monarchy promoted the schemes of John Law and the *parlements* opposed them. The crown established the core features of Law's system, chastened the Parlement of Paris in a specially choreographed ceremony of humiliation, and once again restricted the *parlements*' right of prior "remonstrance." A pattern had been set for the rest of the Old Regime. Louis XV's infamous tongue-lashing of 1766 drew on earlier efforts to narrow *parlements*' preroga-

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tives, and the price of most offices continued to sag because the crown had saturated the venal office market. "Absolute" power was thereby vindicated.

An important contribution to the ongoing debate over the nature and extent of royal power, this book should force all historians of early modern France to reconsider their most cherished notions of Old Regime politics. Hurt's contention that the monarchy did have an authoritarian core after all should be taken seriously, not only because this study is well informed, thoroughly researched, and lucidly argued but also because, unlike other studies, it includes all the *parlements* within its scope. However, there are grounds to contest some of Hurt's sweeping judgments. For all the conflict over remonstrance—which revisionists have not, in fact, overlooked—the *parlements* were hardly unsupportive of all the judicial reforms promoted by Louis XIV. As Albert Hamscher has shown in *The Parlement of Paris after the Fronde, 1653–1673* (1976), a consensus prevailed over such matters as the shortening of litigation, suggesting that Hurt has overcorrected revisionist portraits of the crown-*parlement* relationship. Second, it is not clear that the crown permanently reduced the *parlements* to quivering judicial jelly, for by the mid-eighteenth century, the latter had recovered sufficiently to mount a credible threat to royal authority. Hurt takes insufficiently into account both the structural weaknesses of the monarchy—e.g. its shaky finances, which invited intervention—and its ill-advised policies, which did likewise.

Repression of Jansenism re-energized the *parlements* during the Orléans regency. Most notably, it encouraged the *parlements* to mobilize the growing force of public opinion in the name of a putative French "constitution," which, in fact, still commanded respect. In sum, the monarchy's power cannot be assessed simply by measuring its ability to force through legislation in times of crisis. After 1715, the monarchy found that the path to effective rule normally lay not through confrontation with the *parlements*, but through the building of royalist factions inside them and the muddying of their ideological differences. Indeed, it was when the monarchy abandoned "good management" that the Old Regime collapsed. Revisionism has been profitably critiqued in this book, but it has not been slain.

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GREGORY S. BROWN. *A Field of Honor: Writers, Court Culture and Public Theater in French Literary Life from Racine to the Revolution*. Electronic Book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access $195.00.

Gregory S. Brown's study examines the history of playwrights' attempts to establish themselves as legitimate men of letters in Old Regime France. During the seventeenth century, the status of playwrights was determined by royal sponsorship. The patronage of Cardinal Richelieu and, later, of King Louis XIV enabled authors such as Pierre Corneille, Jean Racine, and Jean-Baptiste Molière to rise from relatively modest circumstances to positions of respect. The establishment of the Comédie Française in 1680 shifted the initial responsibility for granting status to authors from the court to the actors of the troupe. From that date, the actors themselves were authorized to choose the new plays to be performed. An author's legitimization required more than simple acceptance and performance of plays, however. By the eighteenth century, authorial respect required the favorable reception of works by Parisian audiences as well as the honorable comportment of the playwright in his, and on occasion her, relationship with the troupe and, ultimately, the king's court.

To construct his history, Brown makes extensive use of the rich archive at the Bibliothèque de la Comédie Française while relying on Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias for his theoretical foundation. The particular goal of the study is to uncover the nature of the relationship between the playwrights and the legitimizing authority of the Comédie Française, the royal court, and society. From this perspective, Brown, who engages Robert Darnton and other scholars of the public sphere in continual dialogue, modifies current interpretations of the attitudes and activities of Old Regime writers and the political culture in which they operated.

Despite the increased importance of public acceptance of dramatic works during the eighteenth century, Brown insists on the continuation of an older tradition of the republic of letters, which defined men of letters as those writers who conducted themselves honorably and were received into established, elite society. In this tradition, the outstanding example of a man of letters among eighteenth-century dramatists was Voltaire, who achieved both legitimacy and public success with his plays. Brown is more interested, however, in those individuals whose torturous paths to legitimization involved continuous struggles to have plays accepted and performed by the Comédie Française. Honorable conduct required authors to approach the troupe as one would have approached a patron in an earlier era. The author was required to present himself as virtuous and uninterested in pecuniary rewards, and the troupe was expected to reward worthy playwrights with generosity and markers of status.

These conventions were put under considerable strain during the course of the eighteenth century as an ever-increasing number of authors presented their work to the troupe and became frustrated by lack of success. Brown chronicles the developments in the relationship between playwrights and the Comédie Française through the century, paying particular attention to the language and conduct of the authors, including Louis-Sébastien Mercier, Buirette de Belloy, Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, Olympe de Gouges, Marie-Joseph Chénier, and a host of less well-known individuals. After 1760, frustrated play-

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wrights began turning to the public to vent their frustrations. Their methods involved publishing plays before they were performed, writing prefaces to plays criticizing their opponents, and even filing lawsuits and publishing judicial briefs. Nevertheless, Brown demonstrates that these same frustrated authors continued to use the time-honored approach of honorable conduct to try to win the support of the actors of the Comédie Française. Only the onset of revolution in 1789 ended the conventions of authorial legitimacy that had prevailed during the Old Regime.

Although Brown gives considerable attention to numerous writers, Beaumarchais, whose career receives a very original interpretation here, occupies a special place in this study. Brown provides a detailed analysis of Beaumarchais's complicated maneuvers to achieve success, which involved pleas to patrons at court, a long-standing feud with the police censor Suard, threatened lawsuits, communications exhibiting honorable language and behavior toward the troupe, and prefaces to published plays to bring his case before the public. In the end, Beaumarchais lost public credibility while simultaneously failing to obtain legitimacy as a man of letters despite the immense popularity of his play, *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784).

Brown's book provides a fascinating analysis of the world of dramatic authors during the Old Regime. Unique among eighteenth-century writers, these individuals, who were continually corresponding with the Comédie Française, their patrons, and various other parties to promote their plays, left voluminous records that reveal much about their approach to authorial success and the social conventions within which they operated. Brown's study effectively challenges aspects of historians' current understanding of the political culture of Old Regime France while providing new interpretations of dramatic writers and their relationship with that culture. Ultimately, this work considerably broadens and deepens our understanding of the nature of the French public sphere and the society in which it functioned.

This book is the first dealing with Old Regime Europe to appear in the recently established Gutenberg-e publishing venture of the American Historical Association and Columbia University Press, and its overall quality is certainly equal to that of the best historical monographs published in the traditional manner. In addition to links to numerous primary sources and contemporary illustrations, the electronic format permits somewhat looser editorial standards regarding length. The volume would have benefited from stronger editorial insistence on a shorter, more tightly organized, and cogently argued text. This quibble aside, Brown's book establishes Gutenberg-e as an important publisher of monographs in the history of Europe before 1800, a sorely needed addition to the limited number of publishing alternatives currently available to scholars in this field.

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E. C. SPARY. *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 321.

The historiography of the French Enlightenment still awaits the coming of the revolution brought to early modern science studies by Steven Shapin's *The Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (1994) and Mario Biagioli's *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (1993). E. C. Spary's book represents a welcome step in that direction. Spary's stated purpose is to write a "history of naturalists" as participants in "complex networks [that] create forms of order" (p. 3). Natural historians in late Old Regime and revolutionary France constituted a community defined by "modes of conduct" and "rules [of] self-presentation." These rules enabled the community to settle controversies and generate the "consent" that is the social basis of scientific truth (pp. 7–8).

Spary establishes in the first two chapters that the key element to the social network that developed and became the royal botanical garden, known first as the King's Gardens (Jardin du Roi) and then, during the revolution, as the Museum of Natural History (Musée de l'histoire naturelle), was patronage. Patronage played a "crucial role . . . in the age of Enlightenment" by institutionalizing intellectual networks of "upwardly mobile, educated elites" on the margins of the court and state (p. 17). At the center of this network of patronage was Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, a wealthy young noble who became renowned due to the literary success of the first volumes of his *Histoire naturelle* in 1749; the work would extend to thirty-six volumes published over forty years. Spary traces Buffon's participation in what she calls the "social economy of morals" that structured *savant* sociability (p. 52). His "micro-negotiations" included financing the study of natural history (by acquiring the land for the King's Gardens and the exotic seeds and plant samples cultivated there) and sponsoring the work of many other naturalists to figures at court. This position as a cultural broker enabled him to acquire samples and to distribute them through correspondence networks where they were studied and discussed. In return, the network produced published works that Buffon presented to courtly patrons, thereby enhancing his own social standing and advancing his group's scientific views. Spary maps the relations among correspondents, studying the network centered around Buffon's student André Thouin (pp. 72–75). She also analyzes the language of naturalist correspondence, which emphasized the collaboration of the community. She concludes that eighteenth-century patronage relations mediated the community of naturalists to the royal court and allowed them to retain a great degree of autonomy and control over their research. Moreover, Spary contends, this system of patronage grew stronger in the years leading up to 1789.

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In chapter three, Spary demonstrates how the language of natural history contributed to its rise as a scientific specialization. The language of organic "generation," "degeneration," and "regeneration" became attached to the narrative of the nation whose virtue had declined into decadence and needed moral renewal. By the 1780s, this language provided naturalists of the King's Gardens with a ready explanation of their utility. After Buffon's death in 1788, his followers used the same language to reconstruct his image based on his cultural contributions rather than his proximity to the court.

The French Revolution, between 1789 and 1793, suppressed nearly all other royal literary and *savant* institutions, whose members were denounced as aristocrats. Yet the naturalists transformed the King's Gardens into an entity considered crucial to the success of the revolution. Against the usual, anodyne explanation for this success—that the leading naturalists, Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, Louis Jean-Marie Daubenton, Étienne Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck were politically opportunistic Jacobins—Spary notes instead how they experienced the revolution as an opportunity to establish "autonomy" from the court and redefine themselves as professors with technological expertise rather than members of an elite patronage network. Through "a rhetoric of community and fraternity," they deployed "new strategies of self-presentation" that emphasized their "sentiment and sincerity" (pp. 190–94). This repositioning culminated in 1794 when the gardens became a public monument, the Museum of Natural History.

In so doing, Spary argues in her final chapter, the naturalists redefined nature itself. By claiming that their taxonomies described objective realities in a "transparent natural world . . . essentially independent of human agency" (p. 242), naturalists represented their knowledge as not merely aesthetically pleasing and morally uplifting but as a "technology" (p. 255) useful to the revolution. Natural history, in its new guise, made possible the productive use of nature (e.g. growing more grain in a time of shortage) and the moral use of nature (e.g. discovering the essence of human virtue). These changes lead Spary to think of the revolution as an epistemological shift, as social networks and cultural institutions reconfigured themselves and, in so doing, remade the truth.

Spary has offered an original and important explanation of how, why and to what effect the natural sciences broke away from literature and the social sciences by the early nineteenth century. Moreover, she brings to Enlightenment and revolutionary historiography a provocative set of concepts already used to great effect elsewhere in early modern cultural historiography. With these concepts, she shows that such canonical figures as Buffon were at the center of important social networks and, moreover, that such status must be considered not a compromising of intellectual sincerity but a large part of genius.

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Janet R. Horne. *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 353. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Janet R. Horne attempts to explain the origins of the distinctively French variant of the twentieth-century welfare state through a study of the Musée Social, an early think tank founded in Paris in 1895 that still exists today. Her book is a study of "networking" among elites in a parapolitical sphere from 1889 to 1914 in France. The Musée Social was created to house the materials from the Section of Social Economy of the 1889 Paris Exposition and endowed by the comte de Chambrun; among its principal founders were Jules Siegfried, Léon Say, and Claude Cheysson. In the author's words, the history of this policy studies institute, located at the intersection of the political, intellectual, and industrial elites of early Third Republic France "helps to shed light on the means by which civil society exerted pressure on the political process to negotiate a solution to the social question in France": a mixed solution in which the state's role was supplemented and mitigated by mutual aid societies, cooperatives, and other organizations.

Horne uses the term "social liberalism" to refer to the French version of the turn-of-the-century reformist impulse that was called the New Liberalism in England and Progressivism in the United States, notably including many Protestants, like Siegfried and Say (a fact repeatedly noted but never adequately explained in a book otherwise quite sophisticated in its analysis of elite networks). She also sees, but never adequately explains, the central role in the creation of the Musée Social of the followers of Frédéric LePlay. The ultimate origin of the Musée Social may not in fact have been the 1889 Paris Exposition, as she asserts, but the Exposition of 1867, whose presiding genius was LePlay. LePlayists were always open to a politics of fusion and cooperated with academicians, orthodox political economists of the Société d'Economie Politique, high civil servants, and politicians ranging from Say to Léon Bourgeois. They assumed that the scientific method applied to the study of social questions would refute the claims of socialism and buttress a politics of social peace and solidarism, a conviction shared by their contemporaries, the founders of modern Durkheimian sociology.

The central dynamic of the story of the Musée Social from 1895 to 1914, as Horne relates, is the turn from its founders' desire to counter socialism by promoting a measure of employer paternalism, such as company housing and profit sharing, to a focus by 1900 on support for workers' cooperatives, to the advocacy by

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1910 of a role for the state in city planning and public health. Throughout, the institution employed a rhetoric of social solidarity through social science, efficiency, and professionalization.

Densely but clearly written, this book examines not so much a single institution as a network of overlapping reformers and groups who operated in a "parapolitical" sphere, taking part in a debate located ultimately in civil society, not the state. Many of the same persons turn up in one organization after another, and some of them move in and out of elective political life. The reader is introduced to a cast of upper bourgeois reformers whose reputations and influence were very great at the time, but who have since been largely ignored. Horne rescues this group of earnest and remarkably active bourgeois reformers and social scientists from the contempt of historians like Sanford Elwitt (*The Third Republic Defended: Bourgeois Reform in France, 1880–1914* [1986]) and, to a lesser degree, Judith Stone (*The Search for Social Peace: Reform Legislation in France, 1891–1914* [1985]), who have seen them merely as defenders of class privilege. She restores the complexity of motives and shifting perspectives of this loose group of progressives who were trying to use science and statistics in new ways, and who were willing to modify orthodox liberalism to do it. These social liberals sought to preserve individualism and private property, but they acknowledged the new social problems created by industrialization.

The Musée Social may have been founded by a bourgeois elite for the defense of employers from the threat of socialism, but Horne finds that it was true enough to its own rhetoric of social scientific investigation, statistical analysis, and nonpartisanship to become a "laboratory for social reform" that "announced the advent of social work in France." However reluctantly, these men came to understand that corporate paternalism, profit sharing, and low-rent housing would never solve the social question and, by 1910, to accept that the state had to play a role in any workable schemes for accident insurance, pensions, and "social hygiene" in the industrial city. Thoroughly infiltrated into the political and bureaucratic elites, the bourgeois social scientists and statisticians of the Musée Social laid the foundations for a distinctively French system of welfare whose superstructure would be built after 1919.

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PAUL V. DUTTON. *Origins of the French Welfare State: The Struggle for Social Reform in France 1914–1947.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 251. $60.00.

The French state commonly is perceived as a highly centralized structure, bequeathed to our contemporaries by a history of Jacobinism and Bonapartism, both infused with a passion for guaranteeing equality through uniformity. Paul V. Dutton clearly demonstrates, to the contrary, that the French welfare state was built on a long tradition of mutual aid societies and is both complex and decentralized. It can be understood, he argues, only by examining the evolution of social reform in the first half of the twentieth century.

Dutton traces the origins of the modern French welfare state to two sets of institutions: employer-controlled family allowance funds, and mutual aid societies (*mutualités*). He tells the story of how owners of larger businesses, motivated both by a desire to improve relations with their workers and by a broadly shared concern with France's low birth rate, created their own private family allowance funds well before these were mandated by the state. Funds created by individual firms merged into large, multifirm funds that, by 1928, encompassed half of all industrial workers. By favoring large families, employers could take the moral high ground while limiting their costs. As Dutton puts it, "The nineteenth-century social Catholic origins of family allowances were quickly buried under layers of secular labor cost calculations and maneuverings to evade state intervention" (p. 33). Despite initial resistance from employers, in 1932 all firms were required by law to join family allowance funds, but these were left under the control of employers. Employer control was weakened in the 1930s, first by quarrels over implementation among large firms, small firms, and farmers and then by a decision of the Popular Front Government to include family allowances with wages and working conditions in collective bargaining, all subject to binding arbitration. Following World War II, family allowances came under direct control of the state through a specific national fund; yet, in contrast to common practice elsewhere in Europe, they remained separate from the broad new social security administration. Dutton correctly notes that the special place of family allowances—coming out of an old and influential pronatalist movement—is one of the distinctive characteristics of the French welfare state.

The institutional legacy of mutual aid societies was more permanent. Formed principally by artisans, the petty bourgeoisie, and portions of the middle class for the purpose of sharing the risks of accidents, illness, and old age, mutual societies were formally sanctioned and subsidized by the government as early as the Second Empire. Although French mutual societies encompassed fewer workers early in the twentieth century than did their counterparts in Britain and Germany, they had a powerful influence over the mandatory social insurance legislation that finally was enacted in 1928 and 1930. Initially hostile to mandatory insurance, the Fédération Nationale de la Mutualité Française (FNMF) soon turned to the task of persuading Radical government ministers to build a national system around existing mutual societies. With the trade union movement weakened by its division into Catholic, socialist, and communist unions (the latter bitterly opposed to any remedial efforts within a

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capitalist society), the FNMF had little effective competition. As Dutton says of the 1930 law, "the emerging system could be called 'compulsory mutualism'." The basic structure of decentralized, locally managed funds proved irreplacable, despite the many problems that emerged in the 1930s, including evasion of contributions by small businesses and farmers and increasing conflict between mutual societies and doctors, who found many of their charges rejected.

When Pierre Laroque became head of the new Direction Générale de la Sécurité Sociale of the provisional government in early 1945, he and his Free French colleagues had been planning for three years how France could improve social services and expand coverage to the whole population. Influenced by the wartime Beveridge Report in Britain, they sought to achieve three principal goals: democratization, national solidarity and rationalization. The first of these goals was achieved through the selection of local governing boards by elections, in which trade unions won the majority of seats. The last two goals proved much harder to achieve. More affluent workers successfully resisted early proposals that included income redistribution intended to ease the burden on poorer workers. Most important, workers with the most generous benefits—railroad workers, miners, and gas and electric workers among them—resisted all attempts to create a unified social security system. Faced with a network of structures and vested interests inherited from the past, the government agreed to the maintenance of a multitude of privileged "special regimes."

The major strength of this carefully researched, well-written book is the rich account that it offers of the struggle for control over social policy by major interest groups and sectors in the interwar period. Although Dutton's central thesis regarding the historical origins of the complexity of the French welfare state is not new (see, for example, Douglas E. Ashford, "Advantages of Complexity: Social Insurance in France," in John S. Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State* [1991]), it is not widely known. Moreover, he argues it particularly well. His secondary thesis on the impact of the pronatalist movement also has been explored by others (see Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* [1993]), yet Dutton has some new and interesting things to say on this subject as well, for example about the moderate, "republican motherhood" ideal of interwar French feminism (pp. 132–33).

Laroque correctly saw the problems posed by the mutual society model of social insurance. One of the most successful components of the French welfare state—the health system—is also one of the most unified. One of the most unjust is the fragmented pension system, in which people in the "general regime" subsidize the early retirement and high benefits of people in the privileged "special regimes." Dutton's book, which is a fine contribution to the limited literature on this subject, helps us to understand such irrationalities in the land of René Descartes.

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SARAH FISHMAN. *The Battle for Children: World War II, Youth Crime, and Juvenile Justice in Twentieth-Century France*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 142.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 303. $49.95.

In her thoroughly researched and clearly argued study of juvenile justice under Vichy, Sarah Fishman seeks to align herself with a new turn in the scholarship on twentieth-century France. As historians continue both to stress Vichy's origins in the prewar era and to generate evidence of French initiative behind the collaborative regime's most brutal policies, they are now also refocusing attention toward postwar survivals and continuities. This work has launched an important challenge to the narratives of "liberation" that have powerfully asserted a definitive break between Vichy and the decades that followed. Based largely on an extensive survey of juvenile justice theory, policy, and institutional practice since the nineteenth century, the book explores the possible connections between Vichy and the programs of social government that preceded and followed it. Vichy, Fishman argues, gave new life to the goals of liberal reform and, ironically, instituted proposed changes that had been stalled by parliamentary gridlock in the 1930s. The shift to the "therapeutic and protective" approach that still marks French juvenile justice today "increased in speed during the war and [was] definitively encoded in 1945 and 1946" (p. 7). As deeply grounded as it is in historical evidence, however, Fishman's study occupies an uncomfortable position in relation to the past. Seeking to bring the archives to bear on current discussions of juvenile justice, the book yields to the temptation of parlaying historical knowledge into metahistorical policy expertise.

Fishman embraces the identity of objective juvenile justice expert with particular zeal where she sets out to determine the causes of the threefold increase in juvenile delinquency under Vichy. None of the explanations proposed by medical or criminological professionals have rested on "real data," she argues (p. 82). Instead, "strongly held patriarchal beliefs about family life and the nature of women and men" allowed specialists to assume causal connections between the rise in children's criminal activity, the absence of fathers taken as prisoners of war, and the moral breakdown long understood to be the effect of female-headed families (p. 2). In contrast, Fishman seeks to explain the ballooning delinquency rate through an independent analysis of three regionally defined samples of court records and case files. When minors committed crimes during this period, primarily petty theft and fraud related to rationing, their actions were in fact "a rational response to the circumstances" (p.

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125), including "the stresses of wartime economy," the invention of new types of crimes related to rationing, and the "shifting notions of legality" under Vichy and the German occupation (p. 124). The identity of policy expert asserts itself with similar force in the final chapter promoting the virtues of protective, educative, and therapeutic approaches like the one institutionalized by Vichy, especially when compared to the racist and increasingly punitive treatment of underage offenders in the United States in the later twentieth century.

Despite the book's potential strengths as a work of historical scholarship, Fishman's desire to do battle with specialists in delinquency on their own terrain leads her toward a disturbingly abstract reading of policy that severs it from both politics and history. "[S]ome issues," she writes, "seem to float above politics ... In France, policies on children and the family exhibited strong continuities, despite certain profoundly authoritarian, intrusive, repressive manifestations of Vichy's approach to both" (p. 7). Although it is true that left-right divides have not fully explained the politics of juvenile justice, the conceptual separation of policy from politics effaces the ways in which governmental practices of appropriation often entail the radical reworking of familiar policy recommendations within new political conditions and languages. Viewed this way, Vichy's "authoritarian, intrusive, repressive" mobilization of liberal reform ideals from the 1930s, like the postwar government's embrace of Vichy policy within a framework of dogmatic repudiation, marks a more meaningful historical break than might be apparent from the search for continuities of approach or principle in a purified realm of policy texts and administrative programs. It is likewise difficult to accept fully the argument for essentially uninterrupted activity in the domain of juvenile justice across the political divide of 1940 (p. 127), given the book's account of the fate of highly visible Jewish specialists (p. 130) and the purge of Jews from adjacent fields like teaching (pp. 61–62).

By entering into past and present debates on juvenile justice policy as an expert who can avoid the bias of patriarchal ideologies and see through the stain of politics, Fishman inadvertently undermines the rich possibilities of her research on Vichy and misses the opportunity to speak, as a historian, to the inevitable historicity of all policy, good or bad. Even more troubling, perhaps, the segregation of policy from politics in the concluding endorsement of the general principles of the system put in place by Vichy produces the unfortunate—and no doubt undesired—implication that authoritarian political practices might be tolerated if they turn out to be an effective means to the desired end of humane policy reform.

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BRETT A. BERLINER. *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 273. $34.95.

This book is an important addition to the growing literature on the reception of Africans, Americans, and Africana cultures in early twentieth-century Europe. Like Tyler F. Stovall (*Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* [1996]), Elizabeth Ezra (*The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France* [2000]), and other scholars, Brett A. Berliner has focused on France. The economic, military, and political *mise en valeur* of France's African colonies became official policy after World War I. Drawn by the myth of a colorblind France and a strong dollar, 1920s Paris became a destination of choice for blacks from the United States as well as the French Antilles.

Berliner advances an additional reason for this geographic focus, a reason he claims is largely overlooked in studies critical of French colonialism or studies celebrating African Americans in France. According to Berliner, cultural and social constructions of "the exotic black other" played a prominent role in defining and stabilizing French identity from the end of the Great War to 1930. In his introduction, Berliner states: "I argue that ambivalent representations of the nègre from Africa and the Antilles were constructed in the French imagination as a means of mediating the cultural changes, social anxieties, and contested notions of French identity in the aftermath of the war" (p. 2).

Berliner examines this dynamic in the French cultural and social imagination—in which he contends that "profound negrophobia was never far below the surface of their negrophilism" (p. 222)—in relation to an impressive range of cultural texts. Some of these, such as the *tirailleurs sénégalais* and Banania ads or colonial expositions and ethnographic photography, are familiar from recent studies by Myron J. Echenberg (*Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* [1991]) and Patricia A. Morton (*Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition* [2000]).

Chapters on "Love and the Color Line," which centers on Paul Reboux's novel of interracial romance in New Orleans, *Romulus Coucou* (1920), and on "La Croissière Noire: Heroism in a Citroën," which focuses on the book and film documenting the 1924–1925 Central African expedition, are fresher. Both chapters, like discussions of travelogs by Lucie Cousturier and André Gide, touch on postwar renegotiations of femininity and masculinity in the context of the French middle and upper class. The intersection of race, gender, and class in postwar France is important and merits more sustained attention than was possible in a book of this scope.

Berliner's readings of René Maran's novel *Batouala* (1921) and Paul Morand's short story collection, *Magie noir* (1928), texts by an Antillian civil servant and a former French diplomat, are especially rewarding. As

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Berliner points out, constructions of the "black soul," "French reason," "civilized morality," and "savage instinct" competed in the highly charged contexts of Paris dance halls and African initiation rites. These are the two chapters in which the role of "ambivalent desire" is especially salient in defining what it meant to be French in the aftermath of the "irrational" and "barbaric" World War I.

The strength of this book is its combination of historical analysis and literary criticism. Berliner is equally comfortable with archives, such as the French Archives Nationales, section Outre-mer, and with theorists, including Frantz Fanon. If, according to Berliner, Chris Miller's theoretical *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (1985) prefaced his study, he was equally indebted to the documentary *Images et colonies, 1880–1962: Iconographie et propagande coloniale sur l'Afrique française* (1993), edited by Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau. This book is Berliner's reply to "critics who solely employ contemporary standards or postcolonial theory" (p. 77). It makes a formidable claim for historically as well as theoretically informed scholarship.

JODY BLAKE
The McNay Art Museum

HEINZ NOFLATSCHER. *Räte und Herrscher: Politische Eliten an den Habsburgerhöfen der österreichischen Länder 1480–1530.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 161; Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des alten Reiches, number 14.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1999. Pp. xi, 495. DM 98.00.

This book is about the people who occupied the best positions for shaping the politics and policies of Habsburg rulers from 1480 to 1530: councilors, courtiers, confidants. "Political power and influence at court or in the country" (p. 4) are indeed the prime criteria employed for selecting and constituting the group under scrutiny. The rulers they served number four: Friedrich III, Maximilian I, Sigmund, and Ferdinand I. The servitors number 108. Holding the highest offices in the (pre-1526) Austrian hereditary lands, they were what Heinz Noflatscher dubs *Spitzenräte*, or top councilors. It is their prosopography that he undertakes, with a view to unearthing the social foundations of Habsburg governance.

The opening chapter provides a detailed survey of the members of this power elite in conjunction with the courts at which they served, the political vicissitudes, the changing structures, and the operating social networks. The following chapters consist of a series of sometimes inventive, always instructive analyses of just about every trait of this group. Chapter two traces members' geographic origins and regional interests, hence also the geopolitical orientation of Habsburg politics. The largest regional contingent of *Spitzenräte* were the Swabians, reflecting the dominance of the German southwest in the Habsburg conglomerate (p. 138). Chapter three investigates social origins and mobility. Among the top councilors of Friedrich III, commoners outnumbered nobles, but the trend was later reversed, and the complexion of the group became increasingly aristocratic. Overall, seventy-three of the 108 were of noble status (pp. 173–74). But if the court tended to recruit from the nobility, it returned the favor by replenishing it: of the thirty-four councilors of low birth, eleven were ennobled (pp. 183, 188). Not only the bourgeoisie rose, of course. The court generally functioned as a powerful engine of social ascent, which occurred at sometimes breathtaking (and umbrage-giving) speed. The Prüschenk, for instance, climbed by courtesy of the court from simple knightly rank to comital dignity within a mere fifteen years (p. 181).

The fourth chapter deals with family and kinship. Here an excellent *Quellenlage* comes into play. It enables Noflatscher to broach an array of fascinating themes ranging from the impact of court life on family life to the fate of widows. He shows that the rate of reproductive success among noble councilors was twice as high as that of their socially inferior colleagues (p. 203), and their degree of kinship cohesiveness three times as high (p. 277). In a world where relatives were a near-absolute necessity, the nobles' place at court was correspondingly secure. Kinship-based "power clusters" were the building blocks of the structure of political clout, "the moving elements of political action and social dynamics" (pp. 274–75). Indeed, matrimonial alliances were not only economically and socially crucial to the parties directly concerned; they also subserved the political integration of the disparate Habsburg territories, a function attested to by the interested involvement of the dynasty.

The last chapter addresses education, professionalization, and structures of work and career. It reveals that the Habsburg courts around 1500 straddled Middle Ages and modernity. Political power was already quite formalized: office outweighed pedigree (pp. 328, 331) and skill superseded *sprezzatura*, yet nobility was a critical qualification. The path to top positions was arduous—fourteen years on average (p. 381)—but aristocratic connections smoothed it. At any rate, contrary to image, the court was more work than play (pp. 315–17, 329): long hours, endless traveling, chronic stress—not a comfortable mix for people who reached the prized posts typically at the mythological age of forty (p. 352).

If this book has disposed of one stereotype, it reinforces another. For the court emerges from all these explorations as a Namierite universe, controlled by people devoid of political vision, ideas, and ideals, driven chiefly by immediate, narrow interests. This indeed is one of the perils of prosopography. The cold method risks freezing the object of study in its own likeness. The group under examination may have constituted the social foundations of Habsburg rule, but the business of ruling rests on much more than

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that. Given the compelling social and biographical analyses with which this book abounds, it is disappointing that Noflatscher stops short of systematically linking them to actual Habsburg policies. For a study of decision makers that brings so much about them to light, far too few decisions come into focus. The outcome is a book that is as wanting as a political history as it is superb as a social history. It is a tribute to this work of history that it raises such high expectations.

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PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER. *Emperor Maximilian II*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 344. $35.00.

Among the Austrian Habsburgs, generally steadfast supporters of the Roman Catholic Church, although not quite as single-minded about the propagation of the Counter Reformation as their Spanish cousins, Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) played an exceptional role. More than any other Habsburg ruler, he showed pronounced sympathies for Protestantism or at least for an Erasmian variety of the old faith that left considerable room for compromise with Lutheranism. Paula Sutter Fichtner offers us a straightforward and down-to-earth biography of this complicated personality based on the relevant archival sources in Vienna, Madrid, Munich, and a number of other record repositories. She introduces us to the problems of Habsburg and Central European politics during Maximilian's reign while concentrating at the same time on the emperor's character as a ruler and a human being.

Maximilian certainly does not emerge as a heroic figure. Hesitant and unable to overcome the structural problems of the dynastic system he had inherited, he was overshadowed by stronger personalities and more powerful princes, his cousin Philip II of Spain in particular. As Fichtner shows, Maximilian genuinely believed that the Religious Peace of Augsburg offered more than a merely temporary solution. He continued to see the 1555 settlement as the basis of an eventual reunification of the church, at least within the confines of the empire. In his own hereditary dominions he granted limited toleration to Lutherans, partly because the danger of a Turkish invasion forced him to come to terms with the Protestant nobility of Upper and Lower Austria and his other dominions, but also in the hope that the watered down and moderate—more or less pre-Tridentine—form of Catholicism that he personally favored would eventually attract enough Protestants so that the religious divisions of the age could be overcome without having recourse to persecution, which he genuinely abhorred. Matters did not work out like that, but at least the emperor was able to prevent the outbreak of religious warfare.

Maximilian was less successful with regard to the Netherlands, where Philip II and his subjects confronted each other over religious as well as political issues. Initially Maximilian tried to argue that the Netherlands were a more or less integral part of the empire and therefore subject to the Peace of Augsburg, which in his opinion gave Protestants some claim to be tolerated, but he retreated from this position when Philip and the Brussels government roundly rejected it. Here as on other issues Maximilian was torn between dynastic loyalties (which, for example, led him to seek marriage alliances with relations and other rulers who were far more strident Roman Catholics than he ever was) and his personal agenda of religious reconciliation. Before the outbreak of the Dutch rebellion in the late 1560s, the religious and political moderation Maximilian favored seemed to be a viable alternative to more radical positions. After 1568 and even more so after 1572, the year of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in France, Maximilian often seemed the lone survivor of an earlier age when religious tensions had been more manageable. In Fichtner's words: "Frustrated in all his efforts to lead Germany out of its religious difficulties, in the end the emperor simply allowed the problems to wash over him ... It was a way of surviving, however, not of leading" (p. 187).

Perhaps this is too negative a judgment. The fact that nine years after the Peace of Augsburg had been signed a ruler ascended the imperial throne who genuinely believed in the stability and the inherent value of this settlement was probably decisive for giving the peace treaty the support it needed to be widely accepted. A less moderate emperor might easily have undermined the settlement of 1555 at an early stage so that Germany, long before 1618, would have been swallowed up—like other countries—in the abyss of religious violence.

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JOHANNES C. WOLFART. *Religion, Government and Political Culture in Early Modern Germany: Lindau, 1520–1628*. (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiv, 261. $72.00.

Johannes C. Wolfart's declared purpose is "to explore both the expression and regulation of social conflict" and the process "whereby early modern people acquired, negotiated and expressed early modern religious identities." This is a tall order, given the time frame of 1520 to 1628 and encompassing the entire island city-state of Lindau in Lake Constance. Wisely, Wolfart limits himself mostly to its political-religious culture, or "bourgeois republican ideology." The book opens with an account of the Neukomm Uprising, November 7, 1626, to which it returns in the waning chapters. In between the reader is offered a smorgasbord of information about Lindau, beginning with an analysis of four primary "narratives" of the uprising: a guildsman's view; an official view; a city's secretary's view; and a mayor's view. Variations in these narratives solicit reflections on the theory of historical

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narrative, while the subject matter that follows offers insights into the decline of Lindau's guilds.

Even as guilds lost their influence, citizens continued to identify ideologically with "republicanism." In reality, authority came to be concentrated in the city council for the benefit of the "Great Jacks." Liaison between the guilds and council became institutionalized in the office of an "Obman" appointed by the council. Similarly, the council appointed overseers to specific guilds. The city's schoolmasters were also council appointees, and in time the council began to encroach on the authority of the religious leaders. Fascinating glimpses into social demographics and interpersonal conflicts are provided in chapter five. Lutheran Lindau had a Catholic presence in the form of its ancient abbey. Jews were forbidden residence on the island but permitted business visits supervised by chaperones. Wolfart opens windows on inheritance laws, the trusteeships of dependents, and the methods that early modern Lindavians used to shelter themselves and their descendants against economic-social decline. Wolfart explores family dynamics and relations between step-parents and step-children, along with the complicated issue of inheritance and "succession," considered crucial for public persona and identity of citizens (p. 119) because it could be passed from generation to generation through occupations, public office, or property.

Chapter six returns to the "governance" of Lindau and the various dimensions and manifestations of authority (*Obrigkeit*) reaching into the everyday lives of Lindavians. Traditionally, power had been shared among "Commons," guilds, and oligarchs, but with time authority shifted to the city council and its "Obman." Numerous factors point to an evolution in the direction of political authoritarianism by the Council (claiming, of course, to exercise "sovereign authority" for the benefit of the whole). Here the narrative returns to the Neukomm Uprising and its key figure, Lindau's senior Lutheran pastor, Alexius Neukomm, who found himself at odds with the other pastors, the "Education Committee," and the council, because he resisted the introduction of private confession, a practice common in a number of other Lutheran territories and preferred by council members.

As a subscriber to the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord, Lindau's governing body seemed to favor religious solidarity with other Lutheran territories. Moreover, private confession offered greater possibilities for social control. Neukomm's insistence on the right of the parish to choose its pastors added to the tension, while his intransigence on the issue of private confession exasperated the council, which prohibited his preaching. This triggered the uprising, which was largely the work of journeymen artisans who carried Neukomm to his church and engaged in ritual violence, demolishing the church pew of the city's syndic, Daniel Heider. Protest turned into rebellion when participants banded together in oath-bound solidarity against the council and its functioning mayors. The council was forced to sign a "capitulation" that once the uprising cooled, was withdrawn. To this end, Lindau's administrators received the support of a mediation committee consisting of representatives from Ulm, Memmingen, and Kempten. A revised agreement strengthened the authority of the council, vis-à-vis the citizens, although "constitutional-republican" rhetoric remained the order of the day (p. 168). The punitive "Imperial Commission" that followed singled out twenty-three insurrectionists, including Neukomm, who consequently lost his position.

Wolfart provides the reader with fascinating slices of Lindau's history, contextualizing them against the backdrop of larger developments such as confessionalization and increasing authoritarianism. Appendixes (pp. 235–42) identify the various city officials and their roles, as well as the illusive meaning of concepts such as *Gemeinde* that could designate an assembly of the guild or parish or the "Commons," a post-1551 governmental body of twenty citizens. A useful chronology spans the period from 1518 to 1628 (p. 253).

The book contains some minor grammatical lapses; at one point, the author writes of "historical and historiographical surroundings of Lindau." This reader would like to have seen more background information on the "Great Jacks," who were presumably the beneficiaries of the evolving political system. But these minor points in no way diminish the informative value of this study. Wolfart is certainly correct that confessionalization was a piecemeal urban process and that Lindau's religious-political culture was inextricably interwoven with its republican ideology. The uprising reveals the fragile nature of the political contract between citizens and regimes. Whether Wolfart's proposed paradigmatic use of "authoritarian Reformation" will be helpful in bridging the Reformation proper with the period of confessionalism I leave to the specialists in the field. Finally, it is of historical interest that Neukomm died vilified a few months after the uprising, while 450 years later the man most hated by the rebels, the city's syndic, Heider, had a girls' school in Lindau named in his honor. Such are the vagaries of historical memory.

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CLAUS-PETER CLASEN. *Die Streiks der Augsburger Schuhknechte: Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit*. Augsburg: Wißner. 2002. Pp. 208. €14.80.

The Imperial Trades Edict of 1731 stands out as one of the few even minimally effective attempts at general legislation by representative bodies of the Holy Roman Empire. It had the effect, as Mack Walker observed, of reinforcing the encapsulation of "hometown" society and economy, especially in southwestern Germany, where political fragmentation was extreme (*German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871* [1971], p. 93). Specifically, the Trades Edict

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suppressed the extraterritorial organization of artisan guilds by severing unauthorized communication among them. At issue for the imperial cities of this region was the regulatory supremacy of civic authorities: a rash of journeymen's strikes during the 1720s had challenged regulations that impinged on the code of artisan honor and the network of lateral, intercity communications that enforced it. In part, the 1731 law was intended to settle conflicts over the right to free correspondence to the detriment of journeyman autonomy.

Claus-Peter Clasen's meticulous narrative of the Augsburg journeymen-shoemakers' strike of 1726 may be read as a chapter in the prehistory of the 1731 law. It grew out of the city council's attempt in 1724 to prohibit unauthorized correspondence with brotherhoods elsewhere, which would have undercut the journeymen-shoemakers' ability to verify independently the moral and professional credentials of newly arrived candidates for admission to their association. The confrontation quickly became a matter of principle. Rather than risk their own reputations and prospects for future employment by obeying the ban, the Augsburg journeymen in May 1726 evacuated the city en masse for the nearby town of Friedberg, in Bavarian territory. Throughout the ensuing struggles, both sides tried to enlist external support: the councilors from Bavaria and the imperial diet, the journeymen-shoemakers from their fellow brotherhoods in Würzburg, Salzburg, and especially Munich. The council's hard line reflected its desire to shore up the jurisdiction of a Trades Court it had established in 1722. Even though the journeymen were organized into separate confessional brotherhoods, the strikers' socioprofessional solidarity was strong enough to overcome differences of religion. Still, the city prevailed: imperial patents issued in September commanded the journeymen-shoemakers to return to Augsburg, which they did, and the ban against unauthorized correspondence held. A few years later, a ban much like it became imperial law.

For Clasen, the strike was significant because its participants extended traditional notions of corporate liberty to embrace a "very modern" and universalizing concept of justice, directed against the arbitrary use of coercive force, as well as a right to correspond freely (p. 79). Unfortunately, Clasen does not develop his interpretation beyond stating it, nor does he attempt to explain why the 1726 strike generated such solidarity. Instead Clasen presents a chronicle, plus a brief section on the social composition of the rebellious journeymen (pp. 175–81). The pity is that his narrative illustrates important shifts in the forms and contexts of contestation in eighteenth-century towns. We learn, for example, that the council felt compelled to publicize its case in a series of polemical pamphlets, but to whom? The journeymen prepared a written response but lacked funds to publish it. Most likely, decision makers in Munich and at the imperial diet were the intended audience of these texts, but "secondary reception" among a broader readership is beyond doubt. All of this points to the increasingly public character of social conflict in the early eighteenth century and suggests a far older, livelier, and more socially inclusive public sphere than Jürgen Habermas's classic account allowed. By disseminating a printed list of rebellious journeymen, the council tried to usurp the brotherhoods' power to define individual reputations (pp. 132–34). Here the circulation of printed text did not undermine authority but reinforced its controls.

What, finally, explains the journeymen-shoemakers' interconfessional solidarity? Superficially, Clasen's account reinforces Étienne François's argument that after 1648, a flexible everyday pragmatism blunted the edge of religious antipathies in biconfessional cities such as Augsburg (*Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg, 1648–1806* [1991]). But Clasen's narrative also indicates the fragility of socioprofessional alliances. Lutheran journeymen-shoemakers gave up the strike more easily than their Catholic colleagues, who continued low-level resistance into 1729. Clasen speculates that residual confessional mistrust played a role (p. 181), but François's explanation is better: Augsburg was a biconfessional island in a Catholic sea, which meant that Lutheran journeymen were more exposed to the personal costs of a strike gone bad. The most compelling explanation, however, rests with the city council. The conflict began and ended with its determination to make good on assertions of regulatory authority and jurisdiction over the journeymen-shoemakers, a policy from which it never wavered.

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Anke te Heesen. *The World in a Box: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Picture Encyclopedia*. Translated by Ann M. Hentschel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 237. Cloth $60.00, paper $20.00.

Like so many eighteenth-century German intellectuals, Johann Sigmund Stoy started out as a theologian, but he was forced to abandon his ministry by a host of aliments, both real and imagined. He then became what Anke te Heesen calls a "pedagogical salesman," who sought to make his fortune by feeding the Enlightenment's hearty appetite for self-improvement. Between 1780 and 1784 he published the *Picture Academy for the Young*, an encyclopedia that consisted of two volumes of text and fifty-two plates of illustrations. Each plate was thematically organized around a central biblical scene, which was framed by eight pictures devoted to secular history, everyday life, the natural world, and so on. The plates could either be bound in a separate volume or cut up and arranged by theme and subject matter in a specially designed box. Stoy's purpose, te Heesen writes, was "not merely to lay a foundation for knowledge but also, figuratively speaking, to erect a catalog inside a child's mind by which to organize collected scraps of knowledge" (p. 179).

In this handsomely produced monograph, te Heesen

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explores every aspect of the *Picture Academy*. Her book is divided into three parts. The first, entitled "Book," examines the *Picture Academy*'s format, production, and reception as well as its predecessors and competitors. The second, "Image," traces the origins of the biblical imagery and then, in a brilliant blend of artistic and scientific history, analyzes its portrayal of bodily gestures, postures, and expressions. The third, "Box," sets the enterprise in the context of eighteenth-century collecting as well as other modes of display such as curiosity cabinets and tableaux. Uniting these three sections are a common set of themes: the search for ways to order the universe, the challenge of memory and intellectual formation, and the need to educate citizens to live in a new kind of civil society. Like her subject's, te Heesen's goals are multifaceted and comprehensive: "In following Stoy's gripping enterprise, the object itself determines which historiographic approach this analysis must take. Piece by piece, compartment by compartment, my study advances toward an encyclopedic vision of the eighteenth century; if I were to choose a term for this object-oriented investigation, it would be writing *tactile history*" (p. 10).

It sometimes seems that Stoy's *Picture Academy* is too narrow a platform to support te Heesen's elaborate and erudite analysis. As she admits with refreshing candor, "neither the Academy nor Stoy had any appreciable effect upon either the educational doctrines or the forms of artistic representation current in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (pp. 5–6). Despite the author's formidable efforts, her protagonist remains a shadowy figure, who apparently attracted little attention from his contemporaries and virtually none from historians. After enjoying a brief period of prosperity, Stoy's ventures foundered and then were wrecked by the French invasion. Stoy himself died in poverty in 1808.

The artistic quality of the *Picture Academy* is uneven. Some of the individual illustrations (especially those by the great draftsman, Daniel Chodowiecki) are excellent, others are workmanlike at best, while the overall design of the plates is often crude and unconvincing. Nevertheless, te Heesen's manifest fascination with Stoy's enterprise is infectious enough to encourage readers to follow her with increasing interest as, "piece by piece, compartment by compartment," she takes us on a tour of this ambitious but long-neglected effort to capture and contain the complexities of the world.

In her conclusion, te Heesen suggests that "the concept of a box as a material and easily graspable equivalent of the complex world has not lost its attraction" (p. 194). Stoy's pedagogical aspirations, she argues, live on in the Disney Company's production of "cards for collecting knowledge," which can be arranged in a plastic catalog with moveable partitions. Perhaps. But I was more impressed by the distance rather than the connection between Stoy's world and our own. When I began reading this book, I thought of the contrast between Stoy's encyclopedia and the work of Joseph Cornell, the reclusive American artist who created deeply private and essentially elusive worlds by assembling fragmentary objects within box-like frames. But then I realized that, for our culture, the most important boxlike container of the world is the one directly in front of me, on whose surface these words now appear. Deceptively accessible but at the same time boundless and opaque, the contemporary world of the computer has little in common with Stoy's tightly organized and clearly defined *Picture Academy*.

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DAVID K. YELTON. *Hitler's Volkssturm: The Nazi Militia and the Fall of Germany, 1944–1945*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xix, 305. $39.95.

David K. Yelton's book is in many ways the product of an obsession. As the author informs us, he has been working on this material in one form or another for nearly twenty years. The result is an exhaustive account of its subject: the establishment, training, and rapid collapse of the Nazi popular militia (*Volkssturm*) in the waning months of World War II. The research is unimpeachable, the source notes rich. A large section of statistical tables, charts, and maps, as well as a fine collection of rare photographs, supplement the text. It seems almost axiomatic to say that the work is definitive; no one will ever examine the *Volkssturm* this carefully again.

A danger of such a book, of course, is the possibility that the reader may not share the obsession. Adolf Hitler issued the decrees forming the *Volkssturm* in late September 1944; the call-ups began in October; the units did not enter actual combat until late 1944 and early 1945; they fought, for the most part, badly, which is not surprising given either the extreme youth or the advanced age of the men, their rudimentary training, and patchy equipment. The author therefore has to work to establish the importance of his subject matter, or at least to justify a book-length treatment, a problem that he acknowledges in the introduction (p. 5).

For the most part, Yelton succeeds. He makes a convincing argument that the *Volkssturm* was not simply the last nihilistic gesture of a dying regime. Instead, it was part of an ideologically based Nazi strategy to win the war. The idea was to make total victory over Germany so expensive—by forcing the Allies to fight for every inch of ground against fanatical popular resistance—that eventually their morale would crack. It would probably take place in Britain or America first, thus freeing German troops to mass against the Soviet enemy to the east. A fanatical, thoroughly indoctrinated people's army was a key to this strategy: hence the *Volkssturm*.

Yelton shows how the regime mishandled the plan from the start. Although the army was the logical

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institution to train and equip such a force, the *Volkssturm* was a party creation, administered by Martin Bormann nationally and by the *gauleiters*—portly, middle aged, and largely indolent—in the provinces. Bormann, as was his wont, was more concerned with protecting his new piece of turf from encroachment by other groups (the Hitler Youth, the SS, and the army), than he was with getting the new force ready for action. His vision of a fanatical people's army, however, foundered on popular fears that the Allies would consider it an illegal partisan organization and execute any of its members taken prisoner. Getting Germans to join a militia required arming and training it along regular army lines, which, ironically, gave the Wehrmacht more and more control over it at the expense of the party. Yelton handles all these issues deftly, and the results confirm the well-known image of administrative chaos in the Third Reich. Competing officials and groups all tried to get their hands onto the new force, and in the process helped to limit whatever utility it might have had.

There are some problems with the work. It has taken so long to come to fruition that German reunification has rendered much of the footnoting—one of its main attractions—obsolete. Documents have moved to new homes and in many cases received new serial numbers. In places, Yelton's meticulous recording of bureaucratic infighting crosses the border into tedium and overwriting. Jargon-rich sentences such as "Volkssturm regulations stipulated that upon completion of their WE-Lager instruction, Levy III youths immediately enter the RAD for further military training" (p. 47) are not uncommon, and the author repeats certain ideas (e.g. that the *Volkssturm* fought well only when supported by the Wehrmacht) far more times than necessary to establish the point.

Still, this book is an important contribution, showing how "Nazi ideology largely superseded reality as the basis for decision making in the Third Reich" (p. 164). The party's exhortations to fanaticism had little impact on a population that, by this time, recognized the war was lost and wanted an end to it. One of the inspirational slogans of the *Volkssturm* was "*Ein Volk steht auf*" ("A people rises up"). As Yelton shows, the Germans stood up, and then most of them promptly sat back down again.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 592. $49.50.

Paul F. Grendler's book is based on archival research throughout Italy and offers a nuanced overview, suggesting broad institutional continuity from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and demonstrating that some university disciplines, such as theology and law, remained highly conservative. Grendler divides the book into three sections. The first part deals with the institutional development of universities treated individually, and includes a chapter depicting "the university in action," where topics such as civil authority, student power, the professoriate, residential colleges and degrees, and their cost are discussed comparatively. Part two treats the major individual university disciplines one by one, including humanism, logic, natural philosophy, medicine, theology, moral philosophy, mathematics, and law. Part three, which recounts the decline of Italian universities in the seventeenth century, is the book's most original section; based on fascinating contemporary testimony, Grendler shows how the Italian universities suffered decreasing student enrolment (both Italian and foreign) after 1600 as a result of the shrinking academic year, growing private teaching, competition from schools run by religious orders, alternative paths to degrees, reduced funding, increasingly local staff recruitment, and endemic student violence. Although the book's organization according to individual universities and disciplines does not lend itself to a comparative approach, Grendler nevertheless offers a perceptive discussion of the effects of the Counter Reformation, which led, for example, to a rise in theology degrees and an expansion of theology faculties; included here is an interesting account of why canon law declined as a university subject in the sixteenth century (mainly owing to the papal monopoly on the interpretation of the Council of Trent's provisions and to a decline of independent canon law doctorates because of the nearly ubiquitous degree *in utroque iure*).

Treating as it does Italian universities from their twelfth and thirteenth-century origins up to the seventeenth century, it might seem that this book would have been better named "Medieval and Renaissance Italian Universities," but in fact Grendler's title correctly describes his perspective: the Renaissance is always at the forefront. This point of view can cause distortions. Grendler focuses on those institutions that survived and thrived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; this results in anachronisms when discussing the earliest Italian universities. Arezzo is a case in point. This city boasted one of the first Italian universities going back to *ca.* 1215 (and so even antedating the traditional foundation of Padua in 1222). It attracted the leading civilian Roffredo of Benevento from Bologna; it promulgated one of the earliest surviving Italian university statutes in 1255; and it became one of the leading Italian centers for *ars dictaminis* under Mino da Colle and Bonfiglio. Although Arezzo was *the* Tuscan university in the thirteenth century, Grendler allocates but one sentence to this precocious institution (p. 139), presumably because it lapsed in the mid-fourteenth century; it is bizarre that he devotes far more space to the ultimately futile attempt to revive the Aretine university between 1452 and 1512.

Further distortion comes from Grendler's dogged determination to make Renaissance humanism the hero of his story: "Humanism drove much of the

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curricular and research innovation" (p. 197); "Humanism was the major agent of change" (p. 510). But the fact is that humanists, like their medieval antecedents in grammar and rhetoric, never occupied more than five or six percent of university chairs, and often far fewer; there was never a degree in *studia humanitatis*, reducing it to a subsidiary subject like logic, moral philosophy, or mathematics. Humanism thrived outside the universities, as the culture of courts or republics and as the professional entrée to chanceries and other civil service bureaucracies; its educational niche was the secondary school, not the university. In Italy, many university disciplines were largely unaffected by humanism: logic, for example, was transformed in Northern Europe by humanism's emphasis on probable argument, but, as Grendler recognizes, it remained thoroughly Aristotelian in Italy. Humanist influence on the vast apparatus of Italian university law was exiguous; humanist jurisprudence was so weak in Italy that the edition of the earliest manuscript of Justinian's corpus was never reprinted. The Greek revival produced notable changes to the textbooks of natural philosophy, but even here there was at most a return to the Aristotelian corpus before Thomism, nominalism, and Scotism; Platonism never seriously entered the university curriculum. In mathematics, textbooks were largely unchanged. Galileo's public lectures covered the traditional syllabus; his innovations were confined to his extensive private lessons. Anatomy and medical botany made major strides in the sixteenth century, but these had only partial roots in humanism, especially given the medieval Italian penchant for dissection. Moral philosophy is a test case for humanism's weakness in Italian universities. Despite (or because of) its status as one of the *studia humanitatis*, moral philosophy was a marginal university discipline, with an ephemeral humanist appearance in early fifteenth-century Florence and late sixteenth-century Padua; as a university subject, it was always stronger in ultramontane universities. Grendler argues that only theology remained untouched by humanism; in fact, if Dante had returned to university in 1600, he would scarcely have felt out of place.

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RONALD G. WITT. *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, number 74.) Boston: Brill. 2000. Pp. xiii, 562.

Ronald G. Witt's purpose is "to explain the reasons for the origins and development of humanism in Italy" (p. 245). He tells a four-generational story, selecting from each period one or two predominant humanists for detailed analysis. These are Lovato dei Lovati (d. 1309), Albertino Mussato (d. 1329), Francis Petrarch (d. 1374), and Coluccio Salutati (d. 1406), and, to represent the fourth generation, Leonardo Bruni (d. 1444). Along the way, Witt offers serious modifications of current and received wisdom.

According to Witt, humanism began in Padua, not in Florence. The new aesthetic was first visible in poetry, some fifty years before it appeared in prose, still bound by the rules of the *ars dictaminis*. The poets were laymen and professional notaries more interested in grammar than in rhetoric, and sometimes they even taught grammar. Witt identifies as the "earliest surviving humanist writings" (p. 17) two of Lovato's letters in verse, datable to 1267–1268. Their diction tries to be classical, their metric quantities are generally correct, they express personal thoughts and feelings. The texts that nourish them are not only by long-familiar poets like Ovid and Virgil but also by Propertius, Martial, and Tibullus, writers little or entirely unknown since late antiquity. The neologism *humanista* was a mid-fifteenth-century coinage and remained rare. In its absence, contemporaries did their best with what they had and labeled these early enthusiasts *grammatici* and *poetae*.

Like Lovato, Mussato was a layman, a notary, a member of Padua's communal government, and a stout fighter in the unsuccessful struggle to defend the commune's liberty and independence against Cangrande della Scala, lord of Verona. In a pleasant claim to priority reminiscent of Jacob Burckardt, Witt reminds us that Mussato "was the first person whom we know of since antiquity to celebrate his birthday" (p. 118). In 1315, his Senecan tragedy *Ecerinis* denounced seigneurial rule in verse consciously classicizing in meter, language, and image. His greater achievement was to introduce to historical prose the same criterion of classical imitation Lovato had established for poetry. The contrast of Mussato's *Historia Augusta* (a history of the Emperor Henry VII's Italian expedition of 1310–1313) with earlier historical writing is striking. Mussato tried, with some success, to approximate the ancient periodic sentence. Taking as his models the methods and practice of Livy, Sallust, Caesar, and Suetonius, he wrote contemporary history, referred to himself in the third person, and inserted prodigies and speeches in the right places. For the *Ecerinis* and the *Historia Augusta*, the commune of Padua crowned him poet laureate in 1315. Given this precedent, it should no longer strike us as odd that Petrarch, too, was crowned with laurel as a historian as well as a poet.

In Witt's revisionist scenario, Petrarch is not the founder of the humanist movement, but rather the leader of its third generation, a reassessment of his role that—without diminishing the great man's importance and influence—asks us to measure him seriously against his Paduan predecessors. The Paduans had their roots in the urban, civic milieu of the Italian commune. Their struggle to tread "in the footsteps of the ancient poets" was permeated by a "heady secularism" (p. 290). Petrarch grew up in a very different environment, near the papal court in southern France. He was a cleric rather than a layman and combined his passion for pagan culture with a profound Christian

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faith. Witt calls him a "Christian humanist." From the secular, civic perspective of the earlier humanists, his career may seem a step backward; for the longer-term future, his work marked a reconciliation of humanism and the religious tradition that made humanist aspirations and the humanist program more attractive at home and more exportable to the intellectuals of northern Europe.

What is a "humanist"? Witt's answer is specific, useful, and very close to what the early humanists understood to be most distinctive about themselves: we recognize a humanist by "his intention to imitate ancient Latin style" (p. 22). The definition helps explain the genres and subjects open (or closed) to the classicizing impulse, the sources chosen for imitation, the generational stages in the progressive mastery of ancient Latin style (and so the eventual triumph of the Ciceronian period), and the gradual establishment of the cycle of studies that would come to be called the humanities (*studia humanitatis*).

This is a big, handsome, useful book—a splendid achievement. Witt was fortunate in his publisher as well. Persons, places, and subjects are fully and separately indexed. The bibliography covers thirty-three pages of small print. The book's format is pleasing. The notes are at the bottom of the page. The binding is sturdy and attractive. For both its packaging and its contents, this is an artifact to cherish.

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MARION LEATHERS KUNTZ. *The Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 446. $55.00.

Marion Leathers Kuntz, who is well known for her work on the sixteenth-century French linguist and visionary Guillaume Postel, has written a book about another humanist prophet who appeared before the Inquisition in Venice in 1566 after proclaiming his anointment by the Virgin Mary and his role as messenger of the Holy Spirit. Kuntz has painstakingly reassembled the biography of the prophet who called himself Dionisio Gallo from the records of the Inquisition. As his cognomen indicates, Dionisio acted as a "rooster" and loudly warned of the imminent arrival of the Apocalypse to an audience made up of fellow roosters or unflappable "owls." Dionisio's attacks on the corruption of the Catholic Church and on the failure of secular rulers to prevent heresy and war were rammed home in Paris, Rome, Ferrara, and Florence before reaching the ears of Venetians in the ducal palace and the "sacred space" of its courtyard.

Apart from the Inquisition files, there is little evidence about Dionisio's reception in France and Italy, but Kuntz convincingly suggests how Dionisio's programs of mystical renewal, utopian renovation, and practical social improvement appealed to princes and patricians. She notes that Dionisio spoke in Ciceronian Latin and wore sumptuous clothing; for his meeting with Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Dionisio requested a new cloak, red or violet pants, other garments in cerulean or violet, a military girdle, a sword, and a short sword. Finally, she demonstrates that Dionisio would have been favorably received because interest in divine revelation about the future was widespread in early modern Europe. The consummation of the age was timed according to a triangulation of prophetic signs that incorporated the appearance of heresy, the discovery of new lands, or astrological events; the actions of ecclesiastical and lay power; and the hopes and fears of the audience. The precise date of consummation was a moveable feast dependent upon the coordination of all these markers. However, most prophets emphasized the desirability of unity and concord. The yearning for a Golden Age is prominent in Western literature, and the Christian expression of one shepherd and one sheepfold is to be found in most texts, including those associated with Dionisio. Some sixteenth-century prophets, kabbalists, and political scientists (if we can call them that) believed that a state of peace and unity might be realizable, and just like Postel, Dionisio regarded Venice as a site for the New Jerusalem because it was "the most perfect magistracy in the world." Dionisio's revelations probably had a similar political and mystical appeal for Catherine de' Medici, Charles IX of France, Pope Pius V, or even the patriarch of Venice since they offered solutions, if only in general terms, to the problem of heresy and social and political divisions.

Kuntz points out that those in power could also distrust Dionisio's message. He was derided in Paris as the "king of the Gauls," generally considered a "fool," clapped in the horrific prison of the Inquisition in Venice, and assaulted by a Turkish inmate there who was maddened by his ceaseless prophesying. Moreover, Dionisio's comments on church corruption echoed Lutheran remarks, and uncontrolled prophetic utterance was viewed with suspicion by the Catholic authorities. Dionisio did not help his case by taking a highhanded attitude toward papal representatives. A nuncio ordered Dionisio to leave Florence, and Dionisio recalled his reaction: "I, the messenger of God, went to the messenger of the pope so that he could tell me why he wished me to depart and if he had the power [to order this] in the duke's absence" (pp. 82–83). In Venice, Dionisio rarely answered the Inquisition's questions with a straight yes or no, and he fired back his own questions or went into rambling disquisitions to the fury of the papal representative. Dionisio even questioned the papal inquisitor's authority and suggested that the lay representatives on the tribunal were more just and carried more authority.

If Dionisio placed his hopes in the justice of the Venetians and expected Venice to support his message, he must have been saddened when the Inquisition finally banished him from Venetian territory. Dionisio was lucky to escape the fate of his fellow

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inmate, the heretic and humanist Francesco Spinola, who was tipped into the lagoon at night with his pockets filled with rocks, but he left Venice a disappointed man. We may never know whether Dionisio postponed the consummation of the age to a much later date and made the transition from "rooster" to "owl," but Kuntz has shown how Dionisio's prophecies appealed to many people in early modern Europe and she effectively contributes to recent work on the importance of prophetic discourses in the political, social, and religious history of the period.

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IOANNIS ZELEPOS. *Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität 1870–1912: Staat und private Akteure vor dem Hintergrund der "Megali Idea."* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 113.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2002. Pp. 303. €49.80.

Without any doubt, this book is a significant contribution to the reconstruction of Greek nationalism as it was defined in the period between about 1870 (when Bulgarian nationalism in its conflicting potential with Greek national goals was formulated) and 1912, when the First Balkan War broke out. Ionnis Zelepos focuses on three important elements, which at the beginning of this period found themselves in a tense relationship to one another: a weak Greek state and foreign policy not able to formulate and to realize national interests; private nationalist entrepreneurs (representatives of the social elite such as bankers, publishers, jurists, and scientists), who filled this vacuum with concrete irredentist actions in territories outside Greece, but populated at least in part by ethnic Greeks (Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete); and a very vague national program—the so-called "Megali Idea" (Great Idea)—formulated by Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis in a speech to the Greek Parliament in 1844. At the end of this period, these elements were more or less in accordance, and a firm national program based on an ethnicized Greek identity as well as its realization under the premiership of Eleftherios Venezelos was the result.

Zelepos puts emphasis on the formation of these irredentist organizations that collected money and weapons in order to support Greek insurrections in the Ottoman Empire and significantly influenced public opinion. This aspect has been neglected by historiography, and therefore his book is to be welcomed. The empirical evidence consists of archival documentation of the Greek foreign ministry, archival documentation of irredentist organizations (their programs, articles of incorporation, correspondence), and the private records (diaries, notes, manuscripts) of activists in these organizations. Zelepos uses these materials especially in the third chapter, which comprises about two thirds of the volume. This, the most interesting and original section of the book, describes and analyses problems of Greek foreign politics during the Eastern crisis (1875–1878), the role of the irredentist organizations, the impact of the Bulgarian national program on the reformulation of the Greek national program and the enforcement of the state monopoly in the "national question."

The first, introductory chapter presents an overview of pertinent sources and literature as well as a discussion of methodological aspects; the second chapter sketches crucial theories of European nationalism and its historical setting. Chapter four summarizes chapter three (the "main part"). A bibliography and an index complete the volume.

One of the most important aspects of Zelepos's analysis is his reevaluation of the until now underestimated role of private actors in Greek irredentism and nation building. The role of the weak state was reduced to supporting them in realizing the "Megali Idea." A second remarkable conclusion is that the confrontation between Greece and Bulgaria had significantly more impact on the transformation of Greek nationalism and national identity than that between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. For Greek nationalists, the demise of the empire was only a question of time. But with Bulgaria a new state arose with national aims overlapping with those of the Greeks. This became especially evident in the preliminary Peace Treaty of San Stefano (1878), which called for the incorporation of Macedonia into Greater Bulgaria. The conflict with Bulgaria in the field of nationalistic propaganda intensified rapidly until 1912. Greek historiography was part of this process and "proved," for instance, that Bulgarians were not Slavs because of their proto-Bulgarian descent. This in turn had an impact on Greek nationalism, because descent became the nucleus of national ideology, no matter what language people spoke. Descent was considered an objective, "natural" measurement in comparison to cultural parameters (language, religious affiliation). Still, in the middle of the nineteenth century the Greek national concept (in the form of the "Megali Idea") was open and allowed for different, even controversial interpretations, as the author underlines. By the end of the century, this new discourse on the definition of a nation reduced possible interpretations, and Greek identity was defined exclusively on ethnic criteria—a concept that linked nation with territory. This allowed the exact definition of the aims of the Greek irredenta as well as the enforcement of the idea of the nation-state, which was incompatible with the original concept of the "Megali Idea."

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ROBERT SHANNAN PECKHAM. *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece.* London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2001. Pp. xvi, 224.

Among the many historically connected issues that resurfaced during the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia,

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those of geographical borders and conflicting national claims assumed particular significance. Anyone acquainted even remotely with Southeastern Europe is familiar with their volatile dimensions. Robert Shannan Peckham has accordingly produced a timely interdisciplinary case study that focuses on Greece for an exposition of nationhood, nationalism, and geographical imagination in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gaining independence in 1830 after four centuries of Ottoman Turkish domination, the Greeks embarked on programs to solidify the nation culturally and politically. With most Greeks accustomed to relatively isolated existences in remote, largely self-governing rural enclaves, fledgling Greek regimes launched policies to impose a centralized state system and to nationalize space. Since far more Greeks lived outside than in the new state, politicians faced the double challenge of consolidating the new regime and advancing policies for expanding borders to absorb their "unredeemed" populations. Greek intellectuals had begun elucidating the concept of national territory during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Geographical awareness assumed increasing importance, as did debates on the interrelationship between language and territory, culture and environment. Confronting the new country's political and cultural fragmentation and forging a more unified society required a multipronged effort. Peckham's book delineates this involved but not necessarily coordinated process.

Initiatives in geography, archaeology, literature, and folklore were undertaken to authenticate Greek culture's spatial integrity through history. Five chapters are devoted to the varied efforts to map the Greek nation, both within existing borders and beyond in support of Greek irredentism. The intensified study of folklore, for example, sought to unify national space by validating Greek culture's continuity from antiquity and by identifying and abolishing regional differences. Peckham maintains that folklorists, through their activities, were actually effacing the very traditions they aimed to preserve. He then shows how these patterns transferred to the fields of local geography and history in the 1880s and 1890s. That is, nation building concentrated on the promotion of a national loyalty at the expense of local loyalties; the celebration of places became tied to collective memories. Moreover, the proliferation of local geographies for Greek-speaking locales within the Ottoman Empire served to fortify Greek irredentist aspirations.

Peckham next highlights the role of literature, particularly the historical novel and ethnographic fiction, in advancing Greece's nation-building program. The Greek rural landscape and islands supplied paradigms for idealizing cultural roots. But here, too, ambivalence manifested itself, as writers sought to conserve the same communities they were incorporating into the national whole. The field of archaeology operated as a potent means to affirm nationalist claims to territory, in particular for unredeemed lands. Peckham points out that there existed a strong connection, generally ignored by analysts, between archaeology and literature for the period under study. Chapter eight, "Map Mania," details increased cartographic production from the 1870s that was, concurrent with the other reinforcing efforts, directed at the legitimation of territorial claims.

Theoretically based, this insightful study with its emphasis on the relationship between land and nation offers a creative critique of the trajectory of Greek nationalism. Peckham has intensively investigated Greek cultural outpourings for the pre-1914 period, but he might have given more attention to their actual ramifications for Greek national politics. The resulting detachment will, for some readers, diminish the impact of the author's comprehensive judgments.

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Hillel J. Kieval. *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 311. $45.00.

Over the past decade in the Czech Republic, there has been a renaissance of interest in the Jewish culture that, until the 1940s, had existed for centuries in Bohemia-Moravia. Alongside the tourist traps in Prague's Josefov quarter, or the new museums and bookshops devoted to Franz Kafka on the Old Town Square, there has been a scholarly awakening. The most notable focus is on Prague Jewry and on the experience of those dispatched to Terezín (Theresienstadt) during the Nazi occupation. There have been useful syntheses, such as Tomáš Pěkný's *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (1993), which concentrates on the period until 1867 when the Jews achieved full emancipation. And local historians, working for instance in Jihlava or northern Bohemia, have trod ground deliberately left fallow during the communist era. Often, of course, the Jewish legacy has been most striking through its absence, or in the poignant sight of overgrown gravestones in many town cemeteries. The Jewish demographic presence was never substantial: in 1900, Jews numbered only 1.5 percent of Bohemia's population. Yet to investigate the Jewish past means rethinking our notions of individual and group consciousness in this region. It provides a crucial touchstone by which to evaluate the emergence and fluidity of modern national identity, and particularly the impact a strict national delimitation might have on those deemed to be "outsiders" to the national community.

This is an important dimension to Hillel J. Kieval's new work, ensuring that it rises far above a parochial study about a small Jewish diaspora. In a series of overlapping essays, all of which have been published before in some form, Kieval pursues a "sustained and cumulative engagement" (p. ix) with the Czech (or, strictly speaking, the Bohemian) Jewish experience.

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The result is a vivid contribution to our understanding of how modernity threw up new tensions in nineteenth-century Habsburg empire.

In his introductory overview, Kieval sets out succinctly the periodic discrimination that Jews had experienced from the fourteenth century, producing a mini-diaspora across Bohemia and Moravia. Most notorious was Emperor Charles VI's Familiants' Law (1726–1727), which sought, by restricting the right of Jewish men to marry, to limit the number of Jewish families; it remained in force, theoretically, until 1848. The watershed, which set most Jews on a path of integration with the rest of Bohemian society, came in 1781 with Joseph II's Patent of Toleration. Most commercial fields were opened up to Jews, but, more importantly, the state invited all Jewish communities to establish secular elementary schools with German as the language of instruction. As Kieval emphasizes, government policy and that of the *haskalah* (Jewish enthusiasts for the German Enlightenment) coincided in their commitment to a German-Jewish education, with even Ezekiel Landau, Prague's conservative chief rabbi, flirting with the new venture. The upshot over the next half century was a predominantly German-Jewish acculturation across Bohemia-Moravia. By the 1840s, this had left many Jews with a fluid identity, where Jewish, German, or even Czech loyalties could interact or combine. Yet developments in that decade, one characterized by a rising Czech consciousness and an unstable economic environment, also served to reinforce many Jews' German cultural commitment. Through the eyes of six Bohemian Jews, all products of the new secular education opportunities, Kieval sketches out how the behavior of some Czechs could alienate. Prague Jewry in particular faced either traditional economic antisemitism, or the rhetoric of activists like Karel Havlíček, who notoriously rejected any Czech-Jewish acculturation and advised Jews to "look to their own."

Despite this, the main trend in the later nineteenth century was to be a transfer of Bohemian Jewish allegiance from German to Czech nationality. This was largely a natural phenomenon, reflecting the spread of a majority Czech consciousness across the crownland. But it also bore witness to an intensified process of national delimitation whereby Jews, refused their own nationality, were increasingly pressed to opt either for the Czech or the German protagonist. Out of these decades there emerged a common Czech-Jewish invented tradition, including myths such as that of the Golem, which Kieval submits to a new analysis. There was a Czech linguistic penetration of Jewish liturgy, and, finally, in the 1890s, a political movement committed to Czech-Jewish integration. At the same time, the memories of German-Jewish acculturation and the residual fluidity of Jewish identity could arouse periodic Czech antisemitism. In the radicalized nationalist environment of 1900, it was possible for prejudice and rumor to combine into an antisemitic hysteria over supposed Jewish "ritual murders." Kieval explains that, beside those Jews who clung to the hope of being accepted as Czech, there were others who turned in a Zionist direction. This "third way," neither Czech nor German, was the one preferred by Tomáš Masaryk. But it stemmed in part from Masaryk's own stereotyping of Jews, in the tradition of Havlíček, as a "nation completely different from ourselves."

While investigating a common Jewish engagement with Czech nationalism, Kieval is concerned to challenge stereotypes and to underline a variety of Jewish experiences that cannot easily be pigeonholed. One might at times wish for more regional examples, for the emphasis is on Bohemia, in keeping with Kieval's earlier monograph on *The Making of Czech Jewry: National Conflict and Jewish Society in Bohemia, 1870–1918* (1988). Moravia is largely neglected and still awaits its own historian. Nevertheless, these essays are consistently stimulating and will prove a valuable teaching aid. Collected together as snapshots of the Jewish experience, they not only elucidate the complexity of nineteenth-century Bohemia, but they illustrate why the Jewish example is so valuable for explaining the impact of modernity across the Habsburg monarchy.

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DAVID ASSAF. *The Regal Way: The Life and Times of Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin*. Translated by DAVID LOUVISH. (Stanford Series in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 456. $65.00.

David Assaf's study breaks new ground in the history of Hasidism by treating developments in the first half of the nineteenth century, a period neglected or characterized merely by decline in the older historiography. His subject is the special "Ukrainian" regal type of Hasidism and, specifically, the life and times of its most eminent representative, Israel Friedman of Ruzhin (1796–1850). This book is a translation and abridgment of the Hebrew version that appeared in 1997; the notes have been shortened, and two introductory chapters and the appendixes have been omitted.

Assaf's research is extraordinarily thorough and exhaustive, and he struggles with the hagiographic and mythologizing character of many of his sources. His method is to seek corroboration or, in its absence, to determine whether the information conveyed "rings true." If it does, he takes it seriously. He also makes extensive use of government documents and of the hostile descriptions and attacks on Hasidism in general and Ruzhin Hasidism in particular by *maskilim*, or representatives of the Jewish Enlightenment.

Rabbi Israel's style was indeed regal: he behaved (and lived in palatial residences) like a monarch whose claim to authority derived from his person and not his achievements as a scholar or a mystic. In Jewish society in general, where scholarship was revered, and among

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Hasidim, where mystical prowess formed the basis for a claim to leadership, Rabbi Israel's path was radical and demanded explanation both in its own time, to satisfy his followers, and from a scholar's point of view. How did such a person gain and retain the voluntary allegiance of thousands of devotees?

Betrothed at seven and married at thirteen, Rabbi Israel was descended from a line of Hasidic leaders (*rebbes*). By 1815, he had established his court in Ruzhin (southwest of Kiev), and he rose to prominence especially in the years 1825–1830, when a sort of vacuum of leadership existed following the deaths of earlier *rebbes* such as Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apt in 1825. Not only was Rabbi Israel not very learned, he had difficulty reading and writing (Assaf suggests he was dyslexic). Nevertheless, his sphere of influence expanded to include a substantial part of Ukraine on the strength of his personal charisma and regal demeanor and lifestyle.

Disaster struck when Rabbi Israel was arrested along with about eighty other Jews and charged with responsibility for the murder of two Jewish informers. He was alternately imprisoned and interrogated between 1836 and 1840. Every single one of the accused Jews was convicted and subjected to harsh punishment except Rabbi Israel. He was spared, according to Assaf, because the other prisoners refused to implicate him and because of active "interventions" with Russian officials by his followers. Nevertheless, his situation remained uncomfortable; he was placed under surveillance. He fled the country, but this was not accomplished without intrigue, forgery, smuggling, and bribery. Eventually, he reestablished himself near the capital of Bukovina at Sadgora, where he remained until his death. The Austrians refused insistent Russian demands for his extradition. To accomplish this, Rabbi Israel's followers successfully enlisted the aid of Sir Moses Montefiore and Salomon Mayer Rothschild, who apparently intervened with his friend, Chancellor Klemens Metternich.

After recounting the story of his subject's life in rich detail, Assaf presents the reader with six chapters of social historical analysis. The first three are devoted to Rabbi Israel's leadership: the organization of his court, his regal style and the multiple paradoxical theological rationales that explained it, and his claim to be *the* leader of his generation. For example, Assaf analyzes the historical significance of Rabbi Israel's broad political activity to fight the Russian government's decree that Jews be compelled to adopt modern dress. The last three chapters are particularly valuable for their analysis of the physical layout and economic aspects of the Rabbi's headquarters; such matters have seldom been subjected to scholarly analysis. Income depended not only on donations of various kinds but also on Rabbi Israel's control of rabbinic and other appointments in the communities under his influence. Consideration of this phenomenon is, I think, an innovation in the scholarly literature on Hasidism. Finally, Assaf unpacks the hierarchies among the Hasidim at the court and among the pilgrims who came for varying lengths of time to commune with their leader.

An afterword places Ruzhin-Sadgora Hasidism in a broader context, suggesting it constituted a species of modernizing, adaptive orthodoxy that "internalized modern values more than any other Hasidic dynasty" (p. 329). This is a path-breaking and thorough study of an important and neglected chapter of modern Jewish history.

GERSHON DAVID HUNDERT
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SHIMON REDLICH. *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 202. $29.95.

The lengthy, often tangled relationship between Poles and Jews continues to attract the attention of scholars and polemicists alike. This is especially true when focusing on the subject of World War II and its attendant Holocaust, with the recent publication of the controversial book *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* by Jan T. Gross (2001), sparking a new round of discussion. Consequently, the appearance of Shimon Redlich's book is all the more timely and, with its unique focus, makes an invaluable contribution to the current debates.

The author, a noted authority on the wartime experience of the Soviet Union, has produced a work that defies easy categorization. Himself a Holocaust survivor, Redlich became intrigued with the prospect of examining the complex interplay among the three ethnic groups that inhabited his native city of Brzezany, located in the Polish portion of Ukraine until the outbreak of war, after which it was absorbed into Soviet Ukraine. To accomplish this challenging task, he combined interviews with those Ukrainians, Jews, and Poles from Brzezany whom he could locate with research in German, Ukrainian, and Israeli archives, a wealth of published materials, and his own memories to reconstruct what at various times was both an enjoyable and a terrifying youthful experience.

After opening with an account of his return to Brzezany in 1991 to a Ukraine on the verge of independence from Soviet rule, Redlich follows with a personal profile of each individual who will appear in the subsequent narrative. He then examines life in his hometown during specific time frames, each accorded a separate chapter. The interwar period, labeled "The Good Years," offers a portrait of the three ethnic groups joined in a somewhat uneasy but nonetheless functional relationship, followed successively by the Soviet (1939–1941) and German (1941–1944) occupations, and the return of the victorious Red Army and consequent establishment of a communist regime. The book concludes with a look at those former inhabitants now living elsewhere who, like the author, returned for a bittersweet, nostalgic visit to their former homes. Redlich begins each chapter with a brief personal

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memory of the period in question, continues with a straightforward narrative account of developments, and concludes with reminiscences by his interviewees. Along with a personalized view of events—mundane daily living under extremely challenging circumstances, and acts of exceptional brutality and kindness—the reader follows a young boy's personal journey from an idyllic childhood through wartime horrors.

Several themes run consistently throughout the book. One is the heroic willingness of some Poles and Ukrainians to risk savage reprisals by hiding their Jewish neighbors from the Germans. Although Poles tended to be more involved than Ukrainians in these undertakings, and the profit motive was certainly present in some cases, centuries of coexisting produced examples of basic humanity less evident in larger cities, where personal interaction among residents was more uncommon. Another theme is the inflammatory relationship between Poles and Ukrainians, who viewed each other with far more venomous hatred than either exhibited toward the Jews. The Polish state's determination forcibly to integrate its Ukrainian population with the Polish majority, coupled with Ukranian determination to assert their own ethnoreligious identity, had produced an explosive situation even before the war. The brutality and strains of Soviet and German occupations allowed each side to unleash its most violent tendencies against the other. Unfortunately, the Jews, who before the conflict were treated "mostly with indifference" by their gentile neighbors, now experienced outbursts of hostility from one group or the other, depending on whom the Jews were thought to support in this intra-Slavic rivalry (p. 163). Indeed, Redlich concludes that the Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish triangular relationship could function positively during times of relative stability but unraveled when the social and political environment became destabilized.

Finally, the author's personal accounts, delivered in a nonjudgmental fashion, make the work an absorbing read. Photographs of prewar, wartime, and postwar Brzezany enhance the book's impact, and a set of detailed maps enable the reader to identify places mentioned in the text. An extensive bibliography offers a guide for those interested in further study of this subject. In sum, this is an important book that will prove invaluable to scholars and of compelling interest to the general reader.

EDWARD D. WYNOT, JR.
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PADRAIC KENNEY. *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 341. $29.95.

Padraic Kenney's book should be a treasure chest for historians for years to come. All the "small" folks who were active in Central European opposition movements just before 1989 are not only named but probably interviewed here. We get names, dates, and events and learn of personal connections, networks, and a panoply of innovative social movement tactics as we hear the stories of dozens of unknown activists who organized the myriad of actions that made communist rule increasingly ungovernable in the 1980s.

Kenney's strategy is to bypass the better-known groups and individuals—there is almost nothing here on Polish Solidarity, Czech Charter 77, or the party builders in Hungary—and to focus on the youth activists instead. He begins with Poland, always the focal point for Central European radical youth, and particularly two Polish organizations: Orange Alternative, the innovative anarchist political performance group, and Freedom and Peace, which fought for changes in the draft rules. Then he shows us environmental groups in Czechoslovakia, youth oppositionists in Hungary, antimilitarist movements in Slovenia, radical activists and Protestants in East Germany, and cultural nationalists and "hippies" in Ukraine. We see what they did and hear them in their own voices. (Kenney interviewed "over three hundred people in twelve countries" [p. 307], and it shows.) Kenney seeks to rescue for history the contribution of these voices.

He also seeks to claim that they played the pivotal role in making 1989 happen, but even his own account suggests this is too strong a claim. The facts that he cites, such as that in 1989 completely other groups came to power, and that Kenney's heroes then either quit politics or joined up with those who now controlled it, suggest that these protesters were not quite so central. They plucked away at the regime's sense of invulnerability, but were unable to take it much further. Indeed, they did not really want to. "Opposing the regime, they ignored it," Kenney writes (p. 5). His own account shows that none of these activists seem to have been willing to think about how protest could lead to institutionalized change, or to think through the precise dynamics of regime transformation. They were sophisticated movement activists, much like "anti-globalization" protesters today, who demonstrated the system's vulnerability and helped make it more so, and that seems fulsome enough praise without claiming they were the ones who made 1989 happen.

While most of the book documents specifics of the unfolding protest activities in different East European countries, the best chapter of the book, and the one with the broadest appeal, concerns the fascinating 1980s dialogue between the Western Left and East European opposition groups. Kenney carefully shows the reasons for initial suspicions (easterners thought westerners underestimated the danger of communism, westerners thought easterners underestimated the danger of militarism), and then documents ways they came together anyway. Kenney offers vivid descriptions of meetings in which each side occasionally found itself shocked, doubting the usefulness of working with such a thick-headed other, and only gradually building up some level of trust. While documenting the important role played by the Western Left in working with East European grass-roots opposition, this chapter is a

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superb account of the real-life challenges of building social movements across systemic and existential divides.

Theoretically the book often disappoints. Questions of causality are glossed over. The book focuses on networks and tactics but ignores interests. (Kenney shows that most of the activists were students or intellectuals able to adroitly use resources such as time, travel, and foreign languages, but he does not discuss the significance of this for post-1989 socioeconomic outcomes.) Anthropologists, meanwhile, might object to the undertheorized use of the concept of "carnival," which Kenney seems to use chiefly to denote the festive atmosphere of much of the resistance.

Yet Kenney did not intend to write a theoretical book. His aim was to tell the story of the hundreds of unheralded activists who helped bring down a system. Indeed, I know of no other book telling of so many lesser-known groups and activists involved in a social movement wave across so many countries (not to mention languages). Kenney cobbles their stories together like a master sleuth writing a whodunit, culminating with a series of sketches putting the pieces together as 1989 approaches. It is still too soon to explain what 1989 was all about, but this book contains important pieces of the puzzle, which is why it will be a crucial reference for a long time to come. In the meantime, it is a delightful book for undergraduate and graduate courses on contemporary European history and on social movements.

DAVID OST
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BARBARA EVANS CLEMENTS, REBECCA FRIEDMAN, and DAN HEALEY, editors. *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. ix, 242. $65.00.

Masculinity might be defined as the range of effects produced by the difference between what men do and what they are supposed to do. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russian political and social discourse has been highly prescriptive; one might suppose that the gap between what is and what ought to be would have produced a nation of anxious subjects, particularly where the issue of gender is concerned. The essays in this pioneering collection, however, do not uncover a great deal of gendered soul-searching. Perhaps the gap between norm and fact was so large that the real norm was hypocrisy, or perhaps other categories of identity (nationality, ethnicity, class) occupied the "place" assumed by gender elsewhere.

The contributions to this edited volume provide an excellent overview of male behavior in Russia over the past three centuries. They are nearly all at least somewhat comparative. Nancy Shields Kollmann's opening essay examines Peter I's role in legitimizing affective and erotic attachments. His "validation of personal affection," she argues, brought the individual into focus and thus fostered an appreciation of masculine assertiveness. Kollmann points out that, before Peter, Russian views about gender were less of a discursive preoccupation than in the West, and it may be that the result was a couple centuries of relative freedom from fear of gender inadequacy. Co-editor Rebecca Friedman, using interesting memoir material, details the constant monitoring of university students in the 1830s and 1840s; she claims that the system of state inspection and surveillance enabled young men to learn to integrate debauchery into respectable social status. Olga Vainshtein contrasts the Russian dandy with his English counterpart, but because many interesting nuggets in her article are not documented, it is difficult to judge her range of sources or evaluate her conclusions. The reader must take on faith Vainshtein's intriguing claim concerning the use of the military uniform to enable men to flaunt their individuality while countering potential charges of effeminacy.

Several of the contributions deal with the late imperial period. Among the more original is Barbara Alpern Engel's study of separation petitions. Russian law offered almost no relief for abused wives, but the tsar, through the imperial chancellery, might be appealed to by a wife seeking her own residency permit (and thus separation from her husband). Engel focuses on the terms in which men defended their conduct as husbands. "Instead of their private behavior, men stressed their public achievements, often framed in terms of service to society and the public good" (p. 120). There seems to have been no model of how a good husband conducts himself in private and at home. Moreover, due to the discretionary and closed nature of chancellery decisions, marriage dissolution did not provide the kind of "moral theater" that in the West helped to promote an emerging discourse about what it meant to be a proper husband. Catriona Kelly provides a fascinating prehistory of the Soviet ideal of *zakalivanie* (tempering), the forging of mind and body through regimentation. Her discussion of self-improvement pamphlets prompts the question of how the masculine ideal differed in Russia from its Western version. Kelly's inclusion of an anecdote about Vladimir Nabokov's parenting probably says more about his anglophile upbringing than about the émigré mentality. I am not sure that she explains how this model, acquired through translation, metastasized into the Socialist Realist ideal, but the answer probably lies in a fusion of proletarian idealization and the desire of former peasants to become modern. In other useful essays, Christine D. Worobec describes the parameters of masculine authority in peasant households, and S. A. Smith discusses the ways in which masculinity changed in the course of massive male migration to the cities, where skill and fraternity replaced strength and filiation as the markers of masculine potency.

The Soviet period is covered in the rest of the collection, which includes Karen Petrone's analysis of the late imperial and Soviet tendency to feminize Eastern peoples, particularly the Japanese, Thomas G.

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Schrand's discussion of the Stalinist reassertion of patriarchy, and Julie Gilmour and co-editor Barbara Evans Clements's portrait of the representation of athletes in the 1950s. Co-editor Dan Healey supplements his path-breaking book on homosexuality in Russia with "The Disappearance of the Russian Queen, or How the Soviet Closet was Born." Healey shows how homosexual behavior was condemned by an unusually introspective merchant in the 1860s as excessive—but not misdirected—passion. Only in the 1870s did homosexuality begin to be characterized in terms different than those applied to heterosexual "deviance"; it is at this time that the Russian *tetka* ("auntie") appears, appropriating feminine traits as a proclamation of identity. Although Healey provides a thorough discussion of Soviet suppression of homosexual behavior, his title remains somewhat misleading, because there is no discussion of what the closet's specific epistemology might be when translated into the Soviet context. A word other than closet should be found to describe the stifling of homosexual display in revolutionary Russia.

This collection is an important milestone in Russian Studies, but the editors' failure to include contributions on the post-Soviet period is puzzling. Masculinity becomes an interesting concept in moments of crisis. For his existence, modern man is inescapably indebted to the fear of "castration": masculinity depends on emasculation. The fall of communism has brought gender (and male inadequacies) to the forefront of Russian consciousness, but this volume ends before the thaw, as if the title's words "in history" precluded consideration of the present. This temporal limitation is partly responsible for the collection's sense of calm, but methodology also contributes. The more closely one reads, the more likely one is to uncover anxiety. There is relatively little close reading here: a final attempt in the conclusion founders on a mistranslation. (This is not something I would ordinarily mention, but it occurs when two of the editors suggest that an accurate translation by Stanley Kunitz and Max Hayward lacks fidelity.) It seems to me that masculinity, because it is so personal, psychological, and subjective, and because it is both scarred and constituted by deviation from norms, demands more attention to the individual case even at the risk of a loss of typicality.

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REBECCA WILLS. *The Jacobites and Russia 1715–1750.* East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press. 2002. Pp. 253. $31.95.

Drawing on untapped Russian archival sources, Rebecca Wills adds considerable detail to our knowledge of Jacobites in Russia between 1715 and 1750. Shedding new light on the careers of Scottish military officers in Russian service, she addresses the dicey question of whether these men served as agents of the exiled James III and/or Prince Charles. This was a burning issue for contemporaries, and the interception of correspondence between Jacobites in the Russian military and James III or his agents contributed to Whitehall's suspicions of Russia and a multiyear break in Anglo-Russian relations.

In terms of Jacobite history, Wills's principal finding is that exiled Scots settling in Russia were largely unsuccessful in promoting Jacobite interests, and that their loyalties were, increasingly, to their own careers rather than to the House of Stuart. What Wills does not state, although her findings suggest it, is that career thinking, rather than idealism alone, surely influenced all Jacobite exiles as they weighed supporting a Stuart restoration. When prospects for success—and thus for access to positions and property in Scotland—appeared favorable, supporting a restoration was attractive. Men who lacked alternative careers clung to this hope, but those who found positions and success elsewhere lost interest in the chimera of a Stuart restoration. Concerning Russia's history, Wills's real contribution is to our understanding of the shifting fortunes of foreign military officers in Russia; over time, the need for such officers was measured by the availability of native military talent; their pay and emoluments were enhanced or reduced accordingly.

It is unfortunate that Wills frequently finds it difficult to see the forest for the trees, that her footnotes and bibliography are peppered with mistakes that raise questions about the care of her scholarship, and that her sources do not always appear to substantiate the conclusions she draws from them. While she correctly calls into question the strength of Jacobite loyalties among the many military officers in Russian service, and while she demonstrates quite successfully that they demonstrated loyalty to the Russian monarchs even when Russian policies conflicted with Jacobite interests, Wills persists in viewing these Scots as Jacobites in exile rather than as Scottish soldiers sharing the experience of many forbears who sought their livelihood and their careers in foreign military service when opportunities were limited or nonexistent at home. Thus, she makes no reference to the broader tradition of early modern Scottish and Irish diasporas—and especially of Scottish and Irish mercenary communities abroad—that has been studied by L. M. Cullen, Gráinne Henry, R. A. Stradling, and others. Problems in the footnotes, bibliography, and index raise questions about the author's attention to detail in other aspects of her work. Nineteen of the works cited in the footnotes are not in the bibliography, while twenty-eight of sixty-seven published primary sources and 166 of 300 secondary sources listed in the bibliography are never cited in the footnotes. In several instances, there are inconsistencies between titles cited in the footnotes and titles given in the bibliography, while inconsistencies between citations in the footnotes and the bibliography also appear. Fifty-one of the individuals named in the index are listed only by family name or by

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family name and title. "Field Marshal Golitsyn," "Prince Golitsyn," and "Senator Golitsyn" are listed consecutively without given names and patronymics and with no attempt to identify them further. Moreover, the index identifies Peter I as "(the Great), Tsar/Emperor" and all other non-Scottish monarchs in a similar fashion, but James II, James III, and James VI and I all lack further identification.

Aside from the narrow focus on the Jacobite question and the lack of reference to the rich scholarship on Scots serving abroad during the early modern period, gaps between the author's conclusions and the sources cited to substantiate them are sometimes problematic. One example of this is the use of letters from Scottish naval officer and Jacobite plenipotentiary Thomas Gordon, rather than Russian sources, to substantiate that Russian officials fulfilled requests Gordon made of them to send instructions "to Russian ministers at Vienna and Madrid to approach those courts in favour of James III" (pp. 121–22 and p. 122, note 164). In cases such as this, one would expect the author to entertain the idea that such instructions were not actually sent if she could not find them in the Russian archives.

MICHAEL F. METCALF
University of Mississippi

PAUL W. WERTH. *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 275. $49.95.

Relatively unhindered access to archival and library resources has become a reality for historians of the Russian state only since the fall of the USSR. The book under review is representative of recently published first monographs authored by historians whose works have benefited from the opening of previously inaccessible archives and repositories. This is a fortuitous development but it also places an added responsibility on the scholar. Drawing on archival resources in St. Petersburg, Kazan', Kirov, Ufa, Ioshkar-Ola, as well as on rich published primary sources, Paul W. Werth offers the student of Russian history an account of the Russian government's identity reconstruction project in the Volga-Kama region.

The monograph comprises nine chapters, an introduction, a conclusion, a brief bibliographic essay, two maps, and an index. Unfortunately, there is no glossary; by adding one, the author would have enhanced the book's contribution. Werth's monograph "rests on the proposition that the tensions and contradictions of Russian imperial development were most clearly registered in . . . the Volga-Kama region" (p. 16). Focusing on the Finnic and Turkic peoples of the Volga-Kama region, he attempts to account for the origins and evolution of the missionary effort of the Russian state. To this end, Werth investigates the meanings of specific religious affiliations in general, and those of Orthodoxy in particular, and identifies the ways in which confessional affiliations and religious institutions were at times employed as tools in the governance of empire.

Chapter one is devoted to discussion of the historical and cultural context. Although the conquest of Kazan is mentioned twice (pp. 6, 17) as the turning point in Russia's empire building, not even the briefest comment is offered on the relevance of the demise of Kazan as an independent polity for the identities of the Muslims of the Volga-Kama region. The same chapter contains a mention of "the conversion to Islam of the region's first Turkic settlers, known as Bulghars, sometimes before the tenth century" (p. 36) but there is no mention of the Bulghar khanate either, let alone of its religious profile. An Islamic polity (922–1236), the Bulghar khanate played no minor role in the establishment of an Islamic presence in the Volga-Kama region. Failure to even mention its relevance to the evolution of the religious identities of the Turkic peoples of the Volga-Kama region represents one missed opportunity to identify the roots of religious resilience among the Tatars, to understand the complexity of the mid-nineteenth century apostasy, and to endow with meaning the existing identity metanaratives. By lumping together under labels such as "Russia's first nationalities" (p. 17) and "non-Russians" (p. 22) those inhabitants of the Volga-Kama region who were incorporated into the Muscovite state in 1552, without accounting for the role that the existence (and memory) of statehood might have played in the construction and evolution of the identities of some of the peoples of the region, Werth offers a homogenized and homogenizing account of the conquest and its consequences.

Chapter two discusses the apostasy of the Tatars and the Maris during the reign of Nicholas I as challenges to Orthodoxy, and as evidence of the ephemeral nature of previous missionary successes. Chapter three addresses the issue of government's perception of conversion and baptism as irreversible acts and offers a discussion of the role of economic incentives in achieving the goal of conversion. Highlighting the relevance of religious affiliation for the communal construction of identity, Werth facilitates a clearer understanding of why conversion was acceptable only as a collective act. Chapter four focuses on the "religious condition" of the *novokreshchennye* (newly converted) by offering a discussion of the syncretism they displayed in religious practice. To some extent, Werth regards religious syncretism as a result of the flexibility the missionaries displayed in accommodating the lingering attachment of the peoples of the region to "old ways." Chapter five is devoted to a discussion of the shift in the conceptualization of identity after 1822, when the introduction of the term *inorodets* (non-Russian peoples) signaled the adoption of a criterion for marking difference that made no reference to religious affiliation. The "Great Apostasy of 1866," which involved a large segment of the *krashans* (the sixteenth-century converts), is the main focus of chapter six.

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The resilience of Islam in the Volga-Kama region prompted the government to respond forcefully. Werth addresses this response in chapter seven where he discusses the Anti-Muslim Division of the Kazan Theological Academy and the impact of N. I. Il'minskii's ideas on its activities. The most valuable contribution this chapter makes is its discussion of the ambiguities that characterized the relationship of the Muslims of the Volga-Kama region with the imperial government, and with their fellow Muslims living elsewhere in the empire.

Chapter eight offers a discussion of conversion that stands at distance from the coercion/resistance dichotomy: it provides a detailed account of the Mari religious movement, as well as of the emergence of non-Russian monasticism. It is in this context that, informed by the relevant interdisciplinary scholarship, Werth critically evaluates the concept of "conversion" itself and provides a nuanced reading of what the "Mari success" meant for some of the segments of the imperial bureaucracy. Unfortunately, chapter nine lumps together too many issues before considering the relevance of the April 17, 1905, decree to the religious order of the empire.

Given the author's commitment to treating confessional politics as an equation of negotiation and interaction, it is not surprising that Catherine II's edict of 1773 should be mentioned. What *is* surprising is to see it misrepresented as the outcome "of government's deference toward Islamic religion and practice" and as an "edict granting Muslims religious tolerance" (p. 24). The edict in question is a "Toleration of ALL faiths" edict, not one tailored to address the specific "Muslim case." Hence, its significance could have been highlighted better by placing it in the context of the partitions of Poland and preparations for the incorporation of the Crimea, where the establishment of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly in 1784 preceded by four years the establishment of its corollary in the Volga-Kama region. Werth's detailed discussion of the religious syncretism of the Mari could have been further enriched by a discussion of acculturation among the Turkic and Finnic peoples of the region. This would have made it possible to shed light on the cultural negotiations responsible for the existence of Turkic words in the vocabulary of the Finnic peoples, even if their meaning underwent changes.

The issues raised above notwithstanding, this is a pioneering study that students of Russian history should note, for it makes a contribution to a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of Russia's confessional politics in the region where its road to empire began.

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JEFFREY BRUCE BESHONER. *Ivan Sergeevich Gagarin: The Search for Orthodox and Catholic Union*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 321. $39.95.

This study by Jeffrey Bruce Beshoner provides a well-researched intellectual biography of Ivan Gagarin, a Russian aristocrat and diplomat who, at an early age, converted to Catholicism and became a Jesuit. Raised as an Orthodox believer, closely tied to the social and intellectual elites of his day, Gagarin had every prospect of becoming the archetypical *intelligent-chinovnik* (intellectual-official) characteristic of the prereform Nikolaevan regime. He moved in circles that included Alexander Pushkin and purportedly (although evidence is sparse and contradictory) had a hand in sending the anonymous letter to Pushkin (about his wife's infidelity) that ultimately led to the famed poet's duel and death. Although such unproven rumors cast a long shadow over Gagarin's life and reputation, he became renowned for his zealous attempts to reunite the Russian and Catholic churches—in his view, an essential step if Russia was to become part of European civilization. He had earlier derived this view expressed in the intellectual and philosophical debates of the 1830s and, particularly, in the writings of P. Ia. Chaadaev, whose infamous *First Philosophical Letter* (1836) dismissed an autochthonous Russian civilization as barren and barbaric and urged precisely such a conversion to Catholicism as Russia's sole hope. Gagarin, after his own conversion in 1842 and admission to Jesuit orders in 1843, devoted the rest of his life to achieving an Orthodox-Catholic union. In collaboration with several other Russian noble converts, he organized a Slavic center that, from the mid-1850s, stood at the center of attempts to convert the Russian Church to Catholicism. His publicistic activities attracted considerable attention at the time, including a barrage of rebuttals from the Russian Church as well as vigorous attempts by the Russian state to interdict what it castigated as "Catholic propaganda."

Beshoner's meticulous analysis makes a valuable contribution to the scholarship on religious and church history in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Above all, it provides a full, well-researched account of a prominent Russian Catholic publicist, stripping away rhetoric and polemics to give a coherent account of his views and how he came to them. No less important, it goes beyond Gagarin and his circle to assay the response, from Catholics as well as Russians, to Gagarin's ideas about the need and terms for such a reunion. Beshoner's analysis of Gagarin and his impact draws on a wide variety of materials, including not only the rich set of unpublished materials at the Jesuit center (Bibliothèque slave) in France but also documents from Russian and Vatican archives. And the analysis is remarkably dispassionate and objective, providing a critical assessment not only of Gagarin (for example, the chimerical lack of realism characteristic of some of his ideas) but also of both the Russian and Catholic churches (the former for conflating "nationality and religion," the latter for its "religious and cultural arrogance" [p. viii]).

Minor errata apart (such as confusing two different

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chief procurators, Aleksei P. Tolstoi and Dmitrii A. Tolstoi), the book's main shortcoming is its relatively narrow focus: primarily on Gagarin and, to a lesser degree, his interlocutors. While that is perhaps inevitable, given the constraints of space, it does tend to treat broader contexts in a rather cursory fashion. That is particularly true of the Russian case, where the response to Gagarin reflected not only theology and ecclesiastical beliefs but also the tense religious politics of the Great Reform era. Gagarin, after all, constituted only one element of what the Russian Church (and, to a lesser degree, the state) perceived as an all-out Catholic offensive. Given the paucity of serious scholarship on Russian Catholicism and its role in state and society, Beshoner could not rely on the secondary literature to place the Gagarin case in a broader context. It would have been desirable (but perhaps not feasible) to examine a broader array of documents in Russian archives in order to gain a clearer picture of the Russian response: the differences between the Orthodox Church and tsarist state, and the concerns about religious dissent and political unreliability that shaped the response to the Catholic challenge in general and Gagarin in particular.

That, however, may be too much to ask for a pioneering monograph. As it stands, this study provides a reliable, coherent account of a figure who loomed large in public religious discourse in Russia in the 1850s and 1860s. His life and work shed light on a broader pattern of ecumenism and the obstacles that would doom well-meaning attempts to unite the Orthodox and Catholic churches.

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CHOI CHATTERJEE. *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910–1939*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2002. Pp. x, 223. $34.95.

Choi Chatterjee's study of Bolshevik festival culture has developed out of her doctoral research on the celebration of International Women's Day in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. This book, however, focuses on much more than the events and rituals surrounding the March 8 festivities. Chatterjee details the Bolshevik Party's efforts to establish the magazine *Rabotnitsa*, aimed at Russia's female industrial workers, and the magazine's precarious publication history up to its regular distribution from 1923. She examines the various roles that women played in the events of 1917, so often overlooked in the standard narratives and historiographical debates on the revolutions. Chatterjee plots the rise of the New Soviet Woman in the 1920s and includes an interesting, focused study of the treatment of this emerging ideal in Soviet theater during the period of the New Economic Policy. In the final chapter, she looks at the ways in which, by the 1930s, Bolshevik festival culture on International Women's Day had become ritualized into the celebration of Soviet heroines.

Chatterjee's basic premise is set out early on: the Bolsheviks did little to challenge the patriarchal structures of the family and the workplace (except sometimes in its most grievous expressions) but instead developed a form of state-sponsored paternalism that came to overlay the authority of fathers and husbands in the home, factory bosses and shop floor supervisors in industry, and the *skhod* (village assembly) and *kolkhoz* (collective farm) committee in agriculture. She argues that "The Bolsheviks made little attempt to dismantle patriarchy per se, but they tried to replace the authority of the local male, of fathers, brothers, and husbands, with that of the absent omnipotent male of socialist patriarchy" (p. 14), and, further, "the Soviet state publicly affirmed its obligations to Soviet women while simultaneously gathering free publicity for its self-proclaimed paternalism" (p. 71).

Soviet paternalism was no better expressed than in the generation of Soviet "heroines" (and the cultural myths and rhetoric surrounding them) promoted by the Stalin regime in the 1930s: "professional success gave women financial independence, a certain level of prestige in society, and helped in the renegotiation of power relationships within the family" (p. 143). The reality of the situation for the mass of Soviet women was different, according to Chatterjee: "In actuality the position of women did not improve dramatically in the 1930s; however, in public pronouncements the liberation of women was directly connected to the central concerns of the state" (p. 124). I also put forward a similar argument at a conference on "Reappraising Stalinism" in Florence in October 2002.

The book is extremely well researched. Chatterjee draws on an extensive range of archival sources, including those of trade union organizations, factory reports, Zhenotdel [women's department] papers, and Individual collections. In addition to the magazines aimed directly at women, she has drawn on national and local newspapers (particularly *Vechernaia Moskva*), journals, and other periodicals. She has made extensive use also of the pamphlets and leaflets issued in celebration and commemoration of International Women's Day events in the interwar period and of women's diaries and memoir literature, particularly that providing personal histories narrated within the state-approved framework of the genre of Soviet heroines (how the party guided individual women to political consciousness, public activity, and personal liberation).

This literature allows Chatterjee to include an all-important element to her analysis: the anecdotal experiences and impressions of individual women, and not just those whose achievements were lauded in the public celebrations. Chatterjee details the organization of International Women's Day events in individual factories, especially those employing vast numbers of women; the establishment of reading huts to raise the level of political consciousness of women in the coun-

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tryside; and the disastrous outcomes of the unveiling campaigns in Soviet Central Asia.

This book adds a great deal to our understanding of the cultural history of Russia from the immediate prerevolutionary period through to the 1930s, particularly the ways in which Bolshevik ideology and practice were directed toward and affected upon women. The writing style is clear and the sources are well referenced. The book is illustrated with a number of posters and newspaper cartoons issued in celebration of International Women's Day. The political and cultural significance of March 8 in the Bolshevik calendar is well drawn out. The overall structure and presentation of the book is one that makes it accessible to all levels of study.

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KATHLEEN E. SMITH. *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory during the Yeltsin Era*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 223. $29.95.

As I read this book, I recalled what an elder colleague in Moscow said some years ago, just as demonstrators helped to topple the statue of Feliks Dzerzhinskii, one-time chief of the Cheka secret police. "It is all right to take down the old monuments," he remarked, "so long as we leave the pedestals. They will come in handy again someday." With this book, Kathleen E. Smith (who discusses that very event in August of 1991) has established a secure scholarly foundation for the study of post-Soviet memorializing and mythmaking. Her first book, *Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR* (1996) surveyed how Russians sorted through the difficult past to serve perestroika and the end of communism. This monograph, dedicated to the Yeltsin years, continues with the struggle to fully remake Russian political culture. It is an illuminating story of citizens and politicians attempting to redefine themselves against a backdrop of seventy-four years of an increasingly bankrupt Soviet system.

The study begins in 1991 with the August putsch and the ascendance of Boris Yeltsin, ending in 2000 with a brief presentation on the government of Vladimir Putin. The book reveals one of the most interesting and ironic developments with the collapse of the USSR. The Communist Party enjoyed the most potent resources of the national heritage. Party members levied the resonant charge that they were victims of Yeltsin's despotism in 1991 and 1993. They appealed to Soviet Russian patriotism and victory culture during the controversies over World War II trophy art. They raised the images of the distant orthodox and imperial Russian pasts in election campaigns. They employed a whole "symbolic repertoire" (p. 159) of Soviet-era popular songs and holidays, emblems and myths, monuments and histories, to gather public support. The Communists, it seems, rather easily converted into nationalists.

The Yeltsin government and liberal parties, by contrast, as the voices of the unknown future, lacked a common memory. They struggled awkwardly to create a national mandate and political culture for the new Russia. The government announced two holidays to commemorate independence (June 12 and August 22) but without any meaningful ritual and symbolism. It even organized a public contest in 1996 to choose a new national idea for the country at large, but the best Yeltsin could do was bury the remains of Tsar Nicholas II in a controversial ceremony. The Reform Party, "Our Home is Russia," used the shape of a roof to highlight its political coverage, forgetting that "roof" was also a "synonym for mafia protection rackets" (p. 136). These new forms had little appeal. But perhaps the government and its allies had other priorities. The Yeltsin years were marked more by the stealing of state-owned properties and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few than by any truly successful movement to forge a civic community. Spontaneous innovations and good intentions did not match the power of the old traditions and the new greed. This book provides an essential perspective on the culture wars of Russia's transition to democracy.

The public debate over the Lenin "mummy"—whether to leave it on view in the mausoleum or to bury it—is confined to just a few lines and paragraphs. I would have preferred to read much more about this central myth and site of Russian political life. The editors should have also taken greater care in reproducing more and better photographs and illustrations, as well as primary source transcripts of speeches and anthems. There is a fascinating discussion, and a decent photograph, of the new monument to Peter the Great in Moscow. But there are far too few illustrations of other monuments and election posters. We read, for example, of the new Victory Park in Moscow, dedicated to Soviet losses in World War II, but without any maps or sketches of the sites. The notes do provide a full and detailed accounting of the many different civic personalities and tendencies on the Russian political scene. They support a work of rich textual narrative and interpretation. Smith reminds us that, as long as Dzerzhinskii's space remains unoccupied (statue is now rejoined with pedestal in a Moscow garden), as long as V. I. Lenin's corpse remains on morbid display, Russian politics will remain unsettled, a captivating ground for such fine analyses as this.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

WERNER HUß. *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit, 332–30 v. Chr.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 2001. Pp. 885. DM 168.

This book by Werner Huss is an important and comprehensive political history of the Ptolemaic dynasty

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that ruled Egypt from 332 to 30 B.C.E. It is a fascinating period of ancient history, and yet one often neglected by historians. The fascination derives from the stories of the Ptolemaic court, the legacy of the famous library for Western literature, philosophy, and science, and the immediacy of the thousands of papyrus records found in the waste dumps of villages and towns up country. The neglect is more difficult to explain. For many ancient historians, the Hellenistic world in general offers only a story of decline and comes without a coherent historical narrative. It is but a dreary way station between classical Athens and imperial Rome. Discussions between ancient historians who focus on Athens or Rome and those who work on Hellenistic Egypt are often, to quote Fernand Braudel, a "dialogue of the deaf." The deafness derives in large part from the quite different character of the historical sources used by each, which in turn has exacerbated the perceived "East-West" divide. Ptolemaic Egypt is one of the better periods in ancient Mediterranean history, rivaled only by the Roman period in Egypt. It is somewhat ironic, then, that such a well-documented place has been usually left to specialist editors of texts, but of course it is the complexity and sheer volume of the documentation that have made the history of Ptolemaic Egypt an isolated discipline within ancient history. All the more welcome, then, is this volume.

To be fair, the study of Ptolemaic or Hellenistic Egypt has not been completely ignored. Indeed, some of the most talented ancient historians of the twentieth century have devoted the bulk of their careers to the subject, not the least among them Michael I. Rostovtzeff, whose *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941) can still be read with profit. Rostovtzeff's survey, like the more recent treatment by Peter Green (*Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* [1990]), places Egypt within the wider context of historical events in the Mediterranean. Both of these excellent treatments, however, examine Egypt from the point of view of Greek institutions and Greek political domination of Egypt. The thousands of papyri, ostraca, inscriptions, and bilingual (demotic Egyptian and Greek) private archives provide the basis for a different story, one that is only beginning to be told.

Huss begins by treating the "prehistory" (*Vorgeschichte*) of the dynasty, and he follows this essential background with a discussion of the period of Alexander, the brief time of empire during which the Ptolemies controlled much of the eastern Mediterranean, the "blossoming" of the dynasty (285–204 B.C.E.), the crisis under Ptolemy V, and then the decline (180–80 BCE) and Fall (80–30 B.C.E.). This division follows the historian Polybius, who considered the major cause of the dynasty's decline to have been internal unrest beginning with Egyptian soldiers returning from the successful Battle of Raphia (217 B.C.E.), followed by the major revolt in the Thebaid beginning in 205 B.C.E., during which the whole of Upper Egypt broke away from Ptolemaic control for twenty years. My own view of this periodization is that it is focused exclusively on the political developments in Alexandria and not on the internal rationalization of the regime. Unfortunately, this feature is not directly addressed by Huss.

While the political power of the dynasty did indeed grow weaker, the economic institutions that were driven by state agents charged with extracting revenue became stronger. Although we might agree with the conventional wisdom that the Ptolemies were the longest surviving of the Hellenistic kingdoms, there is every reason to believe that, in terms of Mediterreanean power politics, Rome was the real political power behind the kingdom from 168 B.C.E.—the time of the famous incident in the suburbs of Alexandria during which a Roman ambassador drew the original line in the sand around the Seleukid king Antiochus to compel him to quit Egypt—onward. Huss, as do many others who treat the period, leaves unproblematized, undertheorized, or undiscussed altogether major issues such as power and ethnicity as well as the important institutional and economic development of the regime. The economy, to be fair, occasionally comes in for some discussion by Huss, but it is given short shrift indeed. The land reclamation project and the settlement of new populations in the Fayyum under the early kings, for example, is surely one of the greatest accomplishments in the ancient world, and we can follow the story is some of the most interesting documents of antiquity. It certainly calls for more comment.

Despite what is missing from the book, which after all claims to treat Egypt in the Hellenistic period, Huss's intention was merely to survey political developments, and in that he has succeeded wonderfully well. One quibble is the new periodization proposed, expunging Ptolemy VII from the historical record and then renumbering successive kings, so that Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II becomes Ptolemy VII Euergetes II and so on. While it is almost universally agreed now that the chimerical Ptolemy VII never reigned, subsequent rulers have become so well ingrained in the literature that it serves little purpose to renumber them now. Having said that, Huss is to be congratulated for producing this excellent account of the Ptolemies, which is sure to become a standard reference for historians for many years to come.

J. G. Manning
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Paul M. Cobb. *White Banners: Contention in ʿAbbāsid Syria, 750–880*. (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 228. $19.95.

For lecturers on medieval Islamic history who dread recounting the jumbled and nearly incoherent sequence of events in Syria between the fall of the Damascus-centered Umayyad Caliphate in 750 and the

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advent of the First Crusade in 1095, this concise but thorough volume will be most welcome. It will not eliminate the dread, but it helps make sense of the first post-Umayyad century by showing how the ʿAbbasid caliphs, ruling from Iraq after overthrowing the Umayyads, dealt with what had been the heartland province of their vanquished foe. The inquiry ends with Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the powerful Turkish general appointed by the ʿAbbasids to govern Egypt, extending his reach to Damascus in 877. Ibn Ṭūlūn, and his son after him, ruled with an unprecedented degree of independence, and his assumption of power brought Syria into the orbit of Egypt for the next two hundred years.

"It is true that, on the one hand, many aspects of provincial government under the Ṭūlūnids remained essentially the same as they had been in ʿAbbasid times . . . Since the time of al-Rashid [786–809], Syria had frequently been grouped with Egypt and other western provinces as a western "superprovince" to be governed at the discretion of powerful military men . . . On the other hand, the Tulunid . . . period marked the first time in Islamic history that much of the province of Syria was subordinated to the central administration in Egypt . . . It is also the beginning of a period of raised stakes in Syrian local politics, one which witnessed the rise of local dynasties like the Hamdanids and the Jarrahids, sectarian movements like the Qaramita, and the added threat of a new, muscular Byzantine presence in the north" (pp. 134–35).

Paul M. Cobb's mission is to structure an understanding of Syrian history during the complicated but lackluster period that preceded the activities of the Ṭūlūnids, the Hamdanids, the Jarrahids, and the Qaramita (and their more powerful religious cousins the Fatimids) and thereby make their more extensive narratives somewhat more coherent. To get an impression of Cobb's challenge, one can start with Appendix C, "A Chronology of Contention in Syria." He lists thirty-one instances of revolt, factional discord, and banditry over a period of 116 years. That is a lot of discord. Yet none of the incidents reached a high enough level of visibility in the chronicles of the period to be remembered as major episodes in Islamic history. The stakes were low; the number of people involved was small; the scope was local.

By contrast, disorders in Iran from the 740s onward, beginning with the triumphant ʿAbbasid movement, which gestated in the northeast, loom large in the broad narratives of Islamic history. Cobb invites comparison with this other venue by employing the title *White Banners*. The ʿAbbasid revolt began with the symbolic unfurling of black banners, apparently intended to harmonize with predictions of a man with a black banner being a military precursor of the messiah. Black clothing subsequently became the hallmark of the ʿAbbasid rulers. Moshe Sharon's *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the ʿAbbasid State* (1983) includes a lively retelling of this story.

In Syria, the very first rebellion against ʿAbbasid rule, that of Abu al-Ward and Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani in 750, did, in fact, feature white banners; and the epithet al-Sufyani related not just to descent from Abu Sufyan, the progenitor of the Umayyad house, but also to a prophetic tradition of an Arab tribal messiah coming to restore Umayyad rule. The last would-be Sufyani, Abu ʿUmaytir, revolted in 811 but is not reported to have buttressed his dynastic and messianic pretensions with white banners. The white banners are similarly absent in Cobb's accounts of the other twenty-nine episodes of contention. Whether bandit leaders, disgruntled governors, tribal sheiks, or rebellious generals, the individuals who contended for power in Syria generally appealed to their limited constituencies at a more mundane level.

Limiting his comparative observations to a concluding chapter, the author does not extensively explore the relative revolutionary potentials of Syria and Iran, but the prominence of Muslim and semi-Muslim sectarians in the Iranian movements contrasts suggestively with the paucity of convert and non-Muslim elements in the Syrian narratives. In chapter six, entitled "Worst Elements: The Impolitics of the Unnotables," he musters the scarce evidence concerning urban mobs and peasants. The former seem much less conspicuous than in the restive cities of Iraq and Iran, or of Syria itself in later centuries. The latter appear to be mostly Christians, Jews, or Samaritans and were mostly quiescent, except for the rural revolt of Bundar, or Theodore, in 759, which betrays signs of Christian messianism. As for rural converts to Islam, only the late (840) revolt of Abu Harb al-Mubarqa, "The Veiled One," in which thousands of peasants responded to a Muslim messianic appeal, calls to mind the earlier and more commonplace Iranian situation, and particularly the revolt of Hāshim ibn Hākim al-Muqanna, "The Veiled Prophet of Khurasan," two generations before. These differences seem to reinforce the notion that conversion to Islam proceeded substantially more rapidly in Iran than in Syria.

The primary focus of Cobb's analysis, following the emphases in his sources, is on regional governors and tribal sheiks, the two categories often overlapping. He concludes with more questions than answers as he looks ahead to changes that seem to have affected the dynamic of Syrian unrest in the period after the Ṭūlūnid assumption of control. The reader who is looking for the single thread that will unravel the tangle of political contention during the period under review will therefore come away from this book unsatisfied. The more perspicacious reader, however, will appreciate that some historical problems do not have easy solutions and thank the author for scouring so many ungenerous sources and producing a readable, plausible analysis of a difficult series of events.

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FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET. *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 304. $39.50.

Using the word "f(r)iction," a playful synthesis of the terms "frontier" and "fiction," Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet argues that modern discourses of nationalism in Iran have often originated from loss of land. In response to border wars waged by Russia, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, Iranian intellectuals developed a stronger sense of national identity and constructed new discourses that galvanized other segments of society for the ostensible goal of restoring Iran's glory. Building on (and sometimes questioning) the well-known arguments of Benedict Anderson and other theorists of nationalism, Kashani-Sabet shows that while Iran's history as a geographic entity can be traced to antiquity, its emergence as a modern nation-state has relied on many familiar tropes. These have included an emphasis on the primacy and authenticity of the Persian language (as against other Iranian languages), a reliance on grand narratives and myths that glorify the past, the use of print media such as newspapers, textbooks, and political cartoons, the development of a national army, schools, and other modern institutions in which a sentiment of nationalism was inculcated, and even the resettlement of Persian and non-Persian ethnic communities in response to occasional separatist threats. Intellectuals relied on the modern sciences of geography and economics to construct a new nationalist rhetoric. They called for the protection of a nation that could be visualized through the use of maps and similar geographic tools. A new genre of reform literature, one that was addressed to the court (*resaleh*), lamented the failure of the government to create greater wealth despite Iran's rich soil. By the time of the 1906 Constitutional Revolution, "the land of Iran no longer was the king's private property but the citizen's homeland" (p. 143). A constitutional monarchy was established with the promise of political rights for many.

Some Iranians also hoped to restore Iran's lost glory. These sentiments intensified in 1907 when the Ottomans took over parts of northwestern Iran and the Anglo-Russian Convention divided Iran into a northern Russian zone of influence and a southern British one. As a result of these frontier threats, the Constitutionalist press adopted a more overtly nationalist tone. The homeland was personified as a mother and patriotism was encouraged through the language of "familial love and unity" (p. 135). Following World War I, Britain encouraged the emergence of a modern centralized government in Iran, one that could prevent Soviet penetration. The result was a new type of nationalism, often personified as a strong patriarchal father in both prose and poetry. The new nationalism depended on militarism and warfare and stood in contrast to the democratic nationalism of the Constitutional Revolution. In the era of Reza Shah Pahlavi, who assumed power in a coup in 1921, attempts were made to end the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the nation. This was done through the mandatory teaching of the Persian language and propagation of a pre-Islamic Aryan heritage, as well as forcible relocation of some populations. Shi'is and Persian-speaking populations were sent to Turkic-speaking and Sunni areas—and vice versa—to prevent the emergence of a separatist movement.

The author has made good use of sources, including British, Iranian, Turkish, and American archives, and relied on periodicals in several languages. She traverses some of the same territory that has been covered by Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi and Afsaneh Najmabadi but adds many new and interesting pieces of information, especially in the last two chapters of her book. Indeed, the discussion of the tribal relocations of the Reza Shah Pahlavi era are of particular importance and one wishes the author had devoted more space to this subject.

Yet the emphasis on discourses in this study often pushes the actors—the agents who produce the discourses and the subjects for whom the discourses are produced—to the margins. For example, the Constitutional Revolution was an era of many competing nationalist discourses that were developed by religious dissidents, social democrats (some internationalists), liberals, and clerics of a variety of persuasions, but the need to draw our attention to a single "constitutionalist discourse" blurs these differences. Many progressive constitutionalists fought hard to keep the Shariat out of the constitution in early 1907, but they failed in their efforts. This controversy is of great significance in modern Iranian history but is lost in this type of analysis.

A similar and related problem is the tendency to discuss Iran's nationalist discourses as if they occurred in a vacuum, removed from other global ideological movements. Social democracy, communism, and to some extent fascism had a huge impact on Iran's history. The socialist government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilan (1920–1921) was influenced by peasant uprisings of the Constitutional period and the birth of communism in the Russian Revolution of 1917. But these types of distinctions are difficult to make in a study that looks for a particular nationalist discourse for each epoch. Likewise, the 1945–1946 conflict in Iranian Azerbaijan is treated as an ethnic separatist movement, when in fact both the Iranian Tudeh Party, and especially the Soviet Union, played significant roles in this affair. The matter of language is also of some significance, since Azeri (which is spoken on both sides of the current border between Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan) is a Turkic language with a significant Persian vocabulary. Even today, after the formation of a new republic in the north, many Azeri-speaking people of the republic express an affinity to Iran as their ancestral homeland.

Despite these important limitations, this book makes a useful contribution to the field of Iranian Studies, which, unlike the field of Arab Studies, where

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discussions of nationalism are extremely popular, has since the 1979 Islamic Revolution been less concerned as a whole with the phenomenon of nationalist discourses. But as Kashani-Sabet points out, an understanding of how nationalisms are constructed and articulated can also assist our understanding of the Islamic Republic, which has supposedly overturned modern Iranian nationalism. Indeed, it was yet another border war that helped the government of Ayatollah Khomeini to institutionalize itself. This was the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq war, which witnessed the construction of a new nationalist discourse, one that drew its justification from Shi'ite Muslim narratives.

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DANIEL SCHROETER. *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World.* (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 240. $55.00.

Daniel Schroeter builds upon a family archive held by Samuel Levy-Corcos of Paris, containing documents related to the life, economic activities, and property of his Moroccan forefather, Meir Macnin (d. 1835), and his descendants, to analyze the life of Moroccan Jews, mainly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This detailed study is not limited to the Jewish community of Morocco: it examines Jewish-Muslim relations, international economic and political relations, and evolving relations among Moroccan and European Jews, in particular with the Sephardi diaspora. The life and activities of one person serve as a lens through which to examine a wide range of regional, international and inter-Jewish developments.

The scant personal information about Macnin and the considerable economic information are augmented by rich and diversified data from state archives in France, Great Britain, Israel, Morocco, the Netherlands, and the United States, as well as numerous scholarly publications.

Macnin fulfilled the role of a "court Jew" in Morocco and provides Schroeter with the opportunity for a broad examination of the phenomenon. Court Jews existed in the Christian and Muslim worlds alike: rulers utilized the services of individual Jews, mainly for economic purposes, but at times also for diplomatic ones. This position enabled individual Jews to acquire wealth and influence and could serve the Jewish community in its relations with the authorities and Gentile society. Yet the position was not stable and could end abruptly when the ruler decided the services of a particular Jew were no longer required. In chapter two, Schroeter examines the rise of the Macnins, first in Morocco and then in the various European countries in which they operated. The book's third chapter deals with the 1799–1800 plague and its social, economic, and political implications in general and for the world of Mediterranean Jews in particular. It seems that the plague was a major reason behind Macnin's shift of operations from Morocco to Europe, starting with London. Chapter four offers a detailed analysis of the Jews of London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with special reference to Maghrebi Jews, and the gradual assimilation of their upper class, as well as their relations with Ashkenazi Jews. The fifth chapter focuses on the Macnins in Morocco, including their economic enterprises and close relations with the sultan. The sixth chapter describes the unique status achieved by Macnin in late 1823, when he became the special representative of the sultan to all Christian nations. Schroeter examines Macnin's position and activities and describes the growing involvement of Europeans in the Atlantic port towns of Morocco. Chapter seven deals with negative attitudes in London to Macnin's position (due to his previous debts in several European cities). The study ends with a summary of "Macnin's legacy: Sephardi and Oriental," in which Schroeter examines the declining role of Macnin's descendants in Morocco's economic and international affairs, following the increased involvement of local Muslims and Europeans in these spheres. Schroeter also points to the changing world of Sephardi Jews, who by the 1830s gradually ceased to bridge the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

Schroeter succeeds in basing a detailed account of the social, economic, political, and cultural life of Moroccan Jews on the life of a particular individual. He provides deep analysis on various topics, such as Sephardi-Ashkenazi relations (when the Sephardim were the upper class), the plague, court Jews, and the growing European involvement in North African affairs. This book makes an excellent use of a unique and rich family archive to examine broader issues related to its subject's life and activities.

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CHRISTIAN WINDLER. *La diplomatie comme experiénce de l'autre: Consuls français au Maghreb (1700–1840).* (Bibliothèque des lumières: Anciennement "Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique," number 60.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2002. Pp. 633.

Jacques-Philippe Devoize embarked on a diplomatic career in 1776 when he arrived in Tunis as vice-consul of France, a post he held until 1781. He returned to Tunisia a decade later, initially as chargé d'affaires and then as consul general. Ousted by the Committee of Public Safety in 1796, he resumed his post in the following year and remained in it for the next twelve. He stayed in France from 1809 until 1815 but again took charge of the Tunis consulate between 1815 and 1819. In that year, at the age of seventy-four, he retired to Voiron, the village of his birth. The diplomatic and personal correspondence Devoize generated during his almost quarter-century of living and working in North Africa—much of it devoted to observations about the Other—provides the raw material for the

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cultural and social history in which Christian Windler grounds his analysis of Franco-Tunisian diplomacy.

The first third of the book is biographical. In fleshing out the context in which Devoize functioned, it illuminates the individual and collective interactions that occurred between Tunisians and the French and that established the framework for their diplomatic relations. It also offers valuable insight to the formulation of European knowledge about the Other. The remainder of the study focuses on the evolution of diplomatic culture over a century and a half of sustained peaceful contacts. To illustrate this process, Windler derives detailed examples from such topics as language, court ritual and other ceremonies, and the concept of tribute and gifts. Despite the broader geographical and chronological time frame of the book's subtitle, its emphasis falls on what might be called the "Devoize Era in Tunis," much of which, as it happened, coincided with a period when revolutionary Europe was forging a new international order that would ultimately replace the plural system of Mediterranean diplomacy that Devoize knew with one of European preponderance.

On the basis of Devoize's career, it is evident that conceptualizing Franco-Tunisian relations primarily in terms of legal and official definitions produces a wholly inadequate picture. An understanding of the concrete circumstances in which interactions between the French and the Tunisians (neither, of course, a monolithic bloc) transpired reveals considerable latitude and flexibility, for the consuls knew that successful collaboration depended above all else on reciprocal confidence. Despite vast differences across the Mediterranean, cross-cultural misunderstanding was by no means inevitable, but rather an accident that experienced consuls avoided through their mediation of situations in which participants operated with different norms. In their daily practice, men like Devoize constantly devised structures to define the parameters of relations between the European and the Other, and then to facilitate them. This process involved not the confrontation of two cultures but their interpenetration, creating a kind of hybrid space. For all parties involved, norms existed, but they were malleable and left room for distinctions between formal legalities and the realities of life in a foreign environment. The true measure of any consul's success lay not in his conformity to a system of concepts brought with him but in his ability, in interacting with the Other, to cultivate intercultural contacts that elaborated on and redefined his own values.

The consuls fashioned and utilized a discourse about their environment, but they did not cling even to that in the face of divergent realities. Like everyone else, they were conditioned by cultural representations but, unlike many, were not imprisoned by them. Consequently, when Europeans began to postulate the superiority of their culture and laws in the late eighteenth century, not only North Africans but European consuls in North Africa raised objections. Traditional forms of diplomatic interaction in the Mediterranean began to change after the French Revolution, with the seizure of Algeria in 1830 representing a dramatic culmination of the process. The extension of Europe (and of European norms) and the subsequent dependence of the Muslim Mediterranean in the nineteenth century came about through a lengthy ebb and flow of intercultural penetration and pragmatic reinterpretations, not, as is so often supposed, a unilateral imposition.

This book, an abridged version of the author's *Habilitationsschrift*, remains a bit ponderous at over 550 pages. More importantly, though, it demonstrates the value of several methodological approaches utilized only sparingly in the writing of diplomatic history. Few such studies pay much attention to intercultural issues, for example, and almost all ignore the importance of subalterns like Devoize. Furthermore, Windler's microanalytical framework offers a scale of analysis that crystalizes the connections among individuals, their social settings, and broader historical processes, embedding important and well-known shifts in the context of the evolution of far less widely recognized local practices. In doing so, he exposes the give and take nature of the cultural interpenetration that so heavily influenced the course of late eighteenth-century Franco-Tunisian diplomacy.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CHRISTOPHER J. GRAY. *Colonial Rule and Crisis in Equatorial Africa: Southern Gabon ca. 1850–1940.* (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 275. $65.00.

Christopher J. Gray's posthumously published book not only offers readers an illuminating, copiously researched analysis of southern Gabon's history, but it also provides a model for understanding the ambiguous transformations that colonized societies in Africa and elsewhere experienced during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gray builds on Robert David Sack's notion of "territoriality," a process in which "an individual or group . . . [attempts to] affect, influence, or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area" (p. 20; Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* [1986], p. 19). Careful to avoid the evolutionary assumptions embedded in simplistic interpretations of Sack, Gray deftly applies this theoretical framework to southern Gabon's dynamic history. His central premise is that European colonization entailed a confrontation of two different cognitive maps that resulted in the destruction of an age-old equatorial African political tradition while advancing the ambiguous and incomplete triumph of French territoriality.

Gray begins his analysis in the mid-nineteenth century by describing the "flexible, nonterritorial conception of space" (p. 225) of southern Gabon's clans and

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lineages, which controlled people and valued resources. Drawing from Jan Vansina's synthetic history of equatorial Africa's political tradition, Gray uses the frequently recited proverb, "The clan knows no boundary," to illuminate the fluidity, decentralization, and dynamism of precolonial southern Gabon's political structures and relations (see Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforest: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* [1990]). Its largest precolonial political entity, the district, was "a loose decentralized grouping [of villages] that developed from patterns of marital exchange and trade" (p. 204); there were no centralized state structures, no permanent leaders, not even permanently settled constituent clans. And yet relations of authority and control persisted even when buffeted by the predations of the Atlantic slave trade and intensifying competition for labor and access to trade in the later nineteenth century.

Colonizing Europeans, by contrast, arrived with a "territorial definition of society, one shaped by the rise of the nation-state and by industrial capitalism and employing such tools as maps and censuses" (p. 225). Before 1920, French explorers, traders, missionaries, administrators, and concession company agents categorized and counted African people, and they created new centers and new communication networks. In so doing, they effectively undercut the authority of the precolonial clan leaders. Chaos ensued in the form of widespread food shortages, famines, and disease.

Between 1920 and 1940, the French colonial state consolidated its imposition of modern territoriality by building roads, forcibly relocating populations to live along those roads, and fostering the development of a new timber industry. This modern territoriality had wide-ranging effects. Young men's mobility to lumber camps dramatically increased prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, and infertility. The new territoriality also fostered the creation of ethnic categories, the central means by which people of southern Gabon came to identify their similarities and differences. These regional identities constituted the primary idioms through which southern Gabonese engaged with the French colonial state. But French territoriality was ambiguous and incomplete, as Gray shows in the book's final chapter. Women's healing cults and syncretic religious rituals that drew from Christianity illustrate that southern Gabonese people sought to mend the ruptures suffered in early colonialism; they developed complex forms of esoteric knowledge, investing in the realm of the "invisible," a domain of power that has gone unincorporated by modern territoriality. But the price of this "partial integration into modernity," he notes, has been a kind of "schizophrenia" in the practices of Gabon's colonial and post colonial states (p. 216).

In his construction of this compelling narrative, Gray mines a wide array of evidentiary sources, including oral histories that he collected in Gabon, colonial reports, missionary accounts, explorers' narratives, and maps produced by a range of observers, from colonial authorities to late twentieth-century Gabonese scholars. The author also taps a rich secondary literature written by Gabonese and French scholars.

Gray's exciting, elegantly written, and thoroughly engaging book merits wide readership among historians of Africa, scholars of colonialism, and those engaged in studies of historical geography. Non-specialist readers who are unfamiliar with equatorial Africa's history, geography, and ethnography might find the earliest chapter a challenge. But the real pay-off comes in the following chapters. Gray's framework of territoriality provides a powerful tool for elucidating the techniques, disruptions, and limits of colonization; it reveals how colonialism transformed colonial subjects' spiritual and physical worlds. Readers will find critical insights into a developing African elite, the colonial creation of African ethnicities, and generational divisions that splintered colonial populations. The real tragedy here is that Gray never had the opportunity to expand his insights or to explore the broader implications of territoriality for colonial histories beyond southern Gabon.

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MONICA M. VAN BEUSEKOM. *Negotiating Development: African Farmers and Colonial Experts at the Office du Niger, 1920–1960*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2002. Pp. xxxviii, 214. $65.00.

The Office du Niger was colonial French West Africa's biggest agricultural development project. A product of the interwar infatuation with science and engineering, the Office du Niger was designed to remake nature by irrigating 1.8 million hectares in the semi-arid and sparsely populated region of French Soudan and to feed France's voracious appetite for cotton and Senegal's population of peanut farmers with rice, who in turn would supply the metropole's oil-seed industry. The raw materials shortages during World War I made French policy makers keenly aware of the potential of its colonies to supply the metropole with raw materials as well as troops. In 1921, Colonial Minister Albert Sarraut presented the National Assembly with an ambitious improvement program for France's empire. Sarraut's program linked economic development to the moral, political, and social progress of France's colonial subjects. It was to be a program of mutual betterment in which the ideas of social evolutionism prevailed and the French expert was pitted against the benighted native. The Office du Niger failed to deliver either the products or the social improvement France expected. Explaining that failure is central to Monica M. van Beusekom's book.

Van Beusekom's book contributes to the field of development studies by providing a rich case study of the transformations and failure of a major project. The value of the Office du Niger as a case study is that it had such a long run. Although the author stops her study at the independence of Mali in 1960, the Office

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du Niger persisted into the independence period and continues to this day, although in substantially altered form.

In the post-World War II period, the West elaborated a development paradigm that drew on and reworked nineteenth-century social evolutionary thinking. The pace of development assistance accelerated with decolonization and the Cold War. In the 1960s and 1970s, bilateral and multilateral development assistance favored the large development projects that shared many of the same assumptions: Western expertise, peasant ignorance, and that bigger is better. Few of these projects succeeded (except in enriching the experts and government officials). In contrast, the success of the Gramin Bank's microfinance strategy demonstrates that bigger is rarely better.

The architect of the Office du Niger was a remarkable colonial official, Emile Bélime, who had only superficial experience in public works but a vast capacity to bundle together disparate and sometimes contradictory ideological positions and to persuade policy makers that he alone could deliver on promises. Bélime tapped into interwar French ideas of economic autarky, pronatalist thinking, the civilizing mission, and unquestioned faith in science and engineering. Bélime's plans were grandiose and based on deeply flawed agronomic and hydrological research, yet he prevailed and managed to create a semi-autonomous fiefdom in the heart of West Africa, answering directly to the minister of colonies in Paris. This is a fascinating story, but one that the author does not pursue.

The development of irrigation in a sparsely populated region confronted the central problem of labor, which was needed both to build the irrigation works and to work the fields. Consistent with the arrogance of the civilizing mission, colonial officials decided that they knew what Africans needed and thus forced them to act in what they considered to be Africans' best interests. Construction labor was organized by the infamous "second portion" of the annual military recruitment and took the form of corvée labor. Finding that few Africans were willing to move to the newly irrigated lands, the French used force to recruit them and to keep them working on schedules determined by French agronomists. Forced recruitment of African "settlers" to the Office du Niger and what happened to them once they arrived are at the core of van Beusekom's book.

The author brings to her study of the Office du Niger the skills of the historian and the experience of a development worker. First-hand experience sharpened her awareness that local participants have power to shape the outcome of development projects imposed from above. In chapters five and six, van Beusekom examines the eight areas (choice of crops, labor organization, soil fertility, marketing, use of mechanization, land tenure, use fees, and eviction policies) where African practices in the Office du Niger confronted official policies and shaped the outcome of the project. Many of the African settlers in the Office du Niger also had plots of land outside the officially irrigated sectors (*hors casiers*), which they worked based on their local knowledge of soils and crops. Van Beusekom's contribution to the literature on development projects is her idea that local participants consistently negotiated practices with development officials, thus modifying the project.

This book is organized thematically, but thematically oriented chapters tend to efface changes over time. Organizing the text around major policy changes might have contributed a greater sense of change over time. The book has good maps, but the charts are not always well explained. I was surprised to note the absence of any reference to James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), which critiques the high modernism of big development projects and asserts the power of local knowledge, and Thomas J. Bassett's *The Peasant Cotton: Revolution in West Africa, Côte d'Ivoire, 1880–1995* (2001), which examines the peasant cotton development model especially in favor after 1946 that contributed to the decision to eliminate cotton from the Office du Niger. The author concludes with an assessment of the lessons learned from failed development projects, particularly the need to involve local participants in the design of projects designed to serve their interests.

RICHARD ROBERTS
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JEFF GUY. *The View across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle against Imperialism*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) 2d ed. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. pp. xi, 498. $24.50.

Jeff Guy's richly documented narrative on the life of Harriette Colenso, one of South Africa's most courageous defenders of African rights in the late nineteenth century, also features the destruction and dismemberment of the Zulu kingdom between 1879 and 1897. This book, Guy's third on Britain's imperial subjugation of the Zulu kingdom, was preceded by *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: Civil War in Zululand, 1879–1884* (1979) and *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814–1883* (1983). His latest volume establishes Guy as the preeminent scholar on the disintegration of the Zulu kingdom during this particular phase of British imperial expansion in South Africa.

As a member of the Colenso family, which included her famous father John, bishop of Natal and founder of the Ekukhanyeni mission, and her sister Frances, author of *The Ruin of Zululand* (1884–1885), Harriette proved to be the steadying influence in the family to whom all the Colensos turned. In this regard, the Zulu called Harriette *Udlwedlwe*, her father's staff, his guide and support. Born in a small village in Norfolk, England, in 1847, Harriette left for South Africa with

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her family in 1854. One year later, the Colensos moved into Bishopstowe, their home near Pietermaritzburg, and founded the attached mission known as Ekukhanyeni, the place of light. Learning Zulu became a priority at Bishopstowe (Harriette's spoken Zulu became superior to her father's), as did a new approach to missionary education that emphasized universalism and enlightenment over the conventional Christian message of darkness, division, and damnation. Between 1862 and 1865, Harriette studied the sciences, music, and art at Winnington Hall, a school for girls in Cheshire that attracted some of the most progressive thinkers and artists of the era. Winnington transformed Harriette into a poised and articulate young woman, preparing her for many years of legal battles with colonial officials. Following her return to Natal, Harriette assisted her father in lobbying on behalf of Langalibalele, a Hlubi chief whom colonial officials falsely accused of murder, rebellion, and treason in 1874. The case transformed Langalibalele into a symbol of African resistance to European imperialism throughout southern Africa and shattered the friendship between the Colensos and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's secretary for native affairs. It was during "this day-to-day struggle, working with her father, that [Harriette] gained the commitment and practical experience that were to give shape to so much of her life" (p. 42). She learned legal arguments, became proficient at interviews and translations, and began to carry on much of the welfare work at the mission estate.

Upon the bishop's death in 1883, Harriette accepted responsibility for managing Bishopstowe and took up the cause of the Zulu royal family. During this period, Harriette's selfless and principled advocacy on behalf of Zulu King Cetshwayo and his son and heir Dinuzulu flew in the face of a determined and often cynical colonial opposition led by Shepstone and Melmoth Osborne. To such colonial officials, the Colenso family's liberal humanitarianism represented a misguided and meddling "do-goodism." The Colensos' support for the Zulu monarchy also threatened the security of the settler community, rekindling fears of a "native combination" directed against South African whites. Furthermore, Harriette's defense of African rights interfered with the broader British goals of dismantling the Zulu state, transforming the Zulu into taxable wage laborers, and opening Zululand to the profitable designs of Natalian sugar farmers.

Harriette left Bishopstowe in 1910, following its expropriation by the Natal legislature, and moved into a nearby cottage with her sister Agnes. By the time of her death in 1932, Harriette was a marginal figure known to only a handful of friends. In the words of Guy, "Harriette Colenso's vision was ignored, ridiculed or exploited by most of her contemporaries. A century later, we can see clearly the shortcomings of her detractors and antagonists, caught up in the prejudices of their times" (pp. 448–49).

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JOCK MCCULLOCH. *Asbestos Blues: Labour, Capital, Physicians and the State in South Africa*. (African Issues.) London: James Currey and Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 223. Cloth $49.95, paper $22.95.

The history of asbestos mining in South Africa, and of its catastrophic effect on public health and the environment, has long been hidden from public view, partly because asbestos has been relatively much less important to the mineral-rich South African economy than the mining of gold, diamonds, or coal, but also because the dangers of asbestos were either misunderstood, ignored, or willfully suppressed.

Awareness of asbestos's toxic properties was deliberately obscured by the mining companies, a situation abetted by the failure of the South African state to regulate asbestos mining in the same way it did gold. The absence of industrial unions in the asbestos sector (white as well as black) did not help to bring health issues to public attention. Those disposed to tackle problems of pulmonary disease were mislead because symptoms of asbestosis were easily mistaken as tuberculosis or silicosis. The terminal and untreatable cancer of mesothelioma (which can be caused by even the most incidental exposure to asbestos fiber or products) was long unrecognized, as the disease takes up to forty years to become manifest. Even when the dangers of asbestos finally became widely accepted, its concealed presence in industrial and building products like lagging or roofing meant that the scale of the problem was not easily comprehended.

Lack of attention to asbestos-related illness is also true of the burgeoning historical literature on occupational disease and health in South Africa, which has been slower to focus attention on asbestos than on topics like tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, or malnutrition. But with the publication of this important and authoritative book by Jock McCulloch, who has already written widely on the history of asbestos in Australia, awareness and understanding of asbestos's devastating legacy are certain to command commensurably greater attention.

Asbestos mining in South Africa began in the 1890s, but until World War II, operations were typically conducted on a small-scale basis with relations of production bearing as much similarity to agricultural sharecropping as mining: surface extraction was then the norm, and the industry functioned through a system of "tributing" which meant that small, often family-based productive units took responsibility for mining and initial processing activities before selling fiber to contractors. Because women and children were involved in the enterprise, asbestos mining could be preferable to life as a male migrant laborer in the single-sex hostels of the gold or diamond mines. Moreover, death from accidents was far less common in asbestos mines than in deep-level extractive industries. The tragic irony of this arrangement was that family members engaged in processing asbestos's

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deadly dust and fibers were even more exposed to lung damage than miners directly engaged in mineral extraction.

In the two decades after World War II, demand for asbestos products increased enormously, and the industry underwent a process of significant capitalization and consolidation, with companies like Gefco and the British-based Cape Asbestos achieving sectoral dominance. Apartheid's cheap labor system and its systematic disregard for the welfare of nonwhite labor helped the growing industry to flourish. However, by the late 1960s, just as the asbestos industry began to plan confidently for its future, the health risks of asbestos became an international source of concern. The third and final phase of the asbestos story began shortly after, as the industry retreated and gradually shut down operations.

The legacy of asbestos is, however, far from over. Despite some attempts to clear up the mine dumps, long-term environmental pollution continues to pose a major threat to those with direct involvement in the industry (thousands of whom who are dead or dying) as well as anyone exposed to the asbestos tailings that were used to build roads, tennis courts, or school playgrounds. Long championed for its miraculous qualities as a safety material and its versatility as an insulating and fire-resistant material, asbestos continues to pollute the South African environment.

McCulloch's book is the most comprehensive and satisfactory treatment of the subject that we yet have. His understanding of the industry and his command of the technical aspects of disease etiology and medical history is impressive. Arguably, he could have done more to relate his findings to broader issues in South African historiography (themes signaled in the book's subtitle, like labor and the state, are not always fully developed in a comparative manner), but chapters dealing with life on the mines and with the experience of women miners are innovative and open up areas for further exploration. The ongoing struggle to obtain financial compensation from the asbestos mining companies makes the appearance of the book especially timely; not the least hidden aspect of this story is the way in which leading mining companies exploited loopholes in the law and worked through subsidiaries in order to absolve themselves of responsibility for the health risks that they were well aware of for many years but chose to ignore or to suppress.

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Film Reviews

ARARAT. Written and directed by Atom Egoyan; produced by Atom Egoyan and Robert Lantos. Canada/France. In English, Armenian, French, and German. 2002; color; 116 minutes. Distributed in U.S. by Miramax.

In his latest film, Academy award-nominated director Atom Egoyan shows us why history is still a nightmare for the Armenian people. His multilayered, extremely self-conscious movie *Ararat* opens with close-up shots of the New York studio of Arshile Gorky (Simon Abkarian), one of the prominent figures of abstract expressionism. The camera brushes over Gorky's studio, pausing on Armenian artifacts (miniature khackars, holy crosses carved on rock) scattered among brushes, paints, flowers, and a photograph of the artist and his mother. The image, a source for the painting on which the artist works, was taken in old Van, the city in eastern Anatolia that had been the ancient capital of Greater Armenia, just days before this past century's first genocide befell the Armenians.

However, the movie is neither a linear narrative on the Armenian genocide, still a rather little known chapter of the past century, nor a biography of Gorky. Scenes from Gorky's life and purposefully cartoonish renderings of events in 1915 are just two of the many interwoven stories through which Egoyan problematizes the entertainment industry's abilities (or rather disabilities) of narrating that which is not narratable. In this respect, the director posits himself against the Hollywood tradition of grand narratives of mass tragedies, the most familiar in recent times being Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993). Spielberg, instead of suspecting his medium as a truth-reconstructing apparatus, was obsessed with showing how the experience of Holocaust "really" was. Egoyan ambitiously seeks to reverse that traditional narrative by challenging the notion that film could ever offer such a reality. Moreover, Egoyan demands the same kind of ambition from his audience.

"I love making images, yet I'm suspicious of them . . . I am suspicious of what I am trying to add to this culture, and would expect a lot of people are as well," Egoyan said in a recent interview in *Cinemascope* magazine. His caution echoes in the film as well. Two characters, the half-Turkish actor Ali (Elias Koteas) and his driver Raffi (David Alpay), raise similar issues as they talk about a scene from the film-within-the-film (also called *Ararat*, a fictive film about Armenian genocide that follows the standard narrative structure of the historical epic) in which Ali portrays Djevdet Bey, who was in charge of carrying out the massacres in Van. In response to Ali's admission that his character would be easy to hate, Raffi responds: "Sure, but I'm also kind of suspicious of stuff that's supposed to make me feel anything. Egoyan, like Raffi, resists the predictable temptations of grand narrative.

A modern meditation on memory and intergenerational trauma, *Ararat* tells the juxtaposed story of four families, all lost in their nightmarish personal and national histories and all trapped in some sort of denial. What unites these unrelated characters to each other is a complex web of relationships surrounding the production of the film-within-the-film, intended by its fictional director Edward Saroyan (Charles Aznavour) as a cinematic recapturing of the Armenians' tragic history. Ani (Arsinee Khanjian), an art history professor who has just finished a book on the most famous genocide survivor, Gorky, lectures on the painter's life and work. She spends considerable time on one of Gorky's masterpieces from his figurative years "The Portrait of the Artist and His Mother," and argues that it alludes to the theme of genocide. Raffi, Ani's son by her first husband and the boyfriend of Celia (Marie-Josée Croze), Ani's stepdaughter by her second husband, is torn between his mother, who denies her personal responsibility, and his girlfriend, who thinks Ani's involvement with another man was the reason why her father committed suicide. At the same time, Raffi obsessively tries to understand the motives of his own father, who was killed trying to assassinate a Turkish diplomat, thinking that his action would put an end to the denial of Turkish authorities.

Saroyan, the famous movie director, is shaping his film on Armenian genocide around the eyewitness accounts of Clarence Ussher (Bruce Greenwood), an American doctor who witnessed the atrocities in Van and later calamities, and the director's mother, a survivor whose tale is part of her bequest to her son. Rouben (Eric Bogosian), the scriptwriter for Saroyan's *Ararat*, is ready to exploit his "poetic license" to strengthen the plot. In the same vein, he and Saroyan,

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after listening to Ani's lecture in the museum, decide to append Gorky's childhood to the defense of Van, although there is no credible evidence he was directly involved in the incident; in a further distortion, the defense is staged in picturesque mountains, not in the city itself. Ani accepts a role as consultant for the movie, and Raffi ends up as the driver for the production, leading to his first direct encounter with a Turk, the actor Ali. Ali's boyfriend Philip (Brent Carver) works as a security guard in the museum where Gorky's work is displayed. Philip's father David (Christopher Plummer) is a customs officer who still has difficulty accepting his son's homosexuality and endeavors to come to terms with his son's relationship as his own retirement approaches.

To make sense of his father's suicidal venture and to decipher what was going in his mind when he decided to kill the Turkish diplomat, Raffi decides to go to Turkey to achieve some sense of closure of his own, touring sites central to Armenian historical memory with his camcorder in hand. On the way back, carrying cannisters of film for a shady figure he met in Turkey, he is caught at Canadian customs and subjected to a long questioning by David, who claims that Raffi is a drug dealer and carries heroin in the film cans. David also checks the records during the long interview, in which Raffi tells first the core story of the Armenian Genocide in order to tell his own story, and already knows whose son Raffi is.

The theme of individuals communicating with each other through technology's alienating means—in the conventions of film in Saroyan's *Ararat*, in the amateur footage of Raffi's camcorder travelog, and in the use of the Toronto airport as a location and as a place where cultural luggages are exchanged and identities verified—has been a favored source of material for Egoyan since *Next of Kin* (1984), his first widely released movie. Egoyan reframes the truth several times by placing his camera in different angles. In this process, he recasts several tenets of the official Turkish thesis, which still denies that the massacres were centrally planned, a position first expressed by Djevdet Bey ("What is about to happen to your people is your own fault. As much as you talk about your prophet Jesus Christ, in the depths of your hearts you believe in nothing but money and commerce") and then given a modern updating by Ali, the actor who plays him ("Look, I never heard about any of this when I was growing up. I did some research for the part, and from what I've read . . . there were deportations. Lots of people died. Armenians and Turks. It was World War One").

Egoyan's *Ararat* and Saroyan's *Ararat* are two differing understandings of how to make a movie about a major historical calamity. Egoyan almost ridicules and distances himself cautiously and obsessively from Saroyan's film by questioning its artistic and historical legitimacy. Although sincere in its intentions and committed to overall historical accuracy in telling the story of Saroyan's grandmother (who was raped before the eyes of Saroyan's mother, a little girl at the time), Saroyan's epic looks like a well-intentioned failure, stiff in its style and limited by its commitment to grand narrative. The Egoyan film that contains episodes from this fictive history also argues for a more complex but nuanced approach, insisting on the recognition that multiple positions differently inflect the understanding of the past.

Ararat is even more interesting if watched a second time with some understanding of the Armenian genocide and Western involvement (or rather noninvolvement) in the slaughter. Samantha Power's powerful book, *A Problem from Hell* (2002), is a useful starting point for the historical background. In the end, the Turkish suspects responsible for the deaths of approximately one and a half million civilians were exchanged for twenty-nine British soldiers.

Ayda Erbal
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The Grey Zone. Written and directed by Tim Blake Nelson; produced by Pamela Koffler, Christine Vachon, and Tim Blake Nelson. USA. 2002; color; 108 minutes. Distributed by Lions Gate Entertainment.

The Grey Zone begins with the murder of an elderly man in the prisoners' barracks of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The victim, a member of the infamous Sonderkommando (SK), had just been resuscitated by the Jewish pathologist carrying out medical experiments for Dr. Joseph Mengele. The SK was comprised of those prisoners who, for a brief few months of better living conditions, were charged with the most heinous of the camp's labors: convincing prisoners that they were entering disinfecting showers, removing bodies from the gas chambers, retrieving hair and gold from the teeth of the dead, placing bodies in the crematoria, and depositing the ashes in the river. The members of the SK usually worked for four months before they, too, were sent to the gas chambers. A new SK recruit was initiated by "working" the bodies of his predecessors into the gas chambers and ovens. It is not until the end of the film that we come to understand why his fellow prisoners in the Sonderkommando wanted to kill the old man we see at the film's outset. And it is a recognition of the horrors of their experience that what the viewer originally interprets as a vicious murder comes to be seen as a charitable act.

Tim Blake Nelson's film *The Grey Zone* is based on his play of the same title, which in turn is derived from one of the most powerful and complicated of Holocaust memoirs, Miklos Nyiszli's *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (1962). Nyiszli, deported to Auschwitz in May 1944 with his wife, fourteen-year-old daughter, and virtually the entire Jewish population of Hungary, is the doctor called to the bedside of the dying prisoner in the first scene. Offering his services as a pathologist to Mengele in return for the safety of his wife and daughter, Nyiszli specializes in performing autopsies on twins, Mengele's obsession. The doctor

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was attached to the twelfth Sonderkommando, which rose up in rebellion in October 1944 and destroyed several of the crematoria.

The plans for the uprising are complicated in two ways. First, there is an internal debate concerning the nature of the uprising: should it be focused on simply destroying the apparatus of mass extermination (and thereby have some measure of "success"), or should it be an attempt to escape? Second, the discovery and rescue of a young Hungarian girl who miraculously survived the gas chamber injects another moral dimension, offering certain members of the SK a late, desperate prospect of personal redemption.

Viewers might infer that the "grey zone" refers to Primo Levi's brilliant analysis of Nyiszli's memoir in the second chapter of his last work, *The Drowned and the Saved* (1988). Levi refused to embrace an easy Manichean division of the concentration camp universe into evil Nazis and innocent victims. Instead, he was one of the first to point out the moral contagion that infected the inmates, and he focused on the extreme situation of the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz to make the argument. Levi, too, was struck by the moral choice made by Nyiszli and how the discovery of the girl changed the moral calculations of the SK. Although not depicted in the film, an episode recounted by Nyiszli deserves mention here because it accurately reflects the sense of moral corruption institutionalized in the camps, even away from the chambers or crematoria. One evening a soccer match was organized between the SS and the SK. "The teams lined up on the field . . . They put the ball into play. Sonorous laughter filled the courtyard" (Nyiszli, *A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, pp. 57–58). Levi hears in this episode only satanic laughter, for the Nazis have won the game before it is even played: "it is consummated, we have succeeded, you no longer are the other race, the anti-race, the prime enemy of the millennial Reich . . . we have embraced you, corrupted you, dragged you down to the bottom with us . . . dirtied with your own blood" (Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, p. 55). But the grey of the grey zone is more than just a morally ambiguous field. It is a literal reference to the ash of those bodies being consumed in the flames of the crematoria: the ash that stings the eyes of those working the ovens, that settles into their hair and clothing and even into their lungs.

How are we to judge those of the Sonderkommando? Should we? Nelson, in his production notes, has insisted that this film is neither history nor a "Holocaust film." It is, instead, an examination of how far human beings might go in attempting to save their own lives. Nelson wants the viewer to reflect on the larger question of moral culpability and engage in an exercise of historical empathy. The film's dialogue is disjointed, staccato, and confusing; Harvey Keitel's use of a German accent in portraying Obersturmfuhrer Eric Muhsfeldt (tried and executed for war crimes) is a distraction from an otherwise perceptive performance. A parallel story concerns the participation of the women in gathering and storing gunpowder for the uprising. Here, Mira Sorvino and Natasha Lyonne give agonizing performances as tortured prisoners who must decide whether to confess or watch as the Nazis execute innocents.

Nelson remains true to his story. Those who expect to exit the theater with hope or some message proclaiming the "triumph of the human spirit" over adversity will be disappointed. The uprising, needless to say, is put down and the survivors executed. The young girl—contrary to the usual conventions of a Hollywood film—neither escapes nor survives. And in the epilogue we discover why the elderly man was executed at the film's opening: on his first day in the SK, he had dragged the bodies of his wife, children, and grandchildren from the gas chambers and placed them in the ovens. He lived for some time thereafter in that horrific grey zone, until his fellow prisoners decided to grant him a merciful death.

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THE QUIET AMERICAN. Directed by Phillip Noyce; produced by Steffan Ahrenberg and William Holberg; screenplay by Christopher Hampton and Robert Schenkkan, from the novel by Graham Greene. USA/Germany/Australia. 2002; color; 101 minutes. Distributed by Miramax Films.

Phillip Noyce's adaptation of Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* (1955) has become famous for the wrong reason. It has become noteworthy not because of its moving central performance by Michael Caine or for its stunning use of authentic Vietnamese settings. Rather, it is now famous because Harvey Weinstein, the president of its U.S. distributor, Miramax Films, delayed the film's release in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001, on the grounds that it might be read as "anti-American."

Noyce is an Australian director now best known for his touching film about Aboriginal life, *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002). In Hollywood however, Noyce was previously for making well-crafted thrillers, particularly his adaptations of Tom Clancy novels, *Patriot Games* (1992) and *Clear and Present Danger* (1994). *The Quiet American* seems like an apology for that flag-waving work.

In *The Quiet American*, Noyce returns to a terrain familiar to American film audiences: the Vietnam War. But Hollywood's Vietnam bears little relation to that nation's historical or geographic reality. It has always been depicted as a tragic place for young Americans, who experience the fully formed conflict like some sort of demonic theme-park ride. The origins of the war are seldom discussed. Thailand or the Philippines or even London's Docklands have substituted for Vietnam itself, and actors from across East and South East Asia have played the Vietnamese characters, if any are actually depicted in the story. *The Quiet American*, like the recent *Path to War* (2002) and

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We Were Soldiers (2002), reflects a long overdue maturity of outlook on the Vietnam War experience, one that considers origins and the Vietnamese point of view. In the case of *The Quiet American*, Vietnam plays Vietnam and, for the most part, Vietnamese actors play Vietnamese characters. The film illuminates the prehistory of the U.S. military commitment to the Vietnam War, a commitment that also drew young Australians of Noyce's generation to their deaths.

The novel and this admirably faithful film adaptation tell a story of love and betrayal set against the background of the escalating U.S. role in the French war to retain control of Vietnam in the early 1950s. An aging British journalist, James Fowler (Caine), meets a young American "aid worker," Alden Pyle (Brendan Fraser), who falls for Fowler's Vietnamese mistress, Phuong (Do Thi Hai Yen). An unlikely friendship develops between Fowler and Pyle. But Fowler discovers that Pyle is a CIA agent working to create nationalist "third force" in Vietnamese politics, one tied to neither Paris nor Moscow. When Pyle plans a devastating bomb atrocity to smear the Vietnamese Communists, Fowler betrays Pyle to assassins and wins back his mistress. The film ends with a flash forward, as a montage of newspaper reports by Fowler (beginning as small columns but developing into front-page stories) document the U.S. entry into the Vietnam War, culminating with the shock of the Vietnamese Communist counter-attack in the Tet offensive of 1968 and President Lyndon B. Johnson's subsequent desire to sue for peace.

Greene's character Pyle was based on the real CIA counter-insurgency expert in Saigon in the mid-1950s, Edward G. Lansdale. A veteran of the anticommunist campaign in the Philippines, Landsdale was more capable than the bumbling innocent Pyle. He organized propaganda campaigns to support the U.S. candiate for Vietnamese leadership, Ngo Dinh Diem, and to scare Vietnamese Catholics into migrating South. The bomb explosion at the heart of Saigon really happened in 1954 but has never been proved to have been an American ploy. While Greene's attribution of American culpability for the atrocity stretched the facts at the time his book was written, the incident now seems remarkably prescient of so much of the "destroy the village in order to save it" logic that later characterized U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and hence it is valid as a plot device in 2002. Similarly, while Lansdale's Diem was a more attractive proposition for the leadership of Vietnam than Pyle's General Thé (played here by Quang Hai), Thé has something of the air of Diem's brother Nhu (who ran the South Vietnamese police). By 1964, America's chosen leaders for South Vietnam had certainly fallen to the level caricatured by Greene and depicted in the film. At its climax, Noyce's *Quiet American* departs from Greene's text. In the aftermath of the explosion, Fowler sees Pyle metamorphose from bumbling ingenue into a cold-eyed professional with a full command of the Vietnamese language. In this moment, Noyce's Pyle is more capable, less likeable, and more dangerous than Greene's original character. He may also be less believable, which arguably weakens the film's value as a critique of U.S. foreign policy.

The Quiet American reached cinema screens a year after the shock of September 11. The historical moment that alarmed Weinstein had not so much passed as reached a resolution of sorts. With American foreign policy apparently bound to a new round of intervention, *The Quiet American* now seems to come from a different era: it is a voice in the wilderness calling for caution in overseas adventures, much like Greene's novel in 1955. As mainstream Hollywood nails its colors to the mast and hunkers down to feed the appetite for patriotic fare, one wonders whether this film and other "mature discussions" of the Vietnam experience will sink beneath a tide of red, white, and blue. If that is the case, what will the consequences of an impoverished discussion of America's past be for its future?

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

Q. Edward Wang and Georg Iggers, editors. *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.* (Rochester Studies in Historiography, number 1.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 362. $75.00.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book *Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926–1948* [*AHR* 108 (April 2003): 538–39], Michael E. Staub erroneously states: "Medoff skewers liberal Jewish spokespersons as indecisive and misguided, due to 'a "universalist perception" that tended to hamper their effectiveness in times of Jewish crisis' (p. 216)."

The phrase on which Staub focuses was, as I wrote, quoted from the writings of another scholar (as the quotation marks around "universalist perception" indicate)—Professor Henry Feingold. It was Feingold whose assessment of the most prominent American Jewish leader of the 1930s and 1940s, Stephen Wise, portrayed him in rather unflattering terms (although Feingold did not use the terms "indecisive" or "misguided"—those are Staub's words). Here is how my passage in Militant Zionism actually reads: "Many prominent Jewish leaders of that era adhered to a 'universalist perception' that tended to hamper their effectiveness in times of Jewish crisis, historian Henry Feingold has noted. 'Stephen Wise's interest in the Jewish dilemma was often overshadowed by such preoccupations as the Sacco and Vanzetti case or the corruption in the Jimmy Walker administration of New York City during the New Deal or the progress of the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organizations . . . His letters tell of his embarrassment at speaking in the Oval Office of the special crucible of the Jews when the entire world was in flames.' By contrast, 'groups like the [Orthodox] Agudath and the Bergson Boys, the latter composed primarily of Palestinian Jews, were much better able to imagine the disaster and propose solutions more appropriate for the specific Jewish need' because 'both groups were not locked into the prevailing secular universalist perception. They wanted simply to save Jews qua Jews.'"

Unless Michael Staub has found evidence to indicate that Feingold is mistaken, Feingold's remarks concerning the "universalist perception" and its impact on American Jewish leaders during the Holocaust must be considered the most persuasive assessment of that particular phenomenon.

RAFAEL MEDOFF
Purchase College,
State University of New York

MICHAEL E. STAUB REPLIES:

Rafael Medoff indicates that I quote "erroneously" from his book. This is an unfortunate charge. He argues this because I ascribe to him a view that in fact belongs to Henry Feingold. In effect, Medoff suggests that the view expressed by Feingold is not his own view. Yet he nevertheless asserts that Feingold's conclusions "must be considered the most persuasive assessment." He then tendentiously challenges me to provide evidence that contradicts Feingold. Forgive me, I am puzzled. Does Medoff agree with Feingold or does he disagree? My review does assume that he *agrees*, and Medoff does not dispute this point. If I got it right, then what's the problem here? How exactly have I "erroneously" cited Medoff if he *agrees* with Feingold? It was not my assigned task to evaluate either Henry Feingold's writings or the career of Rabbi Wise. I was assigned to review Medoff's book on the Jabotinsky movement. And this I did.

MICHAEL E. STAUB
Bowling Green State University

ERRATUM

In the April 2003 issue, a review of Richard S. Newman's 2002 book, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* [108: 522–23], named the author correctly but also accidentally calls him "Freeman" from time to time, not Newman. The editors and the author apologize for not catching this error.

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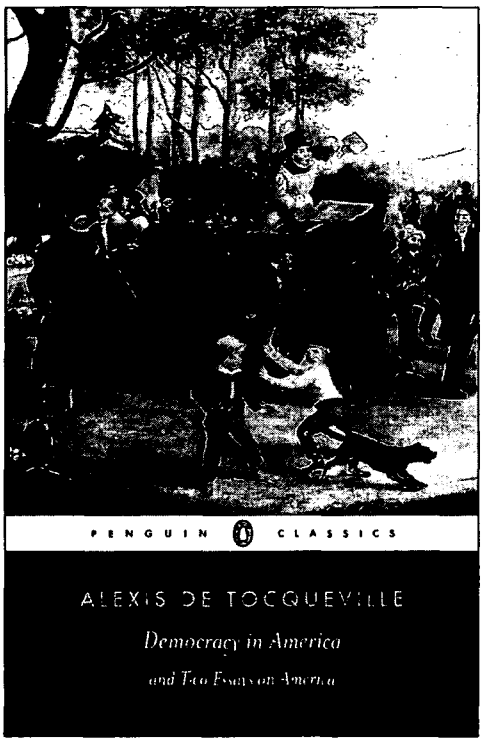
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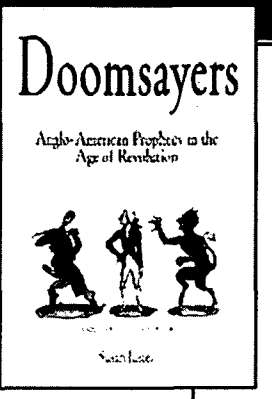
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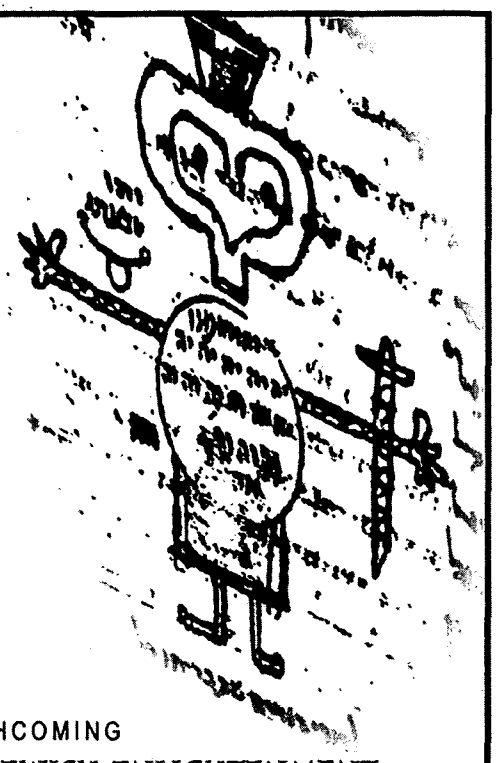
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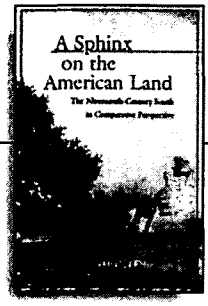
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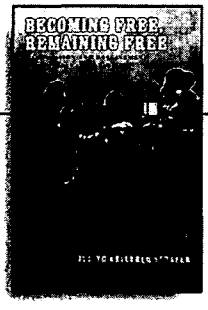
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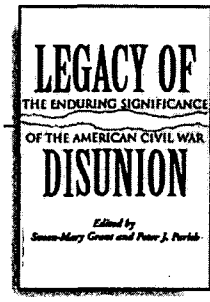
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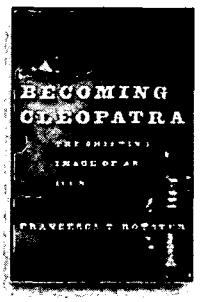
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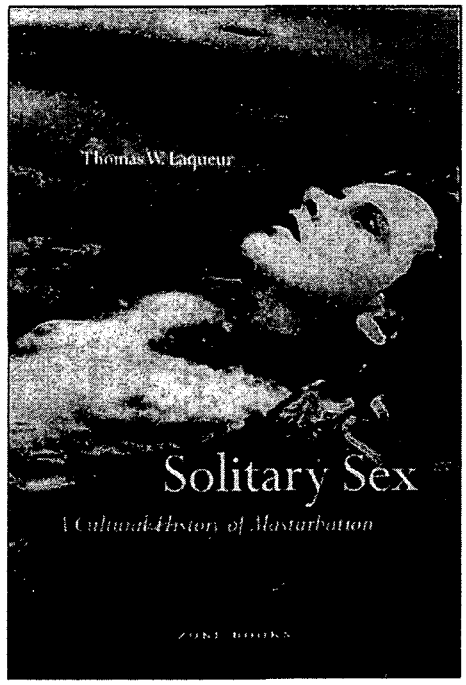
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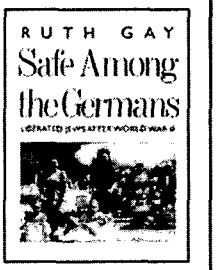
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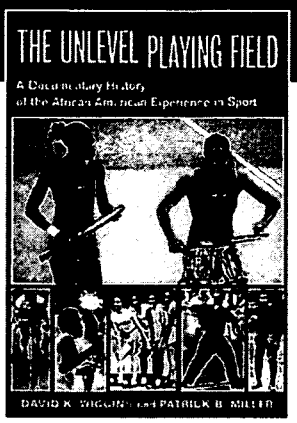
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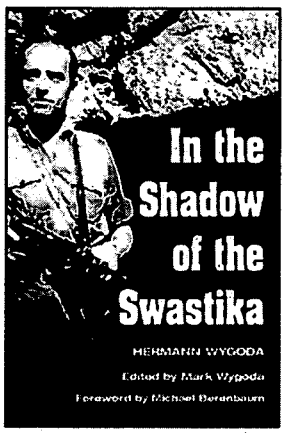
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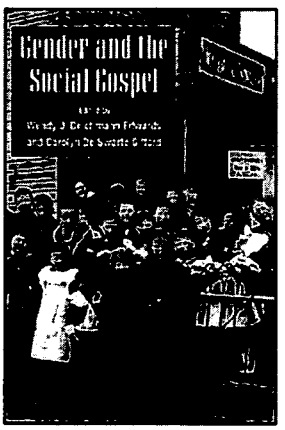
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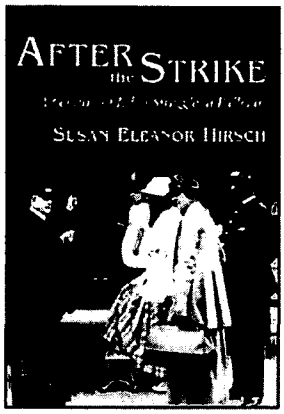
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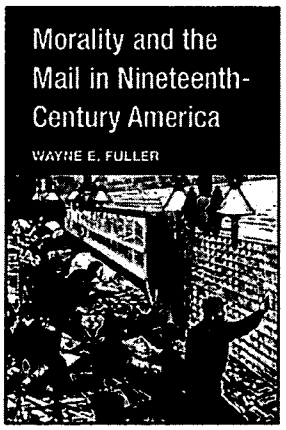
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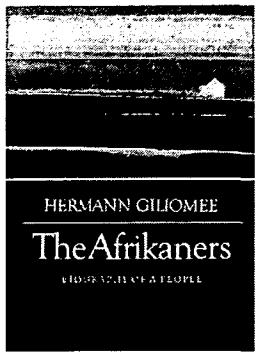
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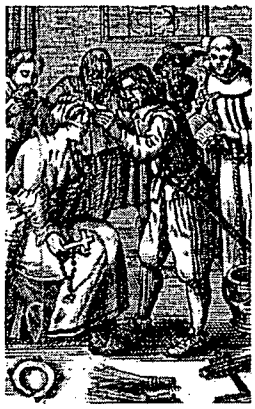
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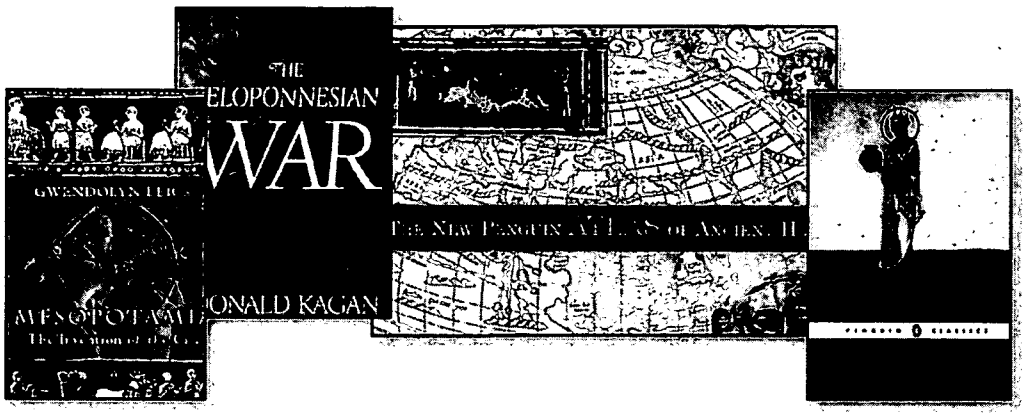
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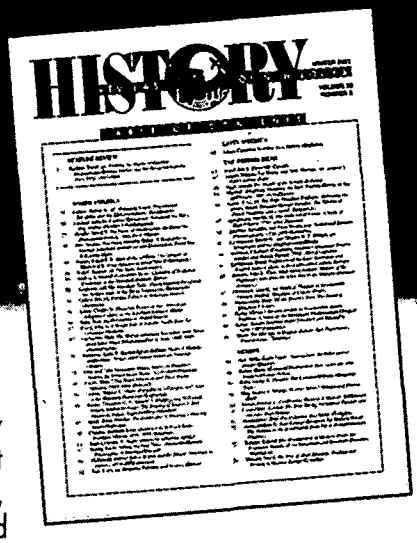
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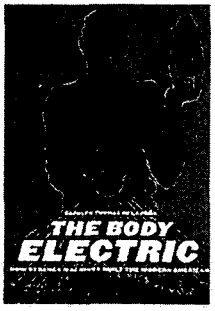
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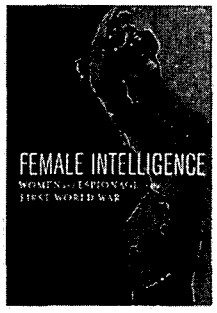
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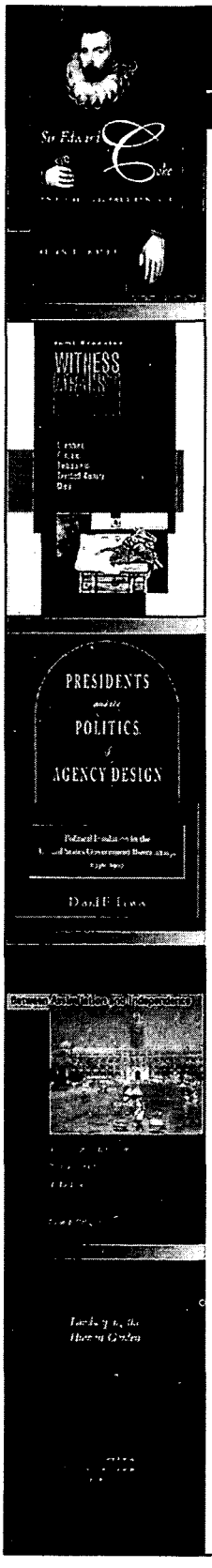
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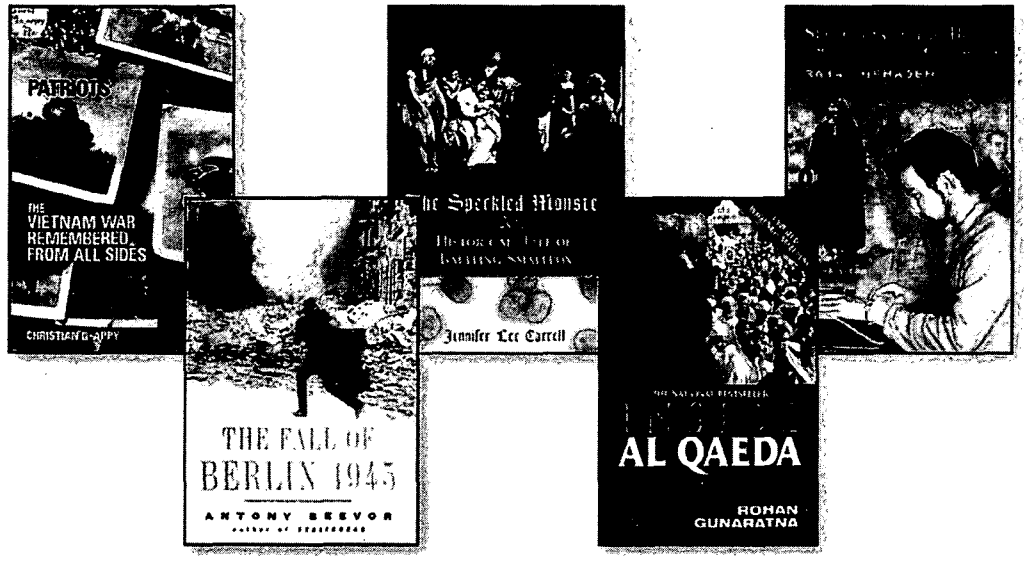
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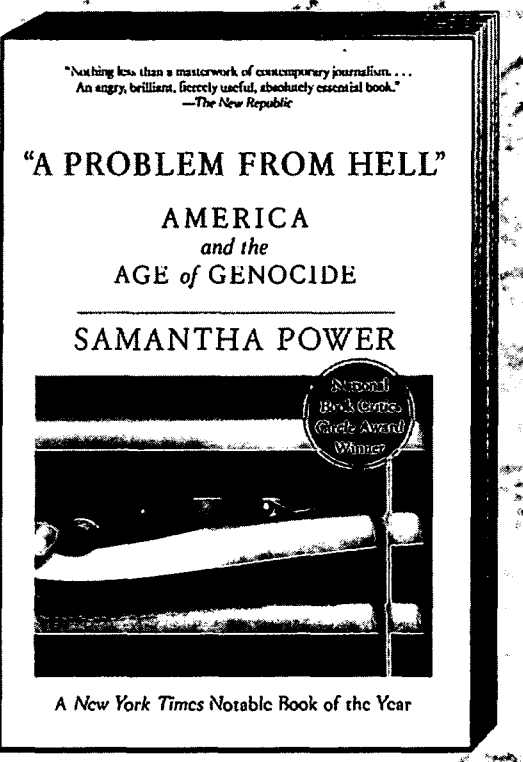
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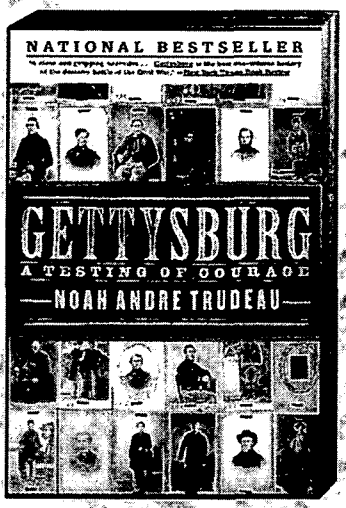
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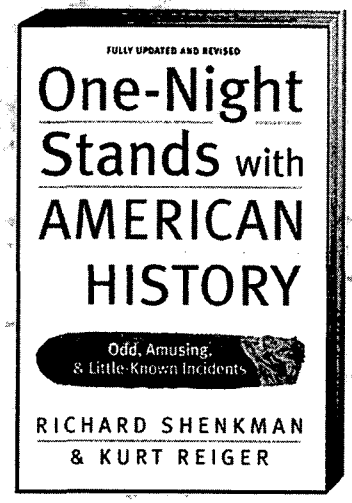


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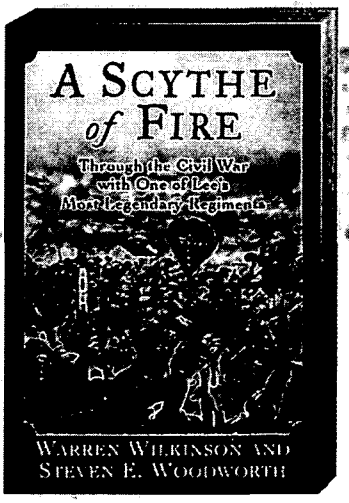
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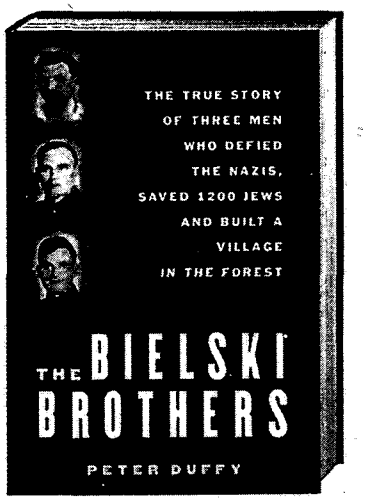
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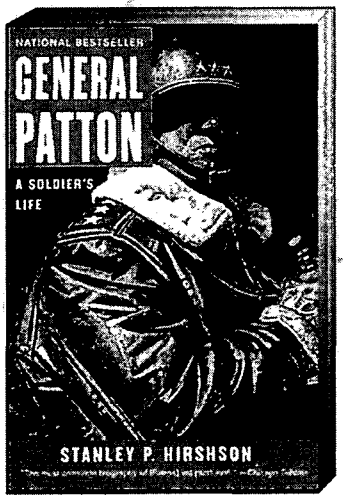
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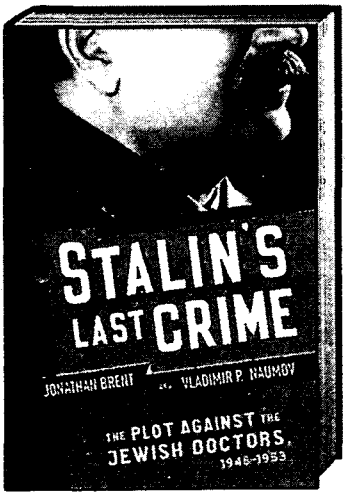
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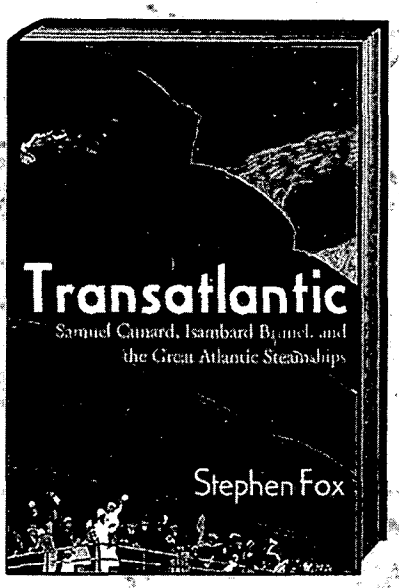


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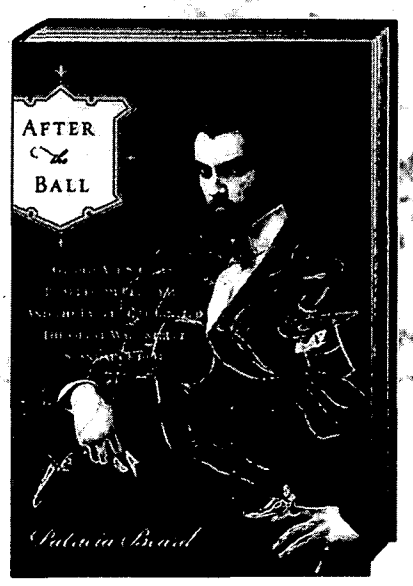
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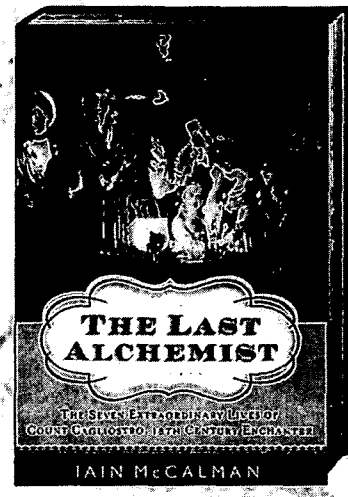
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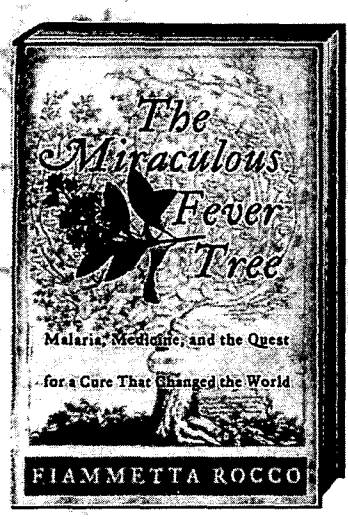
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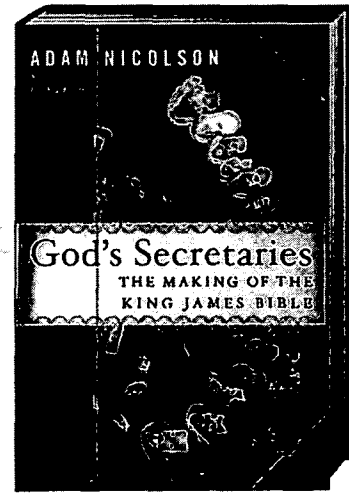
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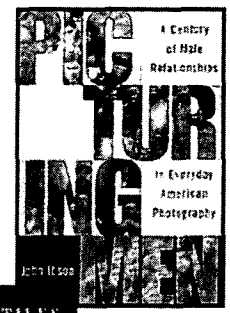
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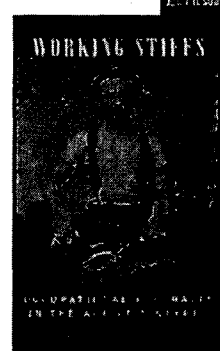
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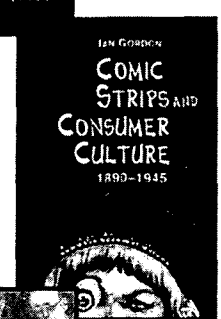
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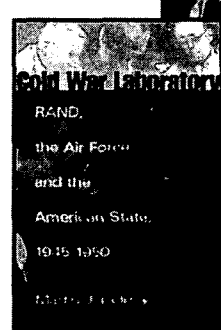
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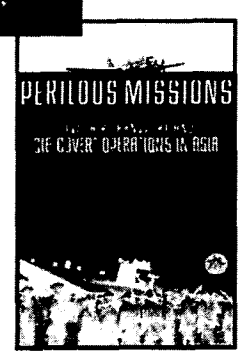
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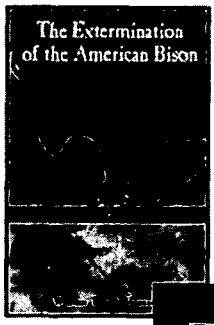
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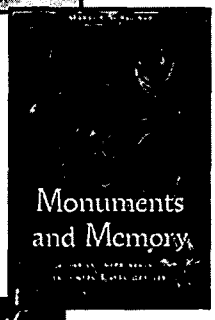


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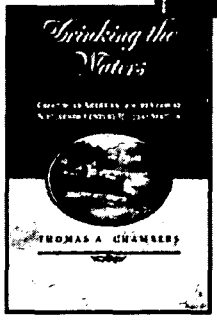


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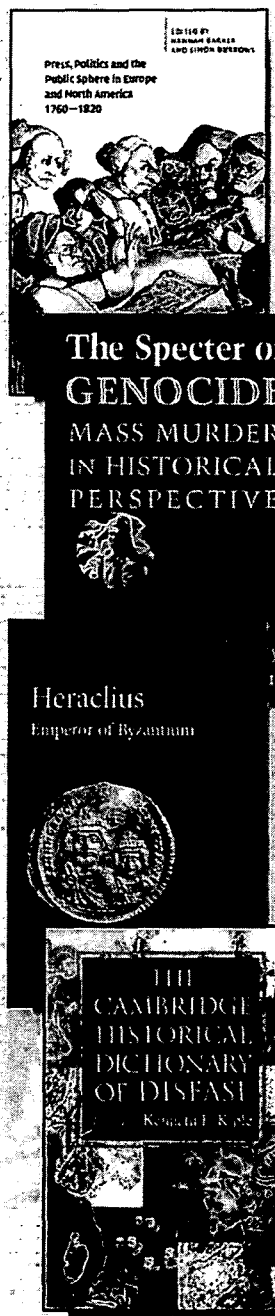
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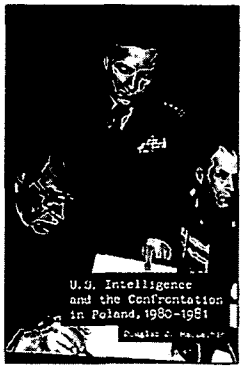
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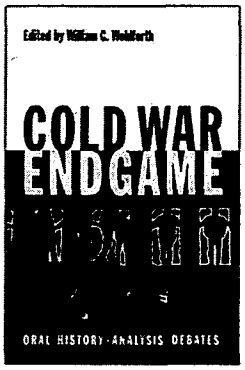
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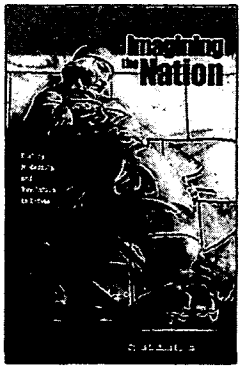
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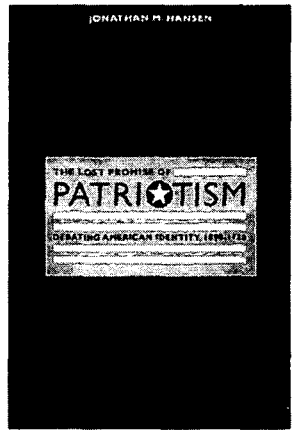
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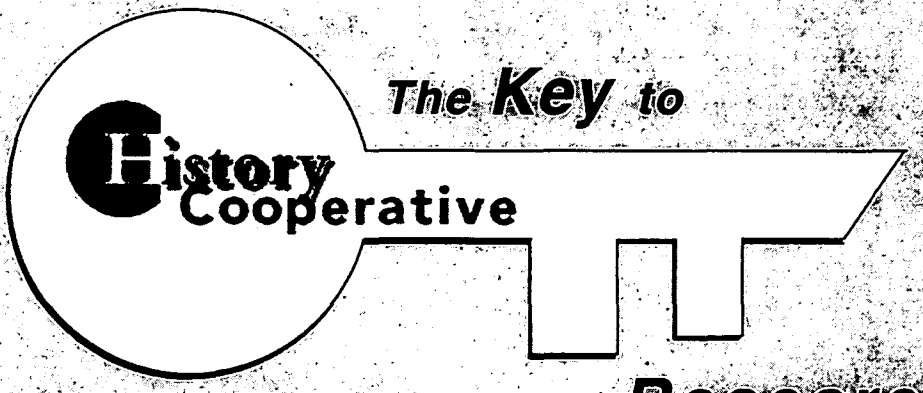
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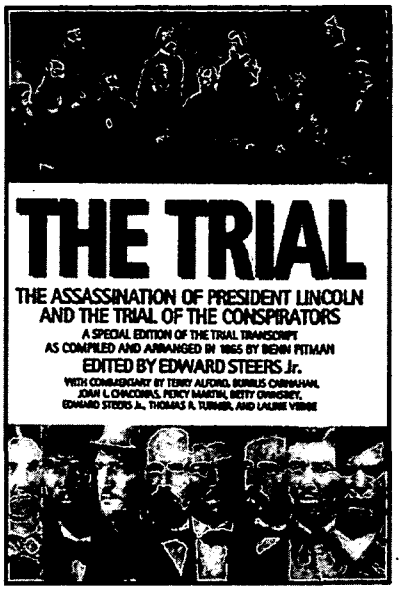
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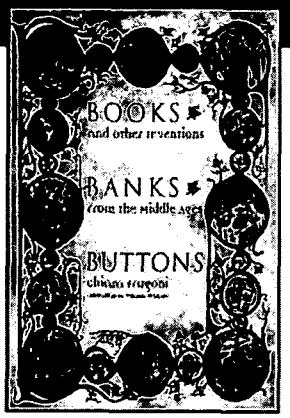
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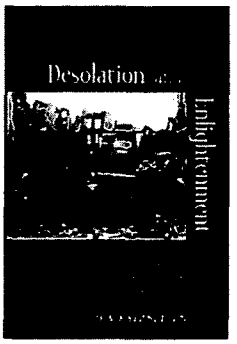
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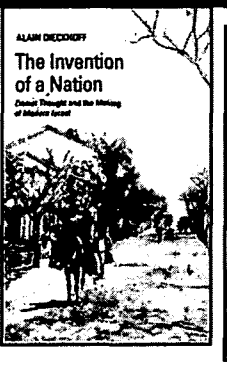
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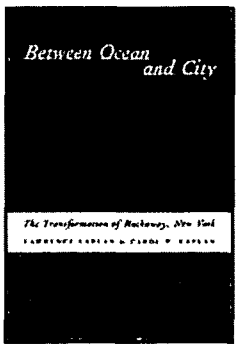
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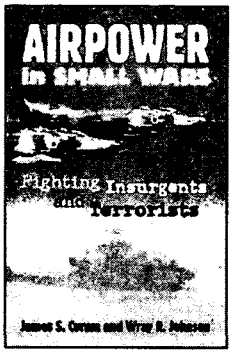
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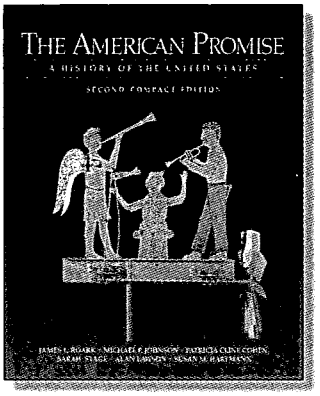
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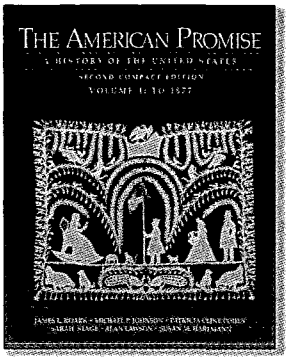
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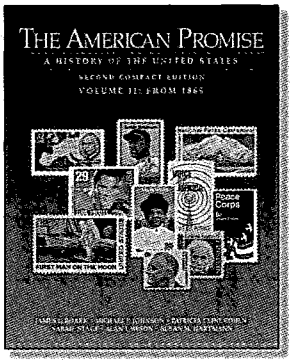
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